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विषय संख्या February 1917
पुस्तक संख्या May, June,
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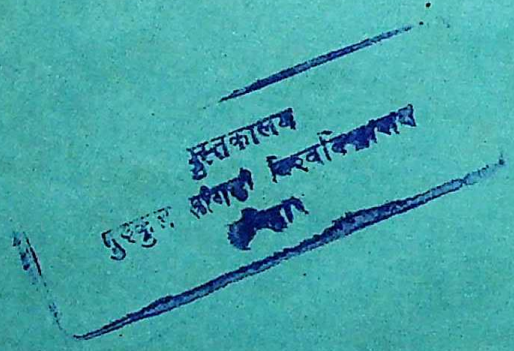

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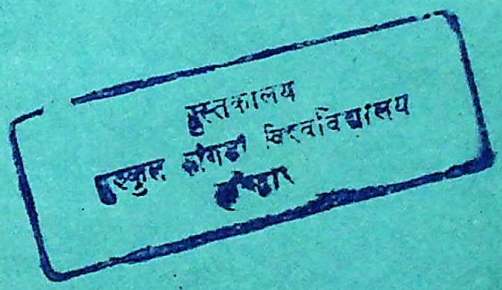

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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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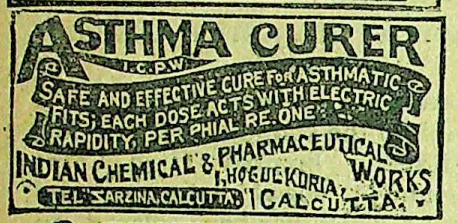

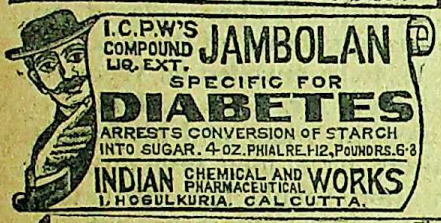

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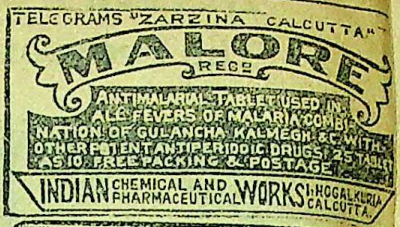

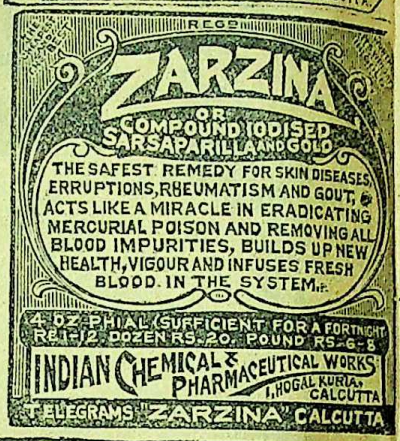

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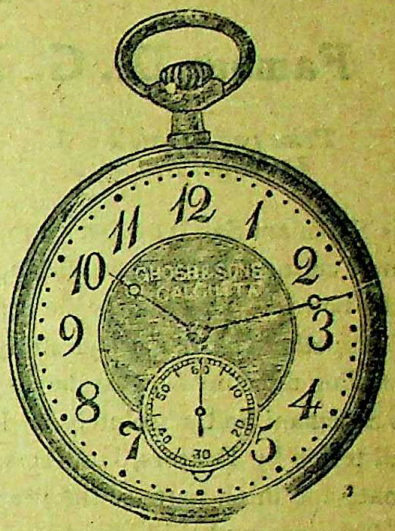

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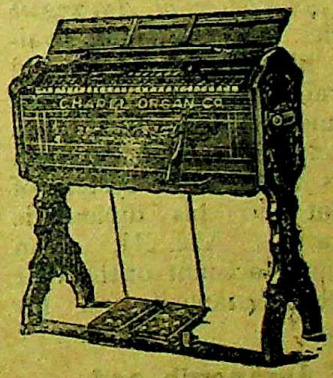

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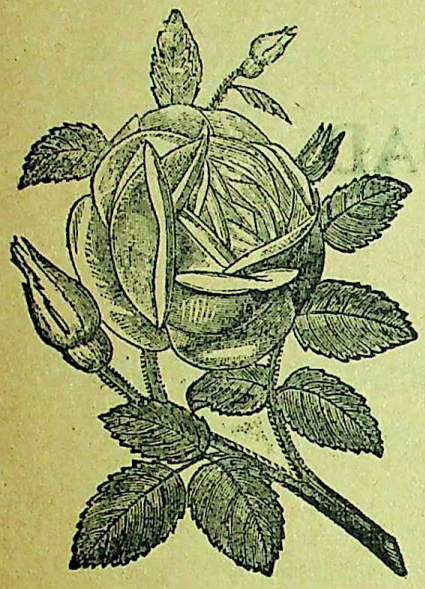

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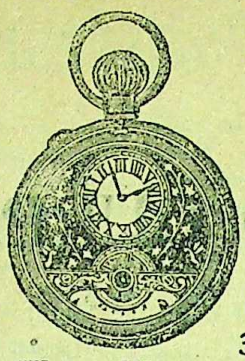

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXI No. 2 — *FEBRUARY, 1917* — WHOLE No. 122

LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(*Specially Translated for the Modern Review*).

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9.

Darjeeling,
1887.

HERE we are at Darjeeling. Little B—— behaved very well on the journey. She hardly cried at all. But she made enough of a commotion in other ways ; she crowed *ulu, ulu ;* she waved her hands ; she called to the birds, though no birds were to be seen.

The Saraghat crossing was an awful experience. It was ten o'clock in the night; things were in hundreds, porters in units only ; and but one man to five women. When we had crossed over and got to the metre-gauge train, we found that the compartments had four berths, while we were six people. So I had to put the ladies and the luggage into the Ladies' Compartment.

But this was in no wise so simple as it sounds. In spite of the not inconsiderable amount of calling to each other, shouting at porters, and rushing about all over the platform which had to be got through, my sister would have it that I had not been any good. The mere man, I suppose, does not come up to expectations, unless he can behave, on such occasions, like a wholly demented creature.

And yet the number of boxes I have packed and closed, and then opened over again, and thrust under railway carriage seats, and hauled out therefrom; which I have run after, and which like Nemesis have pursued me, and have got lost and found again, or not found at all, or remained in the process of getting found ; I am sure no male person aged twenty-four has ever been afflicted with the like.

It came to be so that I had a regular attack of boxophobia, and the sight of a box gave me lock-jaw. When I saw boxes in front of me, boxes behind me, boxes all round me ; only boxes, big boxes, small boxes, middling boxes ; wooden boxes, steel boxes, canvas boxes ; boxes side by side, boxes one upon another ; I felt utterly helpless, and completely lost my natural powers of shouting and running to and fro. So with drawn face, vacant gaze, and my sorry plight generally, I might easily have been mistaken for a shirker ; and cannot dispute my sister's conclusion. . . .

From Siliguri to Darjeeling I had to bear the brunt of my niece, S——'s, enthusiasms. Oh ! How wonderful ! How charming ! How lovely ! She kept on nudging me and exclaiming : "Oh, look at this !" "Do look at that !" What could I do ? I had to look at everything I was asked. Sometimes it was a tree, sometimes a cloud, sometimes a huge flat-nosed hill-woman ; and sometimes things which eluded me as they passed out of sight, leaving S—— murmuring her regrets at what I had missed.

The train sped on. It grew colder and colder. Then came the mist, then sneezes and colds in the head, then shawls and rugs and quilts, then numbed hands and feet, blue faces and hoarse voices ; and then Darjeeling.

Again those boxes, bags and bundles ; burden on burden, porter on porter. And still more things in the luggage van ; to be recognised, sorted out, taken charge of and placed on the backs of the porters. The luggage ticket had to be shown to the presiding official, the official had to be argued with, the things refused to tally, all kinds of arrangements had to

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be made for the missing ones to be sent on; and the whole process took me a good two hours.

10.

Shelidah,
1888.

Our house-boat is moored to a sand bank on the further side of the river. It is a vast expanse of sand, stretching away on every side, its ends nowhere in sight, with here and there a streak, as of water, running across, though sometimes what looks like water is only sand.

Not a village, not a human being, not a tree, not a blade of grass,—the only breaks in the monotonous whiteness being, in places, gaping cracks showing the layer of moist, black clay underneath.

Looking towards the East, there is the endless blue above, the endless white beneath. Sky empty, earth empty too,—the emptiness below hard and barren, but overhead broad and etherial,—one could hardly get elsewhere such a picture of stark desolation.

But on turning over to the West, there is the water of the currentless bend of the river, fringed with its high bank, up to the edge of which spread the village groves, with the cottages peeping through, looking like an enchanting dream in the evening light. I specially tell of the evening light because it is in the evening that we wander out, and the evening aspect is the one impressed on my mind.

In Calcutta one is apt to forget how wonderfully beautiful is Nature. Only here does one fully appreciate what a profoundly important event happens in the world when, every day, the sun goes down amidst the peace of these trees; and, every night, the stars in their myriads, placidly come forth over the silence of these endless, grey, sandy solitudes.

The immense page of the book of the universe which the sun every time silently turns up from the East when it rises, and as softly turns over against the western sky when it sets,—what wondrous writings are to be read thereon; and this thin-flowing, summer stream, with its bed of sand stretching to the horizon banked up on the one side, and its picture-like shore on the other, what a marvellous, silent school is here! . . . But words like these will sound too much like poetry, and therefore out of place, in the metropolis; here they are no more than obvious.

Let loose on the sands in the evening the children with their attendants wander about; my nephew Balu, strolls off by himself; I go my way; and the two ladies in a different direction. In the meantime, the sun completely disappears, the golden light in the sky dies away, and everything becomes dim and shapeless. Then as I walk on I am suddenly conscious of a faint shadow accompanying me and become aware that the crescent moon has asserted itself. The white moonlight on the white sands makes it still more difficult to distinguish anything; one has to guess where it is sand, where water, where earth, where sky. So the whole scene appears as unreal as a mirage.

Yesterday, when I returned after my wanderings in this world of *Maya*, I found only the children had come back,—none of the others. I settled myself down in a chair and tried to read a book on the obscure subject of Animal Magnetism in the no less obscure light of our little lamp. But still they did not arrive. I put aside the book with its open face downwards, and went out on deck. I mounted the upper deck, but could see nothing in the way of approaching specks —it was all one vague whiteness. I shouted for Balu at the top of my voice, but the sound faded away into the distance in every direction and brought no response. Then, all at once, I felt a collapse of spirit like an open umbrella suddenly released.

Gafur, the cook, stepped down the gangway with a lantern. Prasanna, the maid, sallied off with another. All the boatmen turned out and went forth; and so did I. We scattered in different directions. I kept on shouting 'Balu'. Prasanna called for 'Mother'.* And the boatmen bellowed out Babu! Babu! at intervals; till quite a number of anguished cries filled the silent night of this desert. But not a sound came back in return. Once from some way off Gafur's shout was heard: "I've seen them!" Only to be followed by a "No! No!" in correction of the mistake.

To be able to imagine my state of mind you must also imagine the silence of the night, the empty solitude of the sands, the swaying spot of light made by Gafur's distant lantern, the anxious calls, now near

* Servants call the mistress Mother.

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here, now there, helplessly losing themselves in space, the spasm of hope at some imaginery discovery, the completeness of the depression which followed.

Impossible fears began to assail me; there might be quicksands; some one might have fainted. All kinds of wild animals crossed my mental vision. How easy for those who need take no care of themselves, to cast their burden lightly on others, I inwardly raged, as I worked myself into a violent antagonism to the Emancipation of Women!

And at last, after an hour, came the news that the lost party had in some mysterious fashion managed to follow the sands right on to the opposite bank and could find no way of crossing back. The boat was cast off and taken across; its presiding goddess re-entered her shrine; and Balu swore determinedly that never again would he allow himself to get mixed up in their party.

Every one was tired and repentant, so I had to keep to myself the homily I had prepared for the occasion. This morning I somehow found it impossible to get angry.

11.

Calcutta,
1889.

When the train started, little B—— after taking a look all round, turned grave, as if wondering whence she had come, whither she was going, and what, indeed, could be the end and aim of man's journeyings; and as she pondered we saw her gradually overcome with yawn after yawn, till presently she put her head on my knee, stretched her legs on the seat, and fell fast asleep.

I was also beset with musings over the joys and sorrows of life, but in my case they did not bring me sleep. So I hummed to myself an improvisation in the mode *Bhairavi*.* The modal forms and features of the *Bhairavi* conjure up a peculiar aspect of the universe, from which a deep melodious pain seems to be wrung by dint of the continuous grinding of the wheel of Law. And, curiously enough, as I hummed on, the morning sun grew wan, the trees ceased to move as though to listen, and the blue unwinking eye of the sky, dimmed with mist, tearfully looked on.

As we neared Kirkee station I caught glimpses of the old sugar-cane field, the row of trees, and the glazed front of the house; and for a moment felt a kind of pang.

How curious! When we lived there I had no particular affection for the place, nor can I say I felt any emotion on leaving it; and yet when, for a fleeting moment, I see through the windows of a railway carriage that lone house with its empty rooms and deserted play-ground, my heart leaps out to it like a lightning flash, and a shock passes from one end of my breast to the other.

The train flies past, the sugar-cane field and all the rest vanish in the distance, and the whole thing is over; except that the shock leaves the pitch of both high and low strings of my mind flattened by quite a tone and a half!

The locomotive, however, continued to speed its way over its iron road without wasting a thought on such trifles; it never has the time to spare to trouble over the sentiments of passengers, so busy is it gulping in water, puffing out smoke, and roaring and rattling on. This gives a splendid opening for a comparison with the way of the world, but the thing, I believe, has been done before, moreover I have no use for it just now, so I merely allude to the opportunity.

By the time we reached Khandalla it became cloudy and came on to drizzle; the hills grew hazy as if smudged out with a rubber, some outlines showing here and there, the rest leaden and blurred. . . .

The day wore on; poor B—— began to fret without rhyme or reason; though still cloudy it became warmer and warmer; and the time refused to pass. Each minute seemed to want to be pushed before it would move on.

Fortunately it rained hard at last, and then we enjoyed looking out from the closed windows. In one place a freshet indulged in some highly absurd gambols, swelling and boiling and foaming and swirling, snatching up pebbles and rushing along, knocking its head against a boulder, wrestling with it, jumping over it, dancing round it, and altogether carrying on in a perfectly mad way, the like of which I have never seen.

When we arrived at Sohagpur, in the afternoon, it had stopped raining; and as we left the station I could see the sun, very very red indeed, going down behind the clouds.

* See note to No. 14.

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I began to feel that while time was flowing on, unheeded, over the rest of the world, immersed in its work or play, eating or drinking, reading or conversation, for me it was a case of battling against its current, each and every wave buffetting my breast, my face. . . .

We duly arrived at Howrah Station. First our head door-keeper, then J——, then S——, one by one came into view. Then the hackney carriage; on the top of which were piled our things, including rolls of bedding, the maid's battered old tin box, a bath tub filled with infantile odds and ends—clothing, water pots, feeding bottles; and inside which we reached home.

There was the usual hub-bub, the crowd, the servants, upper and under, bending more or less low according to their rank, the differences of opinion as to whether or not we had improved, the snatching and cuddling of little B—— by all the girls of the house, the gathering round the table, and finally bath and breakfast and all the rest.

12.

Shazadpur,
1890

The magistrate was sitting in the verandah of his tent dispensing justice to the crowd awaiting their turns under the shade of a tree. They set my palanquin down right under his nose, and the young Englishman received me courteously. He had very light hair, with darker patches here and there, and a moustache just beginning to show. One might have taken him for a white haired old man but for his extremely youthful face. I asked him over to dinner, but he said he was due elsewhere to arrange for a pig-sticking party.

As I returned home tremendous black clouds came up and there was a terrific storm with torrents of rain. I could not touch a book, it was impossible to write, so in the I-know-not-what mood, beloved of poets, I wandered about from room to room. It had become quite dark, the thunder was continually pealing, the lightning gleaming flash after flash; and every now and then sudden gusts of wind would get hold of the big *lichi* tree by the neck and give its shaggy top a thorough good shaking. The hollow in front of the house soon filled with water and as I paced about, it suddenly struck me that I ought to offer the shelter of the house to the magistrate.

I sent off an invitation; and then on making an investigation I found the only spare room occupied with a platform of planks hanging from the beams, piled with dirty old quilts and bolsters. The servants' effects in the way of an excessively grimy mat, hubble-bubble pipes, tobacco, tinder and two wooden chests, littered the floor. There were also sundry packing cases containing useless odds and ends such as a rusty kettle lid, a bottomless iron stove, a discoloured old nickel tea pot, an unworkable filter, a soup-plate full of treacle blackened with dust. In a corner was a tub for washing dishes, and from nails in the wall hung moist dishcloths and Gafur's livery and skull cap. The only piece of furniture was a rickety dressing table with water stains, oil stains, milk stains, black brown and white stains and all kinds of mixed stains. Its mirror was resting against a different wall, and its drawers were the receptacle for a miscellaneous assortment of articles from soiled napkins down to bottle wires and dust.

For a moment I was overcome with dismay; then it was a case of send for the manager, send for the store-keeper, call up all the servants, get hold of extra men, fetch water, put up ladders, unfasten the ropes, pull down the planks, take away the bedding, pick up pieces of broken glass, bit by bit, wrench out the nails in the wall one by one;—"Confound you, there! what are you staring at? Look sharp, get hold of something each." O Lord, there it goes! Crash! Bang! Smash! The chandelier has let fall and its pieces strew the floor; Pick them up again, piece by piece. The dirty mat I whisk off the floor myself, and throw out of the window, dislodging a horde of cockroaches, my messmates who dine off my bread, my treacle and the polish on my shoes.

The magistrate's reply is brought back: his tent is in an awful state and he is coming at once. Hurry up! Hurry up! Presently comes the shout "The *sahib* has arrived." All in a flurry I brush the dust off my hair, my beard, and the rest of myself, and as I go to receive him in the drawing room, I try to look as respectable as if I had been reposing there comfortably all the afternoon.

I went through the shaking of hands

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and conversed with the magistrate outwardly serene, but with misgivings about his accommodation now and then welling up inside. When, at length, I had to show my guest to his room, I found it passable, and if the homeless cockroaches do not tickle the soles of his feet, he may manage to get a night's rest.

13.

London,
October : 1890.

Is man a machine that he should go exactly by rule ? The workings of his mind are so vast and various, so divergent in tendency, so changeable in relative strength, that he needs must be swayed now this way, now that. This is the sign of his life, the test of his manhood, the contradiction of his materiality. He who has no weakness of hesitation has a narrow mind, inelastic and lifeless.

The thing that we revile as passion or desire gives us our motive power, and is opening us out, through joy and sorrow, right-doing and wrong, more and more into the infinite.

Our error in wholly blaming our passionate tendencies resembles that of a river complaining at every turn : "Where, oh where is the sea,—this is but a forest, this a desert, this a shoal,—is then the force pushing me on, perchance leading me astray ?"

We are also daily passing through doubts and hesitations, we cannot see our goal. Only He knows exactly how we are to reach it who has given us this immense impetus of desire.

Our great mistake is to imagine that this power will forsake us where it has brought us, forgetting that it will also lift us away therefrom. The very thing which leads us into error shows us the way out, —such is the course of life.

He who has not a sufficiency of this life force, he whose mind it does not impel to its mysterious, multifarious unfolding, he may be happy, he may be righteous, they may call his narrowness strength of mind, but he is, after all, poorly equipped for life's eternal journey.

14.

Patisar,
1891.

I have had the house-boat removed from opposite the estate offices, and moored in a more secluded spot. There is no such thing as noise here, you cannot have it even for the asking, though you may get it, along with other things, if you go to the local market-place. Further, where I am now, you cannot even get the sight of a human face.

All round there are the fields, spreading away to the horizon ; the crops have been cut and taken away and only the stubble covers the ground. After being cooped up the whole of yesterday, I went out for a walk over these fields at sunset. The sun got redder and redder till it completely disappeared behind the lowest line of the horizon ; but what shall I tell of the wonders of the beauty which the world took on thereafter ?

At the extreme edge of the fields was a fringe of trees, and there the play of dim purples and reds wrought such an enchanting vagueness,—it seemed to picture the very home of the spirit of Evening, where she retires at the end of the day, languidly to cast aside her ruby mantle, deftly to light her own evening star. Whom does she await there, with the vermillion bride-mark in her hair-parting, as, in the calmness of her solitude, she restfully reclines stringing her garland, and hums into being the stuff that dreams are made of ?

Over the endless fields falls a shade,—of soft melancholy; not exactly tearful, but like the mist which gathers under the broad eye-lashes of a wistful, unblinking gaze. One may imagine that Mother Earth, kept busy in populous places with the turmoil of her children and her household duties, thus sighs forth,—whenever she gets a little solitude, a little leisure, a bit of open sky,—the divine discontent of her immense heart.

I doubt whether India's broad level fields and free open skies are to be found anywhere in Europe. That is why it is our people who have been able to discover this eternal yearning of our great big Earth, and why the *Puravi** or *Tori** modes of our music voice the cry of the world in its vast wholeness, rather than the homely sentiment of this one or that. The other aspect of the world, in which it is work-a-day, affectionately domestic, limited, has not impressed itself so much on our people,—we have been so moved into aloofness by the glimpses of its lonely infinitude. And so pangs pluck our hearts whenever fingers pluck from *Sitar* strings

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the characteristic *nuances* of the *Bhairavi** mode.

When yesterday the whole evening was in the *Puravi* mood, the one human creature within miles was myself; the only other, be-turbaned and stiff, on guard, staff in hand, by the gangway of the boat. To the little river on my left,—lost to sight after the next bend within its steep banks, with not a ripple on its surface,—the evening light clung for a while like the dying gleam of a wan smile. The silence was as vast as the expanse of the fields, broken only by the plaintive cries of a bird alarmed by my passing too close to its nest in the stubble. Gradually the waning moon rose over the scene as, lost in thought, I pursued with bowed head and slow footsteps the narrow track winding along the edge of the river.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The *Ragas*, or modes of the classical music of Hindusthan, or Upper India, (the term Indian Music is vague as the Northern, Southern and various Provincial styles are all widely different) are, in a technical view, so many scales each comprising a limited number of notes selected from a full chromatic scale which differs from the European tempered chromatic scale in having more than one intermediate fractional tone in the spaces between two full tones; though more than one such flat or sharp of the same note is not used in one and the same scale, except momentarily in passing from one part of the scale to another, which is rarely done in *staccato* fashion. These modes are further distinguished by the relative importance of the notes and other rules governing their progression in the scale.

From the standpoint of feeling, the different melodic types thus created are deemed to afford suitable artistic expressions of the reactions on the human mind of the different moods of nature as expressed in the seasons of the year, the times of the day, in pastoral surroundings, amidst human pomp and festivity, as well as in less definable connections.

The *Bhairavi*, though called a "morning" *Raga*, has been more recognised by virtuosos to be, rather, a universal expression of the elusiveness of the fleeting moments whose subtle changes take the waxing and waning day through its course, and so is no longer restricted to any particular hour.

The *Puravi* is a distinctly "early evening" *Raga* in which, to mention only one of its less subtle elements, the aspect of waning, of closing down, is more definitely brought out. There are, similarly, "early morning" Ragas, not mentioned here, in which the aspect of awakening, of unfolding, is particularly marked.

The *Tori*, also a "morning" *Raga*, is perhaps more typically a plaint against the ruthless disciplinarian aspect which grips the world after its awakening; and is followed by "later morning" modes, as for example the *Alaiya*, expressive of the relaxation and relief of the soaring into dispassionate aloofness in which the soul seeks and finds refuge therefrom.

* See note at end.

The exact mood-picture which corresponds to a particular *Raga*, must always largely be a question of the reacting temperament, though some pictures are deemed more authoritative or orthodox because they find a place in the old litearture on the subject.

15

Kaligram,
1891.

Just the kind of afternoon to laze through. There is not a soul to chide me on, nor is it yet time for my work and for the *ryots* to crowd around. I am feeling listlessly comfortable and indescribably irresponsible; as if the thing called necessity has departed from the world, and bath and toilet and having one's meals to time are obsolete superstitions left behind in far-away Calcutta.

This is the prevailing mood all round here. There is a bit of a river, but it has no current to speak of; and lying snugly tucked up in its coverlet of floating weeds it seems to be thinking that since it is possible to get on without getting along, why bestir oneself to stir? So the sedge which lines its banks is hardly disturbed by any movement until the fishermen come with their nets.

Four or five large-sized boats are moored near by, alongside each other. On the upper deck of one its boatman is fast asleep in the sun, rolled up in a sheet from head to foot. On another the boatman, also basking in the sun, leisurely twists some yarn into rope. On the lower deck, in a third, an oldish looking bare-bodied fellow is leaning over an oar, staring vacantly at our boat.

Along the bank there are various other people, but why they come or go, with the slowest of idle steps, or remain seated on their haunches embracing their knees, or keep on gazing at nothing in particular, no one can guess.

The only signs of activity are to be seen amongst the ducks, who are quacking clamorously, gaily thrusting their heads under water, and bobbing up again to shake off the water with equal energy; as it they are repeatedly trying to explore the mysteries below the surface, and every time shaking their heads to report "There's nothing! There's nothing!"

The days here simply drowse in the sun all the twelve hours, and silently sleep away the other twelve wrapped in their mantle of darkness. The only thing one wants to do in a place like this is to gaze

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and gaze on the landscape, swinging one's fancies to and fro, alternately humming a tune and nodding dreamily; as does the mother on a winter's noon-day, her back to the sun, rocking and crooning her baby to sleep.

16.

Patisar,
1891.

At this spot the little river has bent itself into a cosy corner in which I lie, hidden away under its high banks, invisible from any distance. Boats come from the North, towed along by their crew, and pull up in astonishment when on turning the bend they come upon the unusual sight of the house-boat here. "Hullo, there! Whose boat is this?" comes the shout. "The *Zamindar* Babu's." "Why here and not at the *Kutcherry* * moorings?" "He has only come to take the air." I happen to be here for things more solid than air, but these are the questions and answers which pass.

I have just got through my midday meal. It is nearing half-past one. They have unfastened my boat and it is slowly drifting towards the Office. There is a strong breeze, but not exactly cold, coming as it does through the noonday sunshine. The boat makes a swishing sound as it passes through occasional patches of floating weeds, resting on which little tortoises, with necks craned forward, are sunning themselves.

At intervals come little villages of clustering thatched cottages; with here and there mud walls standing unthatched, and a few hay-stacks; plum trees, mango trees, *aswatha* trees, bamboo clumps; one or two goats grazing, some naked children playing about.

To the edge of the water reach the sloped bathing places, where some are washing clothes, some bathing, others scouring pots and pans; a shy village bride, her water vessel clasped against her waist, parts her veil by the breadth of two fingers to cast curious glances at the *Zamindar* Babu, while a sleek oil-anointed† youngster, holding on to the loose end of her *sari*, also satisfies, with stedfast gaze, his curiosity regarding the writer's features.

Here a few boats moored along the bank; there a fishing boat, half submerged, waiting to be pulled out of the water; more rarely cows, with their little boy attendants, come to browse on the lusher grass at the river edge.

Where else can there be afternoons of such perfect peace and quiet?

17

Kaligram,
1891.

Yesterday while I was giving audience to the *ryots*, five or six boys made their appearance and stood in a primly proper row before me. Before I could put any question, their spokesman, in the choicest of high-flown language started: "Sire! The grace of the Almighty, and the good fortune of your benighted children have once more brought about your lordship's auspicious arrival into this locality." He went on in this strain for nearly half-an-hour. Here and there he would get his lesson wrong, pause, look up at the sky, correct himself, and then go on again. I gathered that their school was short of benches and stools. "For want of these wood-built seats," as he put it, "we know not where to sit, ourselves, where to seat our revered teachers, or what to offer our most respected superintendent when he comes on a visit."

I could hardly repress a smile at this torrent of eloquence gushing from such a bit of a fellow, which sounded specially out of place here where the *ryots* are given to stating their profoundly vital wants in plain and direct vernacular, of which, even, the more unusual words get sadly twisted out of shape. The clerks and *ryots*, however, seemed duly impressed, and likewise envious as though deploring their parents' omission to endow them with so splendid a means of appealing to the *Zamindar*.

I interrupted the young orator before he had done, promising to arrange for the necessary number of benches and stools. Nothing daunted, he allowed me to have my say, took up his discourse where he had left it, finished it to the last word, saluted me profoundly and marched off his contingent. He probably would not have minded it at all had I refused to supply the seats, but after all his trouble in getting it by heart he would have resented

* The estate offices.

† Anointing with mustard oil is the usual preliminary to a bath in Bengal.

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bitterly being robbed of any part of his speech. So though it kept more important business waiting, I had to hear him out.

18.

Kaligram,
1891.

Oh, how I love this great, old Earth of ours, lying there so quietly! I feel I want to clasp in my arms the whole immensity of her, with her trees and foliage, rivers and fields, her sounds and her silences, her mornings and evenings.

What heaven is there which can give us the like of the earthly riches she has bestowed on us? Other things heaven may have, for aught I know, but where shall it get the intimate kinship of this tenderly weak, appealingly tremulous, immature humanity to offer us?

This dusty old Mother of ours,—our very own Earth,—in her golden fields, on the banks of her bounteous rivers, amidst the joys and sorrows of her loving households, brings to our door the tear-begotten wealth of her poor, mortal children. We, with our sad destiny, cannot even keep and save her loved ones, whom cruel, unknown forces snatch away off her very breast; and still the poor old thing goes on doing the very best she can for them. I do love her so!

A vast melancholy overshadows her countenance, as though she is weighed down by the thought: "Daughter of the gods am I, yet their power has been denied me. I love, but cannot keep; I begin, but cannot complete; I give birth, but cannot save from death."

For that I cannot forgive heaven; and so I doubly love the home of my humble old Mother Earth, just because she is so weak, so helpless, so distracted with loving anxieties.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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CHAPTER V.

NEXT morning Haralal walked straight to Brahmananda's house. When he got there, without stopping he went and peeped into the kitchen. Rohini was there busy in cooking. She pretended not to see him even when he stepped up and stood near her. "Look at me, Rohini, the pot won't crack," said Haralal.

Rohini looked up with a smile.

"Have you got it?" he asked.

She made no answer, but went and brought him what he wanted. Haralal knew at a glance that it was his father's will. A sinister smile was on his face. "How did you get it?" he asked.

Rohini began her story. She invented one; and she took the will from his hand to show how it lay between two boxes, which stood upon the chest of drawers. When she had finished speaking she left him abruptly. Haralal, not seeing the will in her hand when she returned, asked, "Where is the will?"

"I have kept it," said Rohini.

"I want to be going now. I must have it," said Haralal.

"Why, I think there is no haste."

"I cannot afford to wait. I must be off."

"Well, if you must, I will not detain you," said Rohini.

"The will? Let me have the will. Don't keep me waiting for it."

"You may leave it with me," said Rohini.

"Nonsense, I must have it."

"Whether it is with you or me, it is all the same."

"How? Why did you steal it if you will not give it to me?"

"When you have married a widow I will give it to your wife."

Haralal pretended not to see what she was driving at, and only said, "Don't

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detain me any longer. You want money, I can see. Let me know what sum will satisfy you."

"I don't want money; you know what I want," she said quietly, and evidently fighting against shyness.

"I am sorry I cannot comply with your wish," said Haralal. "If *I* have forged, I have done it for my own good. You stole; can you say why *you* did it?"

Rohini was astounded.

"Whatever I am" continued Haralal, "still I am Krishnakanta Roy's son. I cannot take to wife one who stole."

His words cut her like a whip. She rose to her feet abruptly; and pushing back her veil, and flinging an angry and scornful look at him, said, "Who told me to steal? Who put the temptation before me? Who was so silky and smooth in order to deceive a poor woman by taking advantage of her simplicity? Can there be anything more wicked and dishonourable than this? And you plume yourself on being the son of Krishnakanta Roy! Shame on you. Had you been a woman I wouldn't have spared the broom. But a wretch as you are, I allow you to depart in peace."

Haralal was cowed by her sudden and very bold attack. A malicious smile was on his face, and he withdrew without uttering a word.

CHAPTER VI.

Brahmananda had no servants in his house because he was a poor man. Whether to have servants is a blessing or no blessing we do not know; but of this we are sure that in a house where there are no servants there are no such things as lying and backbiting and quarrel. There is very often a scene in a family where there are a number of female servants. They can never agree, and whenever they can get an opportunity they fail not to break the peace of the house by quarrelling, and accusing and abusing one another.

Brahmananda had no servants, and therefore there was peace in his house. As for female members he had none except his niece, Rohini. She kept the house scrupulously clean. She cooked food, drew water, scoured the plates and performed every other household work quietly and without a murmur. Their drinking water she fetched in a pot every day from a particular tank, called the Baruni tank, which was at a little distance from their house. This was the best and largest tank in their village. The water of it was good enough for drinking purposes, and it was so clear that one could see to the bottom.

On the day following the one on which she had an altercation with Haralal she was going to the tank to fetch water as usual, and she looked so sad and disappointed. It was the time of spring, and nature wore a smiling look. Everywhere the trees were in blossom, and the air was laden with a sweet perfume. There were the koels * whose loud clear calls were heard from time to time. On other days their notes made no impression on her mind, but on this day when she heard them a strange feeling came over her. She thought as if she had lost something; as if something was wanting; as if her life was a blank. She thought of her late husband, and of her lonely state of a widow of her age, and of widow-marriage, which she had heard was not forbidden by the shastras. "Why should I not," she said to herself, "enjoy my spring of life? What great sin have I committed that I should be doomed thus to suffer? There is Gobindalal's wife. How happy she is. She has got such a nice young husband. And here am I, a hapless woman, destined to toil and go without a single comfort in life."

As she was thus musing a thrilling sonorous coo-oo burst forth from among the trees near by, which made her look around with a start. "Hold your tongue, you rascally knave; you awaken painful feelings in me," she said. These words were addressed to the poor bird, which of course meant no offence.

In a little time Rohini reached the tank; but she felt so miserable that she sat down to weep.

CHAPTER VII.

The Baruni tank with its double border, one of grass, whose growth was regularly kept in check by the mowers, and the other next, of a garden on its embankment, looked, as it lay, like a mirror with the trees beautifully reflected on its clear waters. The tank, and the garden enclosed with a wall belonged to Krishnakanta Roy. Rohini was weeping, sitting on one of the landing stairs. The sun was near its setting. From among the trees on the embankment somebody was watching her.

* In Sanskrit poetry the notes of the koel in spring are held to excite feelings of love. *Tr.*

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It was Gobindalal. He wondered why she was weeping. His conjecture, however, was that she might have quarrelled with somebody. How was he to know what actually the cause of her sorrow was? However, he felt pity for her. He thought he would go and inquire.

The sun was down. The cattle were being driven home from the field, the lowing herd moving on at a quick pace, kicking up the dust with their feet. By and by the shades of evening closed in. The waters of the tank looked black, and the birds took shelter among the trees. Then the moon rose, shedding its silvery beams upon the earth. But Rohini—she was still there and weeping, her head leaning on her right hand. "Why, I think I will ask why she is weeping," said Gobindalal to himself. He rose to go to her.

"Rohini," said he, going down very quietly to her, "why are you weeping? What is the matter with you?"

Rohini started and looked up. Knowing at a glance who the speaker was, she quickly rose to her feet and stood, holding her head down, and without saying a word.

"What's your trouble, Rohini?" he continued. "Let me know it. I may be of service to you,"

She was still silent.

Gobindalal was somewhat grave and reserved. He was not given to flirting, nor was he ever known to talk lightly to any woman. Among the young people of the village he was more respected and held in greater esteem than his cousins. Besides he was a very handsome young man. Rohini respected him. This day, however, when he spoke to her she loved him she knew not why, and thought she could die for him.

"Well," said Gobindalal again after a pause, "if it is anything you cannot say yourself, let me know it through my wife or any other woman belonging to our house. I give you the assurance that if in anything you require my help you shall have it."

Rohini spoke now and said, "I will tell you, but not to-day. I will tell you all, and it is my earnest request that you will be pleased to listen to me."

Gobindalal readily complied, and left her.

Rohini filled her pot, and went home with a lighter heart.

CHAPTER VIII.

On getting home Rohini engaged herself in preparing the evening meal. This day she managed to get it ready earlier than usual. Brahmananda had his meal, but Rohini touched no food, for she had no inclination for it. She shut herself up in her room, not to go to bed but to consider what should be done regarding the will.

We have two counsellors, one, our conscience, which always tells us to do what is right, and the other, the devil in us, that delights in leading us astray.

Rohini's conscience said, "It was very wicked of you to steal the will."

"How?" said she or rather the devil in her. "I haven't given it to Haralal."

"You must return it to Krishnakanta," said her conscience.

"Bah!" said she, "when he demands how I got the will or how came the false will in his drawer, what shall I say? Would you have me be handed over to the police?"

"Then why don't you," said her conscience, "go to Gobindalal and own everything to him? He is a kind man. If you fall on your knees before him and ask his protection he will not refuse it you."

"But Gobindalal," said she, "will have to tell all to Krishnakanta. And if Krishnakanta hand me over to the police, how can Gobindalal protect me? I think it is better to keep quiet now. When the old man is dead I will give the will to Gobindalal. And I will throw myself at his feet and ask his pardon."

"Of what avail would it then be?" said her conscience. "The will that will be found in Krishnakanta's house will of course be taken as genuine. If Gobindalal produce his uncle's will, it won't stand and he will be accused of forgery."

"Well, I know better what to do," she said. "I will keep quiet about it; and that is, I think, the best and safest course to adopt under the circumstances."

So she set light by the dictates of her conscience, and resolved in her mind to keep quiet about the will. Then her thoughts glided spontaneously to Gobindalal. How very gentle and obliging and handsome he was! How she loved and admired him! What would she not give to win his love? Her imagination painted him as beautiful as a rainbow. She thought of him and wept and thought and wept

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again. Thus she passed the night, and she had not so much as a wink of sleep.

CHAPTER IX.

Days passed, and Rohini had conceived a great passion for Gobindalal. She had been seeing him from a girl, but she had never experienced feelings such as she experienced now. What had wrought this change? Not the notes of the koels, nor the delightful time of spring when everything in nature is fresh and fragrant, unless they were as helps to bringing it about. The kind words he spoke to her that evening had impressed her deeply. They were as balm to her afflicted heart. She thought of the trick played upon her by Haralal. A thousand times she wished she had not stolen the will. By contrast Gobindalal seemed an angel.

If Rohini could have foreseen what was at the end of the path she was going to pursue, she would certainly have recoiled in horror. Could Gobindalal love her? What would she do if he could not! If she was to live to drudge and toil, why should she not die? What hope or comfort had she? And drowning she had heard was the best and easiest of all means of suicide.

She was, however, keenly sensible of the wrong she had done to Gobindalal by stealing the will. So she resolved she would go and get the forged will and put Krishnakanta's will again where it was in the drawer.

At midnight she set off to Krishnakanta's house to replace the will. There was no getting in at the back-door which was always shut early, and she was to pass through the gateway where, she knew, the porters usually sat up till very late at night. On this night they were singing songs. As she entered they stopped her and demanded who she was. On her saying that she was the companion of her master's daughter they allowed her to pass. As the house was well-guarded the door of Krishnakanta's bed-room was kept open at night. Rohini knew it. Before entering she stopped to listen. Krishnakanta was lying on his back and snoring. He was apparently fast asleep. She went in, taking good care not to make any noise. A candle was burning, which she extinguished at once on entering. Next she procured the key as before, and opened the drawer in which she had left the forged will. But somehow, as she turned the key in the lock, in spite of her using great caution there was a little creaking sound, which roused Krishnakanta.

He wondered what the noise was about, and kept stock-still with his ears pricked up to listen.

When the snoring had ceased Rohini knew that Krishnakanta had awaked. She stood perfectly still.

"Who is there?" cried Krishnakanta.

There was no answer. Rohini was not what she used to be when there was nothing to disturb her peace of mind. She was much pulled down; and she seemed now not a little frightened, for her breathing was quick and audible.

Krishnakanta called for his servant, Hari. He called more than once, but in vain. His match box he had to his hand. With the aid of a match he lighted the candle, and discovered a woman standing near the chest of drawers.

Rohini would have been able to escape when she perceived that Krishnakanta had awaked, but she did not for Gobindalal's sake. She thought that the will must be replaced, and did not care for her safety.

"Who are you?" demanded Krishnakanta.

Rohini drew near to him and said, "I am Rohini."

"Rohini!" he cried. "What have you been doing here in the dark, and at such a late hour of the night?"

"I was trying to steal your will," she said.

"I am now in no mood for your jests. Come, tell me what you were about here. I do not believe you got in here to steal my will, but the circumstances I have caught you under are very suspicious."

"In your presence I will do what I came here for," said Rohini. "Afterwards you may deal by me as you think proper." With this she stepped up, opened the drawer and replaced the will, having taken out the forged one, which she was soon after hastily tearing to pieces.

"Oh, stop, stop, what is it you are tearing?" cried the old man in great alarm. "Let me see it. Oh, stop, do."

But before he could see what it was, Rohini had consigned the torn pieces of the will to the flame of the candle and turned them into ashes in no time.

"What have you burnt?" cried Krishnakanta, looking up to her in a great passion.

"A will, a forged will," said Rohini.

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"Will! What will? Where is my will? where is it? Tell me, quick," cried the old man in the greatest of excitement.

"Your will is in the drawer," said Rohini coolly. "You can see if you like." She said this with such careless indifference that Krishnakanta was astonished.

He, however, took out his spectacles, adjusted them to his nose, and having satisfied himself that his will was all safe where he had kept it, turned to her and said, "Then what was it you destroyed?"

"A forged will," said Rohini.

"Forged will? Of whose making was it? Where did you get it?

"I found it in the drawer," said Rohini. "I do not know by whom it was prepared."

"You do not know? How came you to know it was in the drawer?"

"That I will not tell you," said Rohini.

Krishnakanta reflected a while. "Rohini," he said at length, "you are but a girl; you are greatly mistaken if you think that I cannot find out what the fact is. The forged will was of Haralal's preparing. You were bribed to steal for him my will and put the forged one in its place. But you couldn't do it, being found out, and so you destroyed the false will. Come, is it not true?"

"No, it is not," said Rohini.

"Then what is true?" said Krishnakanta, surveying her from head to foot.

"Please don't ask me. I have been found in your room under suspicious circumstances, and you may deal with me as you like."

"Well," said he, "that you came here with a bad intention there is no doubt, and I must punish you as you deserve. I will not hand you over to the police, but I will have you turned out of the village to-morrow. And I will see you in disgrace by having your head shaven in the presence of all my men and the neighbours. For to-night you shall remain in confinement."

Rohini was locked up in a room for the night.

CHAPTER X.

The grey dawn of morning was breaking over the world. A gentle breeze was blowing, and it the cuckoos were not yet heard there were other birds that had already begun their songs. At this delightful time of morning Gobindalal went and stood at the open window of his bedroom. Here he was quickly joined by a very pretty looking girl.

"What makes you come here?" said Gobindalal.

"And you—what are you here for?" said the girl.

The reader need not be told that the girl is Gobindalal's wife.

"I am here to enjoy the morning breeze a while," said her husband.

"And why should I not enjoy it too? Why should you have this pleasure all to yourself, you selfish man?"

Gobindalal's wife's name was Bhramar. The term Bhramar means black bee. Her husband jokingly used to remark that she was given that name on account of the dark look of her skin. But although her complexion was dark, she was well-formed, and the cast of her face was beautiful. She was a very good and affectionate wife and her husband loved her dearly.

"My dear, you always look charming in your nose-ring," said her husband. "I like this sort of trinket best because you look so lovely in it."

"You naughty man," said she, giving him a gentle pull by the nose, "I know you do not mean what you say."

"Oh, I do, my love," said he, as he held up her face in both hands and imprinted a kiss on her lips.

Presently an uproar was heard. "What's this noise about?" said Gobindalal.

"It is the servants, the ever noisy and and quarrelsome set," said Bhramar.

The servants were up very early as usual; and a little while ago the *shup-shup* of the brooms, and the splashing of water and the tinkling of the plates showed that they were busy in sweeping and cleaning and washing and scouring. But suddenly these noises ceased, and a great clamour followed.

"I will go and see what is the matter," said Bhramar. And she left her husband and ran downstairs.

The women-servants were a very troublesome set in the house, and could hardly be kept under control even by Bhramar's mother-in-law who was the mistress of the house.

"What's all this noise about? What's the matter," cried Bhramar as soon as she appeared before them. They paid no heed to her words. As soon as they saw her they burst into loud exclamations of horror and astonishment. "I am sure I have never

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heard such a thing in my life," said one. Another cried, "How daring! I wish I could teach her a good lesson with my broom!" A third wished she could cut off her nose and ears. A fourth said she ought to hang for it. A fifth, however, observed that she should say nothing, considering that she knew nothing for certain. No sooner did the last speaker utter these words than the rest turned sharply upon her and taunted her, saying that she was too good and honest a woman to make herself a busybody in things that did not concern her. They made other cutting remarks, and were so clamorous in condemning her as a hypocrite that at last Bhramar cried, "Hold your tongues, you noisy rabble. I wish I could have you taught a good lesson for creating this disturbance in the house. Why don't you hang yourselves and let us be rid of you?"

At these words they set up a great howl, complaining that it was very hard that because they were servants they must put up with hard words and insult for nothing. They said they were sure they did not know what their fault was except that they had no bread at home; and that they would certainly not submit to be insulted in order to earn it. One of them, an elderly woman, burst into loud sobs, saying that had she not lost a son at her lying-in some thirty years ago, she would never have to work for her bread, for he would have been the stay and support of her old age. Bhramar, who was a jovial young lady, could not restrain her laughter at her words. "You fools," she cried, "why don't you say what has happened? Who is the person you would have taught a good lesson?"

When she had said that, there was a clamour again. They expressed their wonder at her not having heard the startling news that a robbery had been committed in the house, and gave her a highly coloured account of what they had heard. What Bhramar, however, could judge to be the fact was that Rohini had stolen into Krishnakanta's bedroom for some hidden purpose, been found out and kept in detention. She returned to her husband and told him what was the matter.

"What do you think of her, dear?" said Gobindalal. "Do you believe Rohini went into his room to steal?"

"I don't believe it," said Bhramar.

"Why? What's your reason for your not wishing to believe it?"

"What do *you* think of her?"

"I would like to hear from you first," said Gobindalal.

"Well, because I never heard anything against her, and I have always held a good opinion of her ever since I came to know her."

"You don't mean that," said Gobindalal with a smile. "Shall I say why you wish to take her side?"

"Why?" asked Bhramar.

"Because she likes you very much, and can never bear to hear any remark made about your complexion."

"You naughty man, you are always for finding fault with my complexion. But I am as God made me, and I don't care what you or other people think of the look of my skin."

"I will go and see what I can do," said Gobindalal.

"Oh, poor girl! You must plead for her. You must try and see her set free."

"You have such a good and feeling heart, my dear," said Gobindalal, "and I am so happy with you." With this he kissed her and left the room.

(*To be continued.*)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

AN URGENT DEMAND FOR PREPAREDNESS IN INDIA

THOSE who have studied the Indian problem from the standpoint of world politics can realize that the Indian situation is not so safe as the common people think.

The greatest problem for the Indian people in the coming decade is how far they are ready to preserve their integrity as a part of the British Empire. The people of India should not sleep in the belief that

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Japan is going to preserve peace in India in case of emergency during any future war. Yes, during this war and as long as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance lasts in its present form Japan will do it. Political scientists will agree that in the past Japan has been most profited by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; she has been able to eliminate Russia and Germany from China with the British support. But if Japan find that her national interest will be better served by not continuing the existing alliance with Great Britain after its expiry, then nobody can blame Japan; because the first duty of a state is to preserve its own interests. Every thoughtful observer who has any opportunity of studying Japan in recent years will testify with me that the Japanese people to-day regard Great Britain as their first rival in Asia. Hundreds of articles have been published in Japan during the present war by responsible persons expressing the opinion that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should not be continued after its expiry and some of them have gone so far as to demand its abrogation during this war. Many Japanese think that the Russo-Japanese Alliance is more suited to their interest; they are inclined to think that with Russia's support they will also be able to eliminate Great Britain's influence in China and in the Pacific!

It is beyond doubt that during this war Russia will stand by Great Britain. But where is the guarantee that after this European war Russia will remain so friendly to Great Britain? Russia entered into this war to acquire some territory in the Balkans and also expected that she might get Constantinople through the British aid. So far as we can see the latter proposition is out of the question, If Constantinople be taken Great Britain will be extremely foolish if she allows Russia to occupy it, because what guarantee is there that Russia will not use it against Suez, if she becomes opposed to Great Britain as she was in the past? Russia cannot get any warm water port in the China Sea unless she can destroy Japan, and that is beyond any possibility for some decades to come. Russia must have a warm water port as that is very vital for her future. So far as it is known to us according to the published texts of the secret agreement between Russia and Japan (vide *Peking-Gazette*), Japan is bound to help Russia in her attempt to get an outlet in the Persian Gulf, and in case Russia attacks India Japan is bound to help Russia. Of course all this is possible when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Anglo-Russian Entente cease to exit. (Here again we have the example of Roumania and Italy during the war.)

Now Germany regards Great Britain as her worst enemy, and whatever may be the results of this war she will not be willing to shake hands with Great Britain as a friend. And the other day we heard from Professor Munsterberg of Harvard that after this war is over there will be a German, Russian and Japanese Alliance. Let us hope that this will never come about; but it is absolutely desirable for the people of India to prepare for the worst *viz.*, a combination of Japan, Rnssia and Germany with her adjuncts Austria and Turkey on the one hand and the British Empire with her allies Italy and France and probably U. S. A. on the other. In this case would India be safe? Then, are the Indian people ready to defend their country by warding off the marches of such enemy? Then Great Britain's hands will be tied in Europe, and Australian and Canadian aid will be neutralized for obvious reasons, and we all know that the Turco-German combination had a special programme against Egypt.

If ever that calamity comes, what will be the position of India? Loyal India will not only have to defend herself but will have to do her share to defend Egypt, Burma, Singapore, Hongkong and other British possessions in Africa and Asia because the population of the Indian Empire is greater than all other parts of the British Empire. Are the Indian people prepared for it? We are sure that the loyal and brave people of India will not shrink to give their lives to defend their country and other parts of the British Empire as they have been boldly doing during the war. But for this contingency are 300,000 Indian soldiers and reserves enough? India has a population of 315 millions and in case of absolute necessity an army of five millions of men of all arms can be raised but where are the requisite number of Indian officers and arms and ammunition for these men? Will these men show the qualities of trained soldiers in the day of great trial? That Great Britain will not in the aforesaid contingency, be able to

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help India much with much aid, is beyond doubt. Then the immediate need for Great Britain, for her sake and for the sake of the preservation of the British Empire, is to take the people of India into equal confidence and have a thorough-going programme of Preparedness for them.

The Programme :—

1. Repeal of the Arms Act.

2. Training of worthy Indians as officers—not as mere Jamadars, Subadars and Subadar Majors, the majority of whom do not possess the fundamentals of common school education. (Military engineers, artillery, infantry and cavalary officers, efficient strategists, capable medical officers, etc.).

3. India should have her own Navy and this should be manned and officered by the Indians as is done in the case of the Australian navy—a glorious part of the British Navy.

4. India must have factories where big guns can be forged and the Indian people must learn this business.

5. India must have many up-to-date explosive and ammunition factories with Indian chemists and Indian directors.

6. India must have an efficient Aeroplane Corps manned by Indians.

7. It has been proved beyond all doubt during the Russo-Japanese War and the present European War, that the wars of the Twentieth Century are scientific wars. The less educated are the soldiers, the less efficient are the armies; then measures must be immediately adopted to introduce a better system of education for the people of India.

Imperial interests demand that the Indian leaders and the British Indian Government should wake up to the necessity of a thorough-going preparedness for the future, so that the people of India may not have to repent and say, "Ah! it is too late." If ever it be too late to carry out this programme by taking the Indian people into equal confidence, as it has been done in Canada, Australia and South Africa, then the fate of the Indian people may be as disastrous as of the changing of the yoke, and the fate of the glorious British Empire may be its disintegration. May Heaven forbid it and may we hope that the people and rulers of India will pay heed to this timely warning and do their best to inaugurate an adequate programme of preparedness for the safety of India and the British Empire.

A Japanese Friend of India.

TWO POEMS

By J. E. Andrews.

I.

A LETTER.

Dear Jim,—the little ones have prayed,
And now are tucked in bed,
I'm sitting here alone to-night
Thinking of all you said,

That last sad day at Waterloo,
Before the train went off.—
You told me 'not to mind, but look
After our Jimmie's cough,

And see that Susan goes to school,
And,'—you'ld be 'home once more
By Christmas come.' Now Christmas' gone,
And New Year's at the door.

The winds are moaning down the street,
And snow is falling fast,
And, Jim,—how cold and numbed you'll be,
While these dark hours go past.

The children ask for you, each day,—
"Mum, when will Daddy come?"
I answer "Father's coming, pets,
Daddy will soon be home."

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But all the while my heart beats sore,
And tears stand in my eyes.—
Though I say what you told me, Jim,
Yet hidden fears will rise.

I dreamt of you the other night.—
You stood there, just outside;
The children all went wild with joy,
I ran to you and cried,—

I ran, and laughed, and cried, at once,
So real did it seem!
But soon I woke, and found it nought
But a poor, empty dream.

Yet I'll be brave, Jim, and each hour
Remember what you say,
Bearing it wrapped up in my heart,
And this is what I'll pray:—

O God, keep safe my dearest Jim,
And bring him home again:
Keep safe our little children, too,
For Jesus sake. Amen.

II

AN EPIGRAM.

Ye who desire to walk aright,
Bend all your steps towards the light:
For, walking ever in this track,
Shadows will fall behind your back.

[These poems were recently sent to Mr. C. F. Andrews by his father, who is now in his eighty-third year. They have been slightly revised by his son. Ed. *M. R.*]

BIRTHDAY MEDITATION OF A POSITIVIST

I FIND myself now, not indeed unawares, at the mid way of the sixth decade of my life time: I look back on the years going and forward to those coming, mindful that in normal course the past will be lengthening and the likely future will surely shorten, bringing nearer the last duty, of dying: and at this stage I do earnestly affirm my belief that—

To have lived is well: still to live is well: to die too shall be well.

Of these three, taking the last first. The coming of death for myself I face with calm and with the equal mind. Ushered into being by Humanity, I accept freely this law in the general Fate that governs Her and Her children. To have emerged—to be—and so, to return. By the mortal path whereby all have gone and go, by that and with them I too would wish to go.

Next, of life thus far, I do with confidence and with gratefulness declare:—I have been, and I am, truly glad and well content to be alive, to be having the privilege and great adventure of living to be filling my place in the Great Scheme and having my part of opportunity and achievement. I have loved the Earth and the Sea and the Sky, the Day and the Night, and the changing seasons of the Years. I have loved, and been loved by, my fellow men and women and children. Throughout childhood and youth and maturity I have had the personal joy of living and loving. I rejoice in having had family, wife, children, friends and in sharing the various experiences of human kind. I trust that somewhat of my being and doing may be entering usefully into the common and abiding human store.

And thirdly, for the coming years of older life:—Love, Courage, Hope.

To have lived is well:
Still to live is well:
To die too shall be well.

W.F.W.

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THE DRAMA OF THE CLOUDS

By Miss Bidyut Datta.

[At sunset the evening clouds are seen to assume different shapes and colours.

These changing and moving forms appear sometimes as human figures acting in a drama.

The details of their play, as seen one evening at Shanti-Niketan, is given here.]

A GOLD flush is seen, suffusing all the western sky, in the midst of which two solitary clouds, in the form of two women, appear reclining side by side with their heads covered by their *Saris*.

The first, moving and looking round, exclaims, in great surprise,—'We two seem to be left alone. Where have all the others gone ?'

The second : 'You have been dreaming ! Some friends passing us by took them along. But look !' And she turns and points to the vast sea of gold.

The first : 'This is our country of gold ! Who dare bring a stain here ? Nowhere can you detect even a speck of darkness.'

The second : 'Do not be so certain about that. I am placed a little higher, and can see farther away than you. To me, it seems as though there were already some sign of warfare in that far-away golden region of ours.'

The first : 'Warfare ! what do you mean ?'

The second : 'Well . . . perhaps not warfare ! It might be a kind of war, or it might be the darkness of night.

'Look ! . . . Towards the north. East ! . . . . . Do you see those huge black masses with silvery outline ? That was once a kingdom of perfect happiness ; but there has been fighting and bloodshed, and now you see those dark masses. Yet, when you get a glimpse of the silvery border, you are at once led to think of what it was once, also what it might be some day again.'

The first : 'Yes it looks hopeful—does it not ?'

The second : 'Change is the law of nature ? They say. It is our law also. There is an ebb and flow in every thing—an uprising and a downfall—the fall succeeding the rise. It has always been so.

One of the clouds suddenly finds her companion's head uncovered. She looks startled and says—'Do you know, you have no *Sari* on your head !'

The other turns bashfully and says, 'This is the doing of breeze. He is ever playing hide and seek with us, ever teasing us in this manner. . . . Where are you going ? Do, please stay with us a moment longer !'

The other cloud, without any explanation, leaves her companion and swiftly glides away.

Suddenly the solitary cloud, left behind, feels the edge of her *sari* pulled by somebody from behind.

She promptly turns round, and to her utter amazement finds a maiden with a purple garment beckoning her to come aside. She obeys. The two move toward each other.

. . . . . .

The cloud : 'What is it you want ? I have never seen you before. You are delaying me !'

The maiden : 'Why do you look so annoyed ? You say you do not know me.

'Well . . . what is acquaintance ? In our country we never have any formal introductions. We are friends as soon as we meet each other. We scarcely have a companion staying with us over five minutes at a time. Our life is ever-changing—our friendship is ever-changing—boundless.

'In that infinite ocean of our friendship thousands are admitted every hour.'

The cloud : 'But surely—when you have new friends, the old ones pass away—do they not ?'

The maiden : 'Yes, so it seems. But that matters not. We care not for our ever-changing forms and shapes—we pass above and beyond that stage—and then only are we capable of admitting thousands every hour into our friendship without discarding any.

'A balance is kept in the eternal world—but not so in the realm of the spirit. All

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calculation ceases here. We go on growing and expanding.'

The cloud : 'Is that a scientific conclusion ?'

The maiden : 'What do we care for Science ? Science is no business of ours. We only feel and come to conclusions through what we feel... We do not reason. We have no time for that.'

Saying this, the maiden swiftly moves away.

The cloud is alarmed and cries—'Why are you running so fast ? You have dropped your bracelets and ear-rings on to the ground.

'Do wait a second please.'

The maiden : 'Don't you see we are very late ! Our sea of gold has changed into a mere river now.

'The boatman standing there is calling out to the pilgrims.'

The cloud : 'But do you at all know the country you are going to ? Have you relatives and friends there ? Have you any special business that you hurry like this ? Are you well-acquainted with the roads of the country—its rivers—its people—its language ?

'They may be utter strangers to you after all.'

The maiden : 'No—not in the least ! There is no such word as 'strangers' in our dictionary. I have never been to the country before. I have no relatives anywhere. Of course, I do not know its roads—its people. But what does that matter ? The language of the clouds is the same everywhere—the song of the clouds is one sweet melody sung everywhere. The difference is only in the outer form.

'But we have the sense to look to the spirit—and there, in the spirit, no difference exists.

'We are all one,—members of the vast dome of heaven. Our religion is Oneness. It is our pleasure to meet new events, new circumstances, to meet new lands,—new peoples. We are students—unceasingly students in the universe of God. We love change. It is our nature to change old habits and put on new ones.

'There is always something to learn from every new event we come across. We are never complete in ourselves. The influences around us really help to complete us.

'I know not where I lack, till I see somebody possessing in abundance what I have not.

'Our spirit is the learner's spirit—ever new, ever fresh.

'Therefore we no sooner meet someone (though it be for the first time, in a new unknown land) than at once there is an unconscious recognition of that something common in each one of us.'

. . . . .

By this time the boat on the river has lengthened out. The boatman is beckoning to the people round saying :—'Travellers and pilgrims, make haste : and come into my boat. I will take you across to the other shore. The curtain of night is soon going to fall upon this scene of our sunset. My boat is for all,—the poor and the rich alike. Each one pays me with a smile,—and that is all I ask.'

A great commotion rises from the crowd. Men, women, and children, with their bundles of clothes and food, are being lifted into the boat.

Attached to this big boat, there is a small one,—and, in the bigger boat, herds of cattle, especially sheep, are being lifted. The boat now leaves the river bank, and after a few minutes no one is anywhere to be seen.

. . . . .

The river changes its form into that of a canal. The colour turns into a dull reddish brown.

A young girl weary with the day's toil and long journey, is seen wending her way through the dull greyish clouds.

She comes and stops at the edge of the canal, waiting for the return of the boat.

She stands waiting.—Still there is no sign of the boat.

Her hopes of going to the land beyond the canal are sinking fast. Her arms hang listlessly by her side, her back is bent through weariness—her eyes are gazing into nothingness.

Suddenly she gathers up courage,—stands erect, and folds her hands together in the attitude of prayer.

Her eyelids close ; her head is bent forward. Lower and lower it bends—slowly her whole body drops to the ground—her whole frame makes obeisance.

She remains motionless—it seems as though she possesses no other life but that of prayer.

A dark cloud, passing by, stops on the

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way,—waits a minute,—then lightly touches her on the shoulder.

Her frame quivers at the magic touch. She stands up, her face blushing, her form trembling.

'I have sought you for ages, and at last I have you'—she heard a voice, as though in a dream.

The girl : 'But you do not know me; I do not remember ever seeing you.'

The cloud : 'Your heart knew me. Else, why did you tremble at my touch. We are sensitive clouds. Our essence is love. We do not need to see, or talk to each other, before we love. We form the ideal of love in our hearts, then we roam everywhere unconsciously in search of the object of our love. As soon as we meet our twin-soul, we recognise it and greet it.'

The girl : 'But you are so dark, I can not see you clearly.'

The cloud : 'No, you cannot—because the time for physical vision is passing away. A few moments ago, I saw your face ivory-white, now it is dull red—a few minutes later, perhaps it will turn perfectly dark as mine.'

The girl : 'Yes, but why is that ? I was sitting by this canal a few minutes ago. At each little wave, numbers of pearl shells were hurled at my feet. And now there remains, of all that vast golden sea, only a narrow strip of gold.

'In the period called 'Sunset' everyone seemed so busy running to and fro. I myself have met so many, talked to so many, have seen so many countries, each so unlike the other. There was such a wonderful play of colours in the garments of our friends—the fellow-clouds—and now everything seems to be taking up one shape, one form, and one colour.

'Why is there so much excitement in that short period ? The change is not so rapid now. There is not so much noise, or bustling. Why is that ?"

The cloud : 'Change is the manifestation of life. We change continually, because now we are so full of life. Our senses are so keen,—our passions are so intense. It is the period of 'Desire.'

'We are, as it were, restless, searching after the object of our desires.

'This is followed by Dusk—the transition period between day and night—the time of union—the hour when all activities are hushed and nature stands still in suspense.

'For every action, there is a reaction. We are excited before we meet the object of our desires. We are calmed as soon as we are in possession of it.

'That was the time of our unfulfilled dreams—this is the stage of full satisfaction, of calm,—and therefore of renunciation.

'We realize the Ideal first; and then again we idealize the Real. Thus is our love perfected.'

The girl : 'But I am afraid I am losing sight of you. It is getting dark. Those moving masses have almost lost their shapes and are forming one solid mass.

'This gathering gloom blinds my vision.'

The cloud : 'That matters not. Seeing is only a preliminary step. Can you not feel the closeness of my presence ? This is the time for feeling, idealizing, and dreaming.

'Fear not—tremble not—I shall hold your palpitating form till we lose all shape and all form.'

The girl : 'I do not know why I tremble so. I am not fully satisfied. I want to get hold of something that I can touch and feel. Draw me closer—closer—still closer.

'Let this gross covering be dropped here, for I want to be still closer.

'Enfold, enfold me in your encircling darkness, which shall be to me as radiant as daylight itself. Envelop me wholly and absolutely in yourself. Our true worship is to lose ourself—to sacrifice our lesser selves on the altar of the all-embracing love.'

The cloud : 'Enter—enter into my inmost being.

'The dark masses have now at last reached us—in another moment the veil of night will be completely thrown over us.

'The evening worship bells are chiming in the temple. It is the hour of worship,—the hour of union.

'Nature is one with man,—man is one with nature,—God is one with man and nature alike,—and the worship is complete.

'It is the hour of Oneness.

'It is the time for losing 'self' in the all-pervading spirit of love.

'Darkness, darkness,—intense darkness is covering us. We are one with the darkness—there reigns an unbroken calm in this terrible darkness,—a solemn beauty in this mysterious darkness. Who is a lover of darkness ? Life is not complete without its share of darkness.

'Darkness uplifts and ennobles the spirit.

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The period of the dark transfigures the life of man.

'Let us hide our selves and our cares in the universal bosom of Night.'

SCHOOLS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN INDIA

THE modern age is an age of inter-dependence. No nation can stand alone in the world. The interests of every nation are bound up with those of all others. It would thus have been a great economy in time and human energy if mankind were blessed with a world language. But so long as that one language for all the races of men is not to come, prudence dictates that the nations should try to master each other's language. And probably it may be safely predicted that, other circumstances remaining the same, that nation is bound to lead the world and pioneer its progress, whose members have command over the greatest number of world's languages.

Apart from theory also, purely practical considerations would justify the institution of facilities in a country to master the more important languages of the world. In Japan we have schools of foreign languages, Russian, French, German, English, etc. During the last decade we have felt the need of learning the Indian languages also, though progress in this direction is yet unsatisfactory. In any case, if India is to derive any profit by her intercourse with Japan, it is absolutely necessary that her sons should begin to study the Japanese language. The sooner such arrangements are made in India, the better for her own interests.

Indian students who come to Japan had almost invariably acquitted themselves very creditably in their scientific and technical schooling. But all of them have had to suffer from one great drawback. It is well known that the professors in our schools, colleges and institutes lecture only in Japanese language, and the text books used or recommended are mostly in Japanese language, whether original or translations from some foreign standard works. Is it likely that Indian students can get the most they are capable of under these circumstances? Certainly not, it takes a long time to be able to follow the lectures. Hence, on arrival, the Indian students invariably spend about six months (a period which they can devote to the advancement of their special knowledge for which they come here, provided, while attending to their studies in India, they learn an elementary conversational course of the Japanese language during their spare time in a night-school or any other institution of this kind) just to pick up the conversational Japanese language only before they can enter into the Universities or Factories. Besides, mastery in Japanese language is the pre-condition for every university degree. So, many Indian students have had to go back to India without an authoritative diploma. Yet from the reports of instructors and teaching staff one learns that the aptitudes and achievements of the Indian scholars are certainly praiseworthy. If therefore Indian students, before reaching Japanese shores, make it a point to master conversational Japanese at any rate, while at home, much useless effort and waste of time and energy can be avoided while they are in Japan.

Indians as a rule have been found to be good linguists. Even after a few months' residence in Japan, Indian students and traders pick up a fair vocabulary; and their intonation and pronunciation seem marvellously Japanese. This cannot, I am sure, be said of Europeans and Americans who live in Japan or try to master the Japanese language. This shows how easy it would be for Indians to be at home in Japanese educational institutions, if they are provided with a half year's course in Japanese languages (at least conversational) before leaving India.

In recent times Japan has been attracting traders, merchants, industrialists, chemical experts, engineers, bankers, etc., as visitors and tourists from India. Besides, direct commercial transactions have also been opened between the two

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countries. It is needless to say that mutual interests should dictate that Japanese should learn the Indian languages, as well as that Indians should learn the Japanese language. When Indians come to Japan, they generally depend on Japanese guides to act as their interpreters or medium of communication between themselves and the Japanese captains of industry or experts and factory men. But guides and interpreters cannot serve the interests of first class business men. Really responsible men must understand the men and things, factories and workshops, advertisements and business methods, etc., of Japan with their own eyes and ears—with their own mind. It is well known that the entire business literature in our country is in Japanese. In every workshop or factory or firm we have men knowing the foreign languages. But as a rule our people learn as much of foreign languages as enables them to understand books written in those languages; they seldom care to speak them and are invariably unable to speak or express their ideas clearly and satisfactorily in them. Indian visitors are, therefore, likely to be greatly disappointed when they visit our workshop, factory, etc. No doubt many things can be understood only by sight. But if the Indian capitalists are to make the most of their resources with regard to the Japanese trade, they should make it a point of self-interest to have on their staff men knowing the Japanese language which alone can be the key to the ins and outs of the Japanese trade world.

There is a further reason why Indians should have schools of Japanese language in their Provinces. With the growth of communication and facilities of interchange brought about by modern science, there has been created in every people a *desire to know* as much as possible of what other peoples are doing. If the Indians are willing to know about Japan and the Japanese, they can do this only by learning our language. At present the only medium of communication between India and Japan is English. But how much of Japan is to be found in books written in English? With the exception of Marquis Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan*, I know of almost no book in English language. This is certainly an over-statement, but the truth is not far from it. Our statesmen, scholars, experts, scientists, teachers, etc., have not cared much to try their ability in foreign languages. And as for foreign book stores, with the exception of Maruzen Company, probably we have none other. The 'Japan Magazine' is probably the only monthly review conducted in English. I wonder how much of Japanese thought can be tapped by Indians who depend on English language for their sole medium! But if the Indians themselves learn the Japanese language and it is very easy for them to do so, they will not only be in a position to enter the Japanese intellectual world as a Japanese, but they would also be able to swamp our market with publications embodying Indian thought in Japanese language. If Indians care to say anything to Japanese scholars, traders, scientists, teachers and our masses, they must address us in our own language. The world meets nobody half-way; everybody is busy with his own interests and thoughts. If, therefore, Indian literature, science, art and philosophy want to invade the thought-world of Japan, there must be men in India proficient in Japanese language. Indians know quite well that if they had not cared to write in English, the world would not have cared to know of India's thoughts and aspirations.

Those who are responsible for education of Indian scholars in Japan, and Indian traders and capitalists may combine to start schools for the study of Japanese language. There are now dozens of Japan-trained Indian scholars in India. Most of them know at least conversational Japanese, though probably very few of them can read or write Japanese character which is certainly very difficult. Small beginnings may be made with the help of such scholars, some of whom at least should possess self-denying spirit to advance the cause of future India. During their spare time they can teach Japanese language for a few hours in a week. In course of time competent instructors may be trained up or efficient Japanese scholars engaged for the purpose.

I need not here speak of Japanese language as a subject of instruction for students of comparative philology. That can be taken up only by students of higher culture or post-graduate scholars of universities. I address these few lines to the readers of the 'Modern Review' in order to attract the attention of students, business-

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men, and societies for the scientific and industrial education of the Indians. I also draw the attention of the authorities of the newly-established Benares (Hindu) University to the above few lines.

SHUMEI OHKAWA.

KINGS, CROWNS AND THRONES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA, WITH PEN AND INK SKETCHES

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

INDIAN literature is as minute in describing the grades of kings as it is in so many other things, as for instance, in giving the artistic proportions of human bodies. Their crowns, seats and other objects indicative of status and dignity vary from grade to grade. The eligibility of collecting as taxes certain proportions of the produce of the land depends also on the class to which a king belongs. It is the object of this article to present the public with an idea of the classifications of kings as we find them in ancient Sanskrit and Tamil works.

According to the 'Mānasāra', kings are divided into nine classes. They are distinguished from each other first in the strength of their armies thus :—

Designation.	Elephants.	Horses.	Infantry.	Queens.	Consorts.
Srotragrahi (Astragrahi ?)	5	500	50,000	1	700
Prāhāraka ?	6	600	1,00,000	2	700?
Pattabhak	7	800	1½ lakhs	3	1,300
Mandalesa	10	1,000	2 ,,	4	1,500
Pattadhrik	12	1,500	2 ,, (3?)	5	2,000
Pārshnika	15	2,000	4 ,,	6	3,000
Narendra	100	10,000	1 crore	10	½lakh
Adhiraja	10,000 ?	1 crore	10 crores	1,000 (100 ?)	10 lakhs
Sārvabhauma (Chakravartti)	10 crores	100 crores	,,	,,	,,

He, who by the prowess of his arms, has extended his dominions over the whole of the country bounded by the four oceans, is known as the 'Sārvabhauma Chakravarttin.' The prince, who with the three powers (saktis), namely, the 'prabhu-sakti' (the power one possesses in virtue of the good graces of his overlord), the 'utsāha-sakti (the power due to one's own energy) and the 'mantra-sakti' (the power due to good councils), has obtained domination over six provinces, who possesses the six capacities (gunas), namely, those of making 'sandhi' (peace), 'vigraha' (war), 'yāna' (expedition), 'āsana' (to be able to sit quiet taking no hostile measures till the proper time comes), 'samsraya' (seeking shelter) 'dvaidhībhāva (policy or duplicity) and the six items of defence (bala), namely, loyal subjects, a flourishing treasury, an intelligent set of ministers, a strong army, friendly neighbours and impregnable fortifications, who is learned in the 'nīti-sāstra' (laws of polity) and is just and who traces his decent from either the solar or the lunar race is called an 'Adhirāja.' The prince who has conquered three provinces from their weaker rulers and has brought them under his control and who is governing them with justice is known as 'Narendra'; under him are placed the rulers named the 'Pārshnikas,' the 'Pattadhrik' and others. A 'Pārshnika' is one who has jurisdiction over one province which has only one strongly fortified place, with the six kinds of defences (balas). He, who has four 'gunas' (in six) and is governing one-half of a province with a single fort in it is called a 'Pattadhrik.' Under a Pattadhrik are placed the petty princes, such as Mandalesvara. The prince who is governing a sub-division of a province (a 'mandala') is known as the 'Mandalesvara' under him are placed 'Pattabhāks' and others. he is also to supervise the social laws and improve the economic resources of the country (dharmārthasyādhipatih). The officer who is in charge of half a sub-division, that is an assistant or deputy 'mandalesvara' with one fort in it is said to be a 'Pattabhāk.' The person who presides over a number of districts (janapada), with the charge of one fort and who might belong to any one of the four castes is called a 'Prāvāraka', and lastly the person who has the charge of a few districts

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and one fort and is the master of a Nagarī is said to be a Srotragrāhī (or Astra-grāhī ?). This is the classification of kings according to their territorial jurisdiction.

Each of these princes has his characteristic head-gear and other insignia of office. The 'mauli' or 'kirīta' is the head-gear for the Chakravarttin, the Adhirāja and the Narendra; the head-gear of the Pārshnika is the 'sirastra' and that of the Pattadhrik and the Mandalesvara is the 'pattabandha', while that of the Pattabhāk is the 'patta'. The officers Prāhāraka and the Srotragrāhī (or Astra-grāhī) should wear only garlands. Evidently they seem to be ineligible for any royal head-gears.

Again, the Chakravarttin, the Adhirāja (or Mahārāja as he is sometimes called) and the Narendra are the only classes of rulers who are entitled to a 'simhāsana' which is ornamented with an arch (torana), a halo (? surya) and a 'kalpaka'-tree. The 'kalpaka'-tree behind the 'torana' is a great honour to which the Pārshnikas, the Pattadharas and the Pattabhāks have no right, though they may use the 'simhāsana', the 'surya' and the 'torana'. The Prāhāraka is entitled to a 'simhāsana' without the 'torana' and the 'surya', whereas the Srotra-grāhī only to an ordinary seat (kevala āsana).

The political functions of each of these kings is then described. The Chakravartti is to afford protection to his subjects from wicked persons and enemies and to rule them justly and mercifully; for which he is to take one-seventh (?) part of the produce as his dues. If the same protection is afforded by an Adhirāja (or Mahārāja) he may take one-sixth as his dues, while a Narendra one-fifth; but the latter should give liberally for the maintenance of the poor and the destitute and should patronise those that go to him as guests. The Pārshnika takes nearly one-half of the produce as his dues and also when he fines for any offence he collects thrice the sum which the other higher authorities levy but he is charged with the duty of patronising liberally arts and literature along with the usual protection of the poor and the helpless. So much about the kings as found in the 'Mānasāra.'

The 'Sukranīti' has a somewhat different system of classification of kings. He, whose income from just and equitable taxation amounts to from one to three lakhs of 'karshas' (? a kind of coin) is called a 'Sāmanta'. One whose income is up to ten lakhs is a 'Mandalīka'; of twenty lakhs, a 'Rāja'; of fifty lakhs, a 'Mahārāja'; of a crore, a 'Svarāt'; of ten crores, a 'Samrāt'; and of fifty crores, a 'Virāt'. The Emperor who has the government of the seven continents (dvīpas) is known as the 'Sārvabhauma'. The 'Sukranīti' adds a very significant statement which, if kings and their officers would only realise, would bring the world the much longed for millennium at once. It says that since the kings are in receipt of their pay in the shape of taxes, they should really consider themselves servants of their subjects, though Brahmā, in consideration of the necessity of affording protection to their subjects, has placed them over their subjects. Those Sāmantas who are removed from their places (either for their remissness in their duties or by superannuation for which of these reasons, it is not stated) are called 'Hīnasāmantas'.

The Sāmantas are divided into a few subdivisions: a person who is governing a hundred villages, or does the duties of Sāmanta is also called a Sāmanta; perhaps it is an appellation conferred on him ex-officio. He is called, for purposes of distinguishing, the Nri-Sāmanta. He, who has the management of ten villages, is known as a 'Nāyaka'. The 'Svarāt' is said to be the ruler of ten-thousand villages.

The 'Sukranīti' also recognises the classification based upon the strength of the forces possessed by the kings. It observes that in a composite army, the foot soldiers should be four times the horse; the number of oxen, evidently for purposes of transporting supplies &c., should be one-fifth, the camels one-eighth of the number of horses. The number of elephants should be a fourth of that of the camels, the number of chariots one-half of that of the elephants. Taking a concrete instance, the army of a Narendra, which according to the 'Mānasāra' is required to possess 10,000 horses, the other items will be, according to the 'Sukra-Nīti-Sāra' as follows:—

Horses	...	...	10,000
Oxen	...	...	2,000
Camels	...	...	1,250
Elephants	...	...	312
Chariots	...	...	156
Cannons	...	...	312

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In short, the number of foot soldiers must be the largest, that of the horses middling and that of the elephants the smallest. In addition to these, a king whose income is a lakh of karshas should have always by his side the following retinue, namely, a body-guard of hundred picked strong men, three hundred foot-soldiers armed with rifles, eighty horses, ten camels, two elephants, one chariot and two carriages, sixteen oxen, two large pieces of cannon, three ministers and six secretaries.

The kings are enjoined upon spending their income in the following proportion for the various state purposes, namely,

1.	For the maintenance of the army ...	3·0
2.	For charitable endowments ..	0·5
3.	Towards the salaries of the ministers	0·5
4.	Towards the pay of the administrative &c., staff	0·5
5.	For his own personal expenses ...	0·5
6.	For reserve fund	1·0
	Total	6·0

Having seen the classification and the functions of kings according to the ancient authorities, the question naturally arises if these classifications were not merely theoretical or whether they were actually observed in practice. It is usual with some scholars to assert off-hand that the matter contained in our 'nīti' or 'dharma sāstras' are generally always the descriptious of what ought to be than what actually is. Such a pronouncement appears to be baseless when we turn to Epigraphy, the surest source and at once the most reliable, of information in all matters. We know the really great Chola monarchs Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, and Rājendrachola I, who did much to extend the kingdom, did not call themselves Chakravarttins or Tribhuvana-Chakravarttins. The first to bear this proud distinction was Kulottunga I. In his time, his kingdom extended practically over the whole of the Madras Presidency, the Kalinga, the Orissa and at least the northern portion of Ceylon ; his empire was bounded on three sides by the ocean. Similarly, the earlier members of the Hoysala dynasty, not even the powerful Vishnuvardhana, nor even his son Narasimha bear any higher titles than Mahāmandalesvaras ; but Ballala II, the latter's son, calls himself Bhujabala-Chakravarttin or Pratāpa-Chakravarttin. The Pallavas who held sway over very extens tracts of the country were dubbed Mahā dhirājas. The Rāshtrakutas of Malk possessed seven and a half lakhs of villa and were therefore naturally entitled to called Mahārājādhirāja. Then again Sa dragupta is said to have 'bound together whole world by means of the vigour of arm, made the waters of the four oceans ta his fame'—expressions which denote prowess of the emperor which extended dominions to the four bounding seas, wh by implication clearly proves his titles to Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja which we given to him in his inscriptions. We do find provincial governors and other les potentates calling themselves Mahārājas a Mahārājādhirājas.

The next point which requires a word explanation is the extraordinary size of army repuired to be possessed by Mahārā dhirājas and Sārvabhaumas. The estim does not appear to be altogether fictitio when we learn that the Chola king Kul tunga I, had slain in battles one thousa elephants, which entitled him to receive panegyric poem called in Tamil the 'para which no one but a king who had killed many elephants could be praised with. later times, the chariot seems to have be discarded in battles, for we do not meet w references to them in inscriptions ; nor are to suppose camels were ever employed by South Indian kings.

Another point worthy of notice is that Adhirāja or Mahārāja should have descend from the solar or the lunar race. Man petty prince, who, by his good fortune a by the prowess of his arms, vastly impro his territories and becomes eligible to name and dignity of a Mahārāja by virtue the extent of his country, the largeness of army and the richness of treasury and has several grades of vassals under him, not, according to the above rule laid down the Mānasāra, call himself a Mahārāja Chakravartti. Therefore, he seeks to find some relationship of his family or ancest which will connect him in any manner w the solar or lunar race of kings ; it does matter if the relationship claimed is gen or fancied. At once, some panegyrist fra for him a genealogy tracing by a long p gree his descent directly from the sun o moon. In the history of many a newly r

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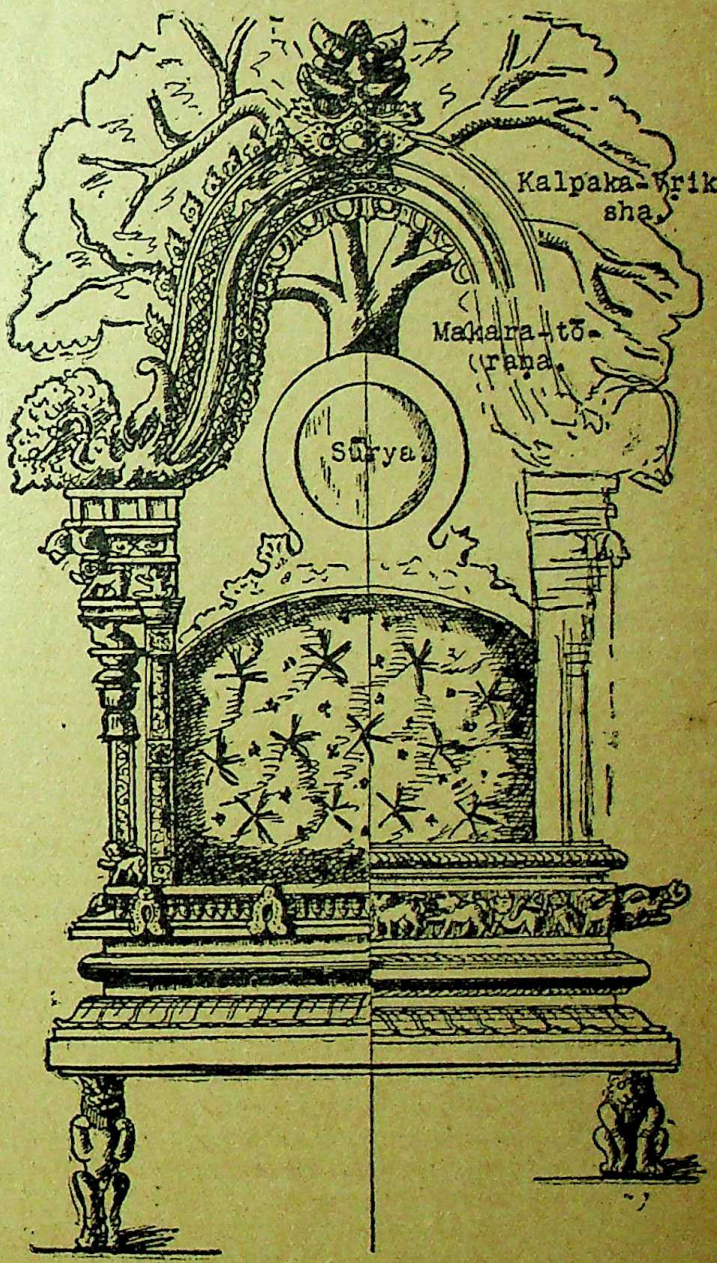
dynasty, we find that in the documents of the earlier members of it no attempt is being made to give an elaborate genealogy ; but in the records of the later and more powerful members a long historical introduction detailing the genealogy and the doings of their ancestors is generally given tracing their descent either from the sun or the moon. For instance, a king who belongs to the cowherd caste and has come to occupy a high status lays claim, by virtue of merely belonging to the caste of Krishna, to be a Yadava and therefore arrogates for himself a position in the lunar race ; the Vijayanagara kings supply the most prominent example in this matter.

It is stated that the early kings took only a seventh or a sixth of the produce of land as due to them in the shape of taxes. In many instances the taxation did not in all probability exceed this proportion. At any rate, the ideal of each king, as it appears from his inscriptions, seems to be to collect not more than one-sixth as his dues. It is not evident from Epigraphy if ever even the petty princes and governors, the 'Pārshnikas' and 'Pattabhāks' were collecting, as it is stated, one-half of the produce as their dues.

PART II.

MAKUTA-LAKSHANA OR THE DESCRIPTION OF HEAD-GEARS.

The head-gear, like the caste mark, is a characteristic feature not only of the by-gone times but also of the present day. The long row of 'pagadies' exhibited in the Bombay Museum, the different kinds of turbans in use in the Hyderabad State, the peculiar headgear of the Kachchis and the Parsis indicate the caste, the calling and the social status of the wearer. The 'ushnīsha' or the turban is enjoined by the 'sāstras' to be worn on all ceremonial occasions and was, therefore, considered an essential object by the Hindu society. Different forms of golden tiaras are prescribed to the various gods, as also kings of different grades ; the weight of gold, that has to be employed in making them, varied with the dignity of the wearer. Detailed descriptions of 'maulis,' 'makutas' or head-gears are found in many an 'āgama' and it is believed that these would be found interesting if not to all Hindus, at least, to the Archæologically inclined persons. An attempt is made below to present a study of the



Sinhasana.

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'makutas' as completely as possible, and to illustrate them with drawings taken from actual sculptures of all ages.

"The 'Mānasāra' contains a complete description of all forms of 'maulis' or 'makutas' ; we also find a short account of these in the 'Silparatna.' The common name for all head-gear is 'mauli' or 'makuta' and it is divided into 'Kirīta-makuta,' 'Karanda-makuta,' 'Jatā-makuta,' 'Sirastraka,' 'Kēsa-bandha,' 'Dhammilla,' 'Alaka-chūdaka,' 'Pushpa-patta,' 'Ratna-patta,' 'Padma-patta,' and so forth. Of these the most commonly used were the 'Kirīta-makuta,' the 'Karanda-makuta,' the 'Jatā-makuta' and the 'Alaka-chūdaka.' The 'Kirīta-makuta' is prescribed, among the gods, to Vishnu, the 'Jatā-makuta,' to Brahmā and Rudra, and the 'Karanda-makuta' to all other deities ; while among the goddesses, the 'Jatā-makuta' is prescribed for Manonmanī (the Consort of Siva), the 'Kuntala' for Indirā (the consort of Vishnu) and the 'Keshabandha' to Sarasvatī ; or, all goddesses may be made to wear only the 'Karanda-makuta.'

Among the human beings, the 'Kirīta-makuta' should be the head-gear of the 'Sārvabhauma-chakravartti' and of the Adhirājas ; the 'Karanda-makuta' that of Narendras ; and 'Sirastraka' that of Pārshnikas. Sometimes, the 'Karanda-makuta' is found worn by all grades of kings. The queens of the Sārvabhaumas and the Adhirājas should wear the 'Kesabandha' ; or the 'Kuntala' may be worn by the queens of Emperors, Adhirājas and Narendras alike. The wives of Mandalikas should wear the 'Dhammilla' and lastly the women who carry torches before the king and the wives of the king's shield and sword bearers were to wear the 'Alaka-chūdaka.' The 'Dhammilla,' the 'Kesabandha' and the 'Alaka-chūdaka' are mostly modes of dressing the hair and these were bound by wreaths of flowers called the 'pushpa-patta' or by strings of leaves like those of the cocoanut palm called the 'patra-patta' or by a jewelled golden band called the 'ratna-patta.'

"From this somewhat minute description of the head-dresses and from the known assignment of particular forms of gear to particular classes of divinities and human beings, it is easy to make out without mistakes the status of the divinity or the human being having a particular head-gear ; and to a knowing observer these head-gears form an instance of the definiteness which prevails the conventional language of symbolism."

The following are the measurements the different classes of makutas :—

Generally, the height of a 'makuta' sho be two to three times the length of the f of the wearer. But that of the 'makuta' Brahmā and Rudra should be 1¼ths of length of the face and that of the Sa twice the length of the face. The 'width' the 'makutas' at the base must be equal the length of the face ; the 'makutas' must tapering upwards, the width at the top of 'kirīta-makuta' being less by a eighth o sixteenth of that at the base ; that of 'Karanda-makuta' being one-half or a th less than that at the base.

The height of the 'makuta' of the Chak varttin should be equal to the girth of head ; that of the Adhirāja one-sixtee that of the Narendra, one twentieth and t of the Pārshnika one-half less than that of Chakravarttin. The height of the 'mak of the queen of the Chakravarttin should equal to the girth of her head, while that the queen of 'Adhirāja' two-thirds the gir the height of the crowns of other queens (s as Narendra), equal to the length of the fac

The height of the 'Kesabandha' should be either three-fourths or one-half the length of the face and that of 'pa should be one-third of the girth of the h It is stated that 'patta' is the peculiar he gear of 'Pattadhara.' The 'patta' to be u by the Mandalesvara (or Mandalika) sho be equal in height to one-fourth and that be worn by 'pattabhāk' one-sixth of the g of the head. So much about the measu ments of the various head-gears.

The quantities of gold to be employe making the 'makutas' of various kings queens, is also given in some detail. 'makutas' are divided into three grade classes—the 'uttama' or the superior, 'madhyama' or the middling and the 'adha or the inferior class. The 'makutas' are erally made on the occasions of the reg or initial coronation of the king, that is, he ascends the throne ; this coronatio known as the 'Prathamābhisheka.' 'Mangalābhisheka' is the second occa when the king may wear a newly crown ; when this particular 'abshish ceremony was performed is not known :

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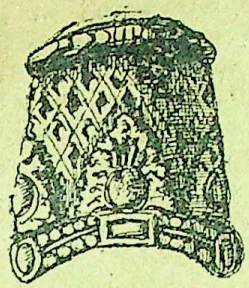
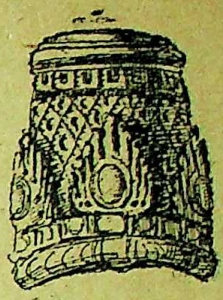
Plate I.



Gupta, Chalukya and Pallava.

Ceylon.

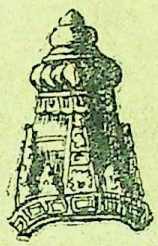


Early Chola.

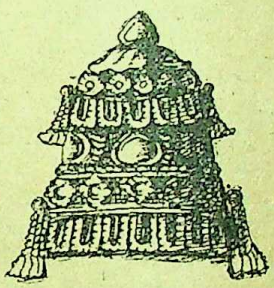
Later Chola.

KIRITA-MAKUTAS.

Plate II.



Mathura.



Hoysala.

Rajputana.

Javanese.

KIRITA-MAKUTAS.

Plate III.

irita-makuta, Marwar.

Keshabandha, Chola.

Keshabandha, W. Chalukya.

Dhammilla, S. India.

KESABANDHAS.

aps when the king was married, he was accorded a new 'makuta' along with his queen. When the king had achieved victories and was going to celebrate them, the occasion being known as the 'Vijayābhisheka,' he wore specially prepared crown. The fourth occasion when he should go in for a new 'makuta' is when he has done some deeds of valour, the 'abhisheka' or anointment at which occasion being known as the 'Vīrābhisheka.' The 'makutas' to be worn by the kings who are entitled to receive these four kinds of 'abhishekas' should be made out of gold weighing from 1500 to 2500 'nishkas' of gold : when it weighs only 1500 'nishkas' it is said to belong to the 'adhama' ; 2000, to the 'madhyama'; and 2500, to the 'uttama' classes respectively. The queens of the kings referred to just now (who seem to be Chakravarttins and Adhirājas) should have their 'maku-

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tas' made out of one-half the weight of gold employed for the 'makutas' of their lords.

The 'makuta' of the 'Adhirāja' should be made out of 1000, 1500 or 2000 'nishkas' of gold and if so made are said to belong to the 'adhama,' the 'madhyama' or the 'uttama' classes respectively. The weight of gold necessary for the 'Sirastraka' of the 'Pārshnika' is 400, 800 or 1200 'nishka' in weight and the head-gear made out of them belong to the 'adhama,' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes respectively; whereas the weight of gold required for the 'makuta' of the 'Pattadhrik' is 300, 600 and 900 'nishkas' which belong respectively to the 'adhama,' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes. The weight for the 'uttama,' 'madhyama' and 'adhama' classes of the 'makutas' of the Mandalikas are 200, 400 and 600 'nishkas' in weight respectively; similarly of Pattabhāk, 100, 200 and 300 respectively.

The heights given above for the various 'makutas' do not include that of the ornamental finial known as the 'Sikhāmani.'

The 'Kirīta-makuta' should resemble the shoot (or leaf) of the bamboo (venukarna); the 'Keshabandha' should have the shape of the 'tripusha' fruit (cucumber). The shape of the 'Sirastraka' is said to be that of a bubble of water, while that of the 'Dhammilla' should resemble a creeper and the 'Alaka-chūdaka' should be rising up from the scalp.

A number of ornaments which decorate the 'Kirīta-makuta' are mentioned; they are named the 'purita,' 'tunga-tāra,' 'agra-patta,' 'trivedika,' 'trivetraka,' 'padma,' 'kutmala' and the 'sikhāmani'; it is not easy to identify them exactly with the parts of an actual 'Kirīta.' The ornament 'purita' is required to have the figures of 'makaras' gracing it and its centre and top should be set with gems (ratna-bandha); creeper-ornaments (or strings of pearls) should proceed from the mouths of the 'makaras'; the remaining portions of the 'purita' should be embellished with creepers, leaves, etc. An ornament similar to the 'purita' is the 'patta-bandha' which should be attached to the front of the 'patta' or the broad band which runs round immediately above the forehead. The 'patta-bandha' is also required to be set with precious stones. The other portions of the 'Kirīta-makuta' should be decorated with the members called the 'mauli-bandha,' 'valli' (creepers) and the 'muktāhāra'. The base of the 'Kirita-makuta' should be curved like a cresc moon just above the forehead and sho possess two leaf-like ornamental discs cal the 'karna-patras,' each standing above ears. The rim of the base should hav series of 'muktāhāras' hanging all rou Above the ears, and below the karna-pat but apparently issuing from the place wh the ear joins the head, should be the 'ka pushpas,' from which strings of preci stones and pearls should be hanging. It stated that the 'Kirīta-makuta' should be circular section throughout.

The description and mode of construct of the 'Jatā-makuta' is given as follows in 'Uttara-Kāmikāgama.' The word 'J means either matted or plaited hair and 'Jatā-makuta' is made up of twists of 'Ja done into the form of a tall cap. It is fo by taking five 'jatās' or braids of hair tying it into a knot three 'angulas' in he by coiling them into one or three loops, remaining braids being bound and ta through to be left hanging on both si This 'makuta' should be adorned with number of ornamented discs called 'makara-kūta,' the 'patra-kūta,' the 'ra kūta' and the 'pūris.' There should be 'makara-kuta' having seven holes in it, in front middle of the 'makuta' and on the sides there should be the 'puris'; or, th should be the 'patra-kutas' on the two sid while at the back, the 'ratna-kutas.' breadth of this head-gear at its base sho naturally be that of the face and at the ten 'angulas.' In the case of Siva, the scent of the moon is to be stuck to it ei on the left or on the right side and there to be a cobra on the left side.

The 'Kesabandha' is the name given the hair when it is tied up in the shape the 'Kirīta-makuta' or 'Jatā-makuta' ador with series of spirally curled small tufts hair at different heights and the whole bo together by a 'patta' in the middle. W the whole of the hair is done up into a n ber of spiral curls, it is called the 'Kunta

Though the 'āgamas' give a detailed cription of it, the exact shape of the h gear called the 'Dhammilla' cannot be m out. It is stated that the width at the of the 'Dhammilla' should be one-thir that at its base. The width at the should be three-fifths of the girth of the h The Dhammilla should be bound by

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Plate IV.

Dhammilla.

Pallava.

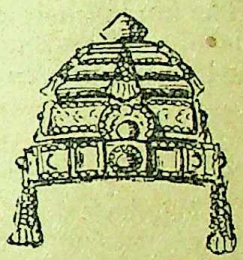
Chalukya Hoysala.

Pallava.

JATA-MAKUTAS.

Plate V.

Chola.



Hoysala.

Pallava.

Pandharipur (modern)

KARANDA MAKUTAS.

Plate VI.

Assyrian.

Persian.

Persian.

Assyrian.

HEAD-GEARS.

rings, evidently at three different places along its length. This head-gear possesses neither the 'sikhāmani' nor the 'puritas.'

In the case of the 'Alaka-chūdaka which seems to be practically similar to the Dhammilla, there should be a 'ratna-bandha' or a band of gold set with jewels. The 'Alaka-chūdaka' has the same width throughout, that is, it does not, like the other head-gears, taper upwards.

All the various kinds of 'makutas' described above may be adorned with small

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golden and jewelled representations of the 'ashta-māngalyas,' which are the 'srīvatsa,' the 'purna-kumbha,' the 'chāmara,' the 'dīpa,' the 'chhatra,' the 'darpana,' the 'svastika' and the 'sankha' arranged as in the diagram,—on the 'gala-patta' or the broad body of the crown. The presence of these on the 'maulis' of kings and queens is said to be necessary to give them prosperity and happiness. Again it is also proper to bind these various 'makutas' with wreaths of flowers.

In illustration of the above descriptions, are reproduced a number of drawings. From these one could see that all the head-gears are long tapering cones surmounted with an ornamented finial and adorned with jewels; they are of varying designs and workmanship which differ from province to province. The Javanese and the Hoysala patterns are the most elaborately worked up pieces of goldsmith's art, while the others are more or less plain but beautiful in their simplicity. Again, it would be observed that most of these 'Kirītas' resemble more or less the 'vimānas' or spires of the central shrines of the temples of various provinces to which they belong. In their general appearance the 'Kirītamakutas' are not very different from the head-gears worn by the early Assyrians and Persians. Attention may be drawn also to the peculiarity of the 'Kirīta' represented as fig. 1, Plate III. Unlike the other 'Kirītas,' this one is square and broadens at its top; its four sides are adorned with golden discs of superior workmanship.

It might be asked if the description given above are merely theoretical ones or were these apparently inconvenient tall crowns actually worn by human beings. It is more than certain that they were in actual use till so late a period as the 17th Century A. D. The Emperors of Vijayanagara were wearing it, as seen from the portraits of Krishnadevarāya, Venkatapatirāya and others; the 'Karanda-makuta' is seen worn by a Travancore King. The tall Kirītas or caps worn by the Vijayanagara sovereigns is referred to by Paes thus :—"And on his head he (the king) had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk" and "on the head they wear high caps which they call 'collaes' (Tam-Kan-'Kullāyi'=cap) and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls." At later times, the Nāyakas or the provincial governors of the Vijayanagara Empire who survived their masters long after their downfall continued to wear the 'collaes' of Paes, and there are innumerable stone statues of these in the Southern part of the Madras Presidency in which the "collae" is found to be the only head-gear of these princes.

The bust of a Devi wearing a kesabandha on her head is interesting in clearly showing that it is entirely made up of the hair of goddesses, and adorned with different kinds of ornaments. Some tufts of hair are twisted into fine spirals which are arranged in four rows, the lowest being along the top border of the forehead. The making of these fine spiral curls is found to-day only among the Toda women of the Nilgiris. It might also be noted that the 'Kesabandha' in this instance is like the fruit of a cucumber. The kind of hair-knots called the 'Dhammilla' and Alaka-chūdaka are at present employed by the women of Malabar.

PART III.

Simhasanas.

'Simhasanas' or thrones are of four kinds, corresponding to the four different kinds of anointments; the 'prathamāsana' being intended for the 'prathamābhiseka', the 'mangalāsana' for the 'mangalābhisheka', the 'virāsana', for the 'virābhisheka' and the 'vijayāsana' for the 'vijayābhisheka'. The same four kinds of thrones are also used for placing the images of deities on ordinary and special occasions.

Again, the 'āsanas', or thrones are divided into ten classes according to the details of moulding and ornamentation which enter into their construction, and they are named the 'padmāsana', the 'padmakesara', the 'padmabhadra', the 'sribhadra', the 'srivisāla', the 'sribadhya', the 'srimukha', the 'bhadrāsana', the 'padma-bandha' and the 'padabandha'. The descriptions of a few of these are given in great detail. The import of some of the terms employed cannot be correctly discovered and hence great difficulty is experienced in making drawings corresponding to the descriptions of the various kinds of thrones.

The width of the 'prathamāsana', may vary from 15 to 31 'angulas'; by increasing the width each time by two angulas we obtain nine dimensions of the width (15, 17, 19 and so forth up to 31). The length of the 'āsana' might be double, $1\frac{1}{4}$, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the

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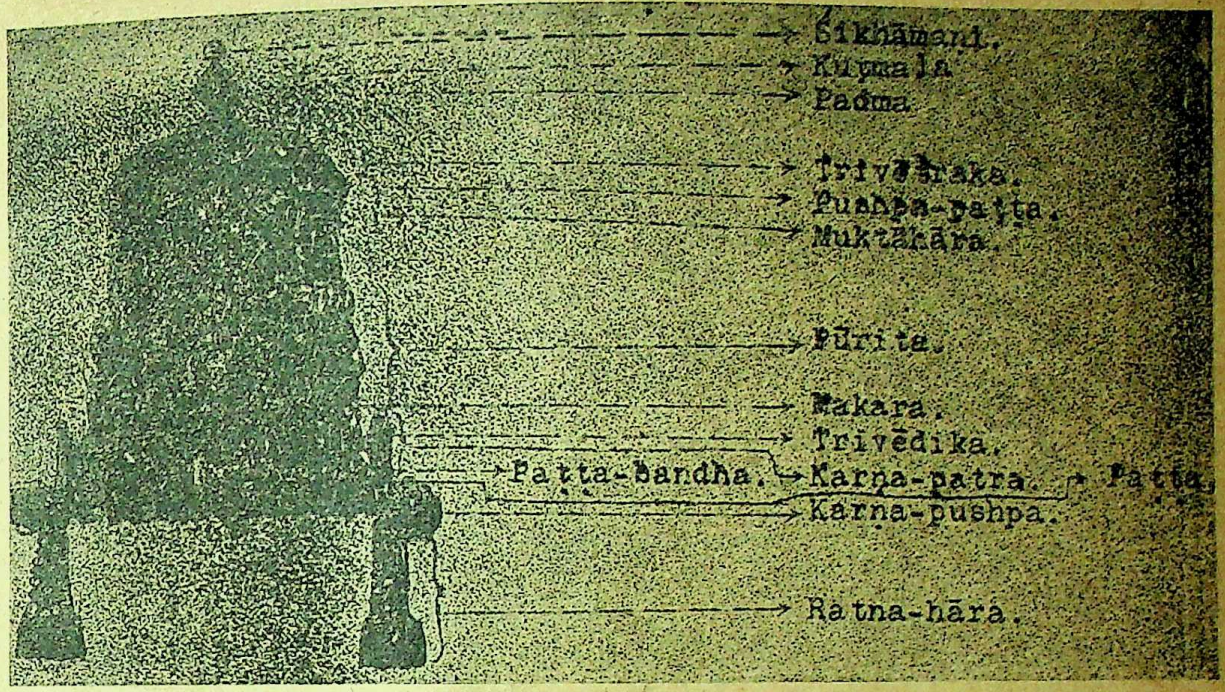

Diagram showing the various parts of the Kirita.

breadth. Similarly the width of 'virāsana' ranges from 17, increased every time by two angulas to 35 angulas; that of the vijayāsana from 21 to 37 angulas and their length should be of the same proportions as in the case of the 'prathamāsana'.

The height of the 'prathamāsana' is of nine grades from 9 to 17 angulas, varying from each other by one 'angula' (i.e., 9, 10, 11 &c., up to 19); that of the 'mangalāsana', also of nine grades, from 11 to 19 'angulas'; that of the 'virāsana' also of nine grades, from 13 to 21 'angulas' and that of the 'vijayāsana' also of nine grades, from 15 to 23 'angulas.'

The 'Mānasāra', which contains all these descriptions, then proceeds with the descriptions and the measurements of the details of the moulding of each of the ten varieties of 'simhāsanas' mentioned above. A 'simhāsana' may be situated upon a 'upapitha' (a pedestal) or on the ground. The following are the measurements of the component members of the 'padmāsana':—

Janma or upana	...	1	part
over it, ardha-kampa	...	½	„
„ mahāpadma	...	1¾	„
„ karnavritta & padmaka	...	1½	„
„ kandhara (or gala)	...	½	„
„ upari	...	½	„
„ kampa-vriddha-dala	...	(omitted)	
„ kampa-padma		(„)	
„ kumbha-vritta	...	1	„
„ padma	...	½	„
„ nimna vritta	...	½	„
„ kampa	...	½	„
„ gala	...	2	„
„ kampa-vrittika	...	1	„
„ nimna-kampa	...	1	„
„ kapota	...		
„ Alinga, Antarita, and Prativadana	...	1	„

Total number of parts... 14+...(=22)

The 'vritta-kampas' should be so arranged as not to mar in any way the harmony of the combination. The various members should be enriched with various patterns such as 'patras' (leaves), 'pushpas' (flowers) and ornamented with the figures of 'vyāla' and other animals. On the corners there ought to be two 'makaras' facing two different directions; the 'kapota' is to bear on its face a number of 'nāsikās' containing within them 'kabarivaktra' (faces of human and other beings). The four angles of the 'simāhsana' should be ornamented by a foliage design technically known as the 'pallava-patra.' The 'kapota', 'mahāpadma' &c., should be composed of 'dalas' (petals of lotus flowers) and 'kesaras'

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(stamens); and the 'vritta-kumbha' (otherwise also called the 'kumuda') is to be enriched with the 'kataka' or the 'patta' ornament. The height of the 'gala' may be varied at the will of the designer, but always so as to produce an artistic effect and it should be adorned with scenes from actual life, figures of 'yakshas', 'gandharvas' and 'vidyādharas' as also with different patterns of 'pattas'. A throne made according to the specifications given above is called the 'padmāsana'.

If a 'padmāsana' possesses also a 'upapitha' or a pedestal, it becomes the throne known as the 'padmakesara.' The upapitha should be composed of the 'kshudra-kampa', 'vritta-kampa', 'asra-kampa' &c. The 'gala' of the 'upapitha' also should be adorned with dancing human figures, of birds, of miniature architectural elements (kshudra-salas) and 'toranas' in appropriate places (such as below the member called the panjara). This 'asana' is suited for all gods and for 'chakravarttins' among kings,

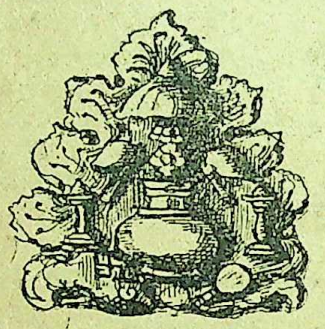
The throne known as the 'padmabhadra' is to be made as follows :—

Janma (or upana)	...	1	part
above it, kshepana	...	¼	,,
,, ambujam	...	1¾	,,
,, nimna, vritta-nimna jnana-kampa	...	1	,,
,, vapra-tunga	...	5	,,
,, harmya-vritta, padma, vrittaka	...	1	,,
,, padma	...		
,, kumuda	...		
,, vritta	...		
,, harmya-vrittam, padma-vrittam, kampa-vrittam		1	,,
,, karna	...	3	,,
,, kampa, padma, vritta	...	1	,,
,, kapota	...	2	,,
,, alinga, antarita	...	1	,,
,, prati (vajana) and kampa			
Total number of parts	...	18+(3)=(21)	

The 'padmabhadra' throne described above is suited for the rank of an 'adhirāja'.

The throne called the 'Sribhadra' is composed of the various members as follows :—

Janma (or upana)	...	1	part
above it, vajana	...	½	,,
,, kshudra-vetraka	...	½	,,
,, mahāmbhuja	...	3½	,,
,, nimna	...	½	,,
,, padma	...	½	,,
,, kumuda	...	2	,,
,, ambuja	...	½	,,
,, urdhva-kampa	...	½	,,
,, gala	...	3	,,
,, kampa-padma	...	1	,,
,, kapotaka	...	2	,,
,, alingāntarita and prativajana	...	1	,,
Total number of parts	...	16	,,



A PURITA with the Ashta-mangalyas.

JATA-MAKUTA, Ceylon.

The various parts of the 'āsana' should be enriched with the various ornaments mentioned in the description of the previous 'āsana.' This 'Sribhadrāsana' is prescribed for 'adhirājas' and 'narendras.'

The 'simhāsana' known as the 'Srivisāla' is required to be made as follows :—

Janma	...	2	parts
above it, padma	...	1	,,
,, vritta vetraka	...	½	,,
,, agra-kampa	...	½	,,
,, vrittaka	...	½	,,
,, gala	...	3	,,
,, vriddhi (?)	...	½	,,
,, Uparipankajam	...	½	,,
,, Vriddhi	...	1½	,,
,, dalam	...	½	,,
,, madhya-vrittam	...	1	,,
,, padma	...	½	,,
,, āvrita-vetraka	...	½	,,
,, agra-patta	...	...	
,, gala	...	3	,,
,, agra-patta	...	...	

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vritta-vetraka	...	...
urdhva-padma	...	...
vajana	...	1 part
agra-vritta	...	...

Total $15\frac{1}{2}$ $(+6\frac{1}{2}=22)$

The upper 'gala-pradesa' should be enriched by various flower and leaf designs and the lower broader 'gala' should contain in it sculptures of 'simhas' and other animals and creeper ornaments (patra-valli). This seat is prescribed for the Pārshnika.

If in the same seat slight modifications, such as, 'vritta-nirgama' (?) of two parts' width instead of the 'vapramādhya' (?), it goes by the name of 'Srisamjnā' (Sribandha ?) and it is meant for the 'pattadhara.'

If in the above, the 'madhya kumbha' has an 'agra-pattika,' one part in width, the 'āsana' will go by the name of 'Srimukha' ; it is prescribed for the mandalesa.

If the above 'āsana' is without the 'mula-bhāga'(?) and the 'agravritta' and the 'ambuja', it is called the 'bhadrāsana' and it is fit for 'pattabhāk'.

If two parts' width of 'ambuja' is added above the 'janopari' (?), the 'āsana' thus produced is known as the 'padma-bandha' and is suited to the rank of the 'prāhāraka'.

The 'asana' known as the 'pada-bandha' is made as follows :—

Janma	...	2 parts
above it, padma	...	3 ,,
,, kampa	...	1 ,,
,, vapra	...	8 ,,
,, padma	...	1 ,,
,, karna (kantha ?) baddhamsa ?	...	3 ?
,, kampa	...	1 ,,
,, kapota	...	8 ,,
,, kalinga etc.	...	2 ,,
,, vrittavetra	...	1 ,,

Total number of parts should be 30

The 'karna' (kantha ?) should be adorned with figures of lions, vyālas etc., and with flower and leaf designs.

This 'āsana' is prescribed for the dignitary named 'astra-grāhī'.

It cannot be said that any one of these lists of measurements is either complete or intelligible, so as to enable the reader to make the necessary drawing corresponding to each of them. Also the explanation of the technical terms employed in these descriptions are found nowhere. What drawings have been supplied are prepared from actually existing simhasanas and those few terms which it is possible to identify are also identified in the drawings.

TORANA.

The ornamental arch encircling the back of the 'simhasana' is known as the 'torana'. It may be circular, semicircular, triangular or flat-arched in shape or any other design may also be adopted. The 'toranas' are divided into four classes according to the mode of ornamenting them : they are called the 'patra-torana', the 'pushpa-torana', the 'ratna-torana' and the 'chitra-torana'. The torana which is adorned with creeper ornaments (patra-valli) is called the 'patra-torana' ; that which is adorned with floral designs is known as the pushpa-torana' and that which is set with all kinds of gems is called the 'ratna-torana' ; while that which is worked up with all kinds of ornaments and has in it the figures of 'yakshas', 'vidyā-dharas' etc., is called the 'chitra-torana'. In all the 'toranas' there should be the figures of the celestial musicians, Tumburu and Narada in the middle : there should be the 'makaras' from whose mouths the 'toranas' should be shown as issuing. The figures of makara, kinnaras etc., should be set with precious stones.

In the centre of the 'toranas' there may be the figure of Lakshmi flanked on either side with that of an elephant ; the former must be adorned with all ornaments set with gems.

The measurements of the 'toranas' are as follows :

The height of the pada or pillar	5 parts	or 6	or 7	
That of the torana	3 parts	3	3	

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A HEROIC HINDU QUEEN

MAHOMEDAN historians rarely do justice to the Hindus, though the latter have often to depend on the former for whatever little information can be gleaned about themselves, as they were thrown into the background during the Moslem regime, and had few or no historians of their own. The hatred of the Mahomedan writers is not however difficult to understand, in view of the religious wars which led to the foundation of their Empire in India, and the prevailing bigotry of the age. But in going through the accounts left by Moslem historians of their long rule of a thousand years, we come across at least one remarkable exception, and that exception is a Hindu lady, of whose character and exploits several distinguished Mahomedan historians have written, and what makes their narratives specially pleasing is that not one of them has an unkind word to say of her, though naturally they disapprove of her political ambitions. The praise bestowed by Moslem writers on Hindus like Man Singh or Todar Mal can be easily understood, for they were vassals of the Mogul empire. But though the subject of the present sketch was, according to them, a rebel, they speak highly of her beauty, courage, popularity, administrative and organising ability, military genius, and of her heroic death. This lady is Rani Durgavati, of Gondawana or Garha-Katanka, near modern Jubbulpore, who died in 1560 A.D., in a pitched battle with the army of Asaf Khan, in the reign of Emperor Akbar. Brief as is the glimpse that we get into her life from these Mahomedan records, they so unmistakeably reveal the heroic quality of her soul that we cannot fail to admire her. All the four historians from whom we shall quote were her contemporaries, and so their accounts possess an authenticity which is beyond dispute. The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* was written under the command of Akbar by a body of historians of whom Moulana Ahmad was the chief; the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* was the composition of Nizamuddin Ahmad; and there are two histories going by the name of *Akbar-nama*, one by the celebrated Abul Fazl, Prime Minister of Akbar, and the other by Sheik Illahdad, Faizi Sirhind.

I.

Tarikh-i Alfi.

CONQUEST OF GARHA (968 H.—1560 A.D.)

Khwaja Abdul Majid, who had received the title Asaf Khan, was appointed governor of Karra, and that province he rendered good service. One of services was the conquest of Garha, a territ abounding in hills and jungles, which had never b conquered by any ruler of Hind since the rise of faith of Islam. At this time it was governed b woman called *Rani*, and all the dogs* of that co try were very faithful and devoted to her. A Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her coun on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all circumstances and peculiarities of the country, the position and treasures of the Rani, he levied army to conquer the country. The Rani came fo to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 ho The armies met and both did their best. An arr struck the Rani, who was in front of her horsem and when that noble woman saw that she must taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her eleph driver, and plunged it into the stomach, and so d Asaf Khan gained the victory....

II.

Tabakat-i Akbari.

The country of Garha-Katanka was near to A Khan, and he formed the design of subduing it. chief place of that country is Chauragarh. It is extensive country containing seventy thousand flo ishing villages. Its ruler was at this time a wo named Durgavati, who was very beautiful. W Asaf Khan heard the condition of this country, thought the conquest of it would be an easy mat so he marched against it with fifty thousand ho and foot. The Rani collected all her forces, and pared to oppose the invader with 700 elepha 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A ba followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, by the will of fate the Rani was struck by an arr and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hand the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her a dagger. After the victory Asaf Khan marc against Chauragarh. The son of the Rani, who in the fort, came forth to meet him; but he was kil and the fort was captured, and all its treasures into the hands of the conquerors.

* i.e. Hindus. Moslem historians delight in us such opprobrious epithets in relation to the follow of their rival creed.

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III.

Akbar-nama.

(Abul Fazl).

CONQUEST OF GARHA-KATANKA.

Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan, although he was a Tajik and a civilian, yet by the help of the good fortune of the Emperor, he had performed such deeds as would have humbled even Turks in his presence. He now resolved upon attempting the conquest of Garha-Katanka. In the vast territories of Hindustan there is a country called Gondwana, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of Gonds,--a numerous race of people, who dwell in the wilds, and pass most of their time in eating and drinking and the procreation of children. They are a very low race, and are held in contempt by the people of Hindustan, who look upon them as outcasts from their religion and laws.... On the north lies Panna, and on the south the Dakhin, and the breadth is eighty *kos*. This country is called Garha-Katanka, and it contains many strongholds and lofty forts. It has numerous towns and villages, and veracious writers have recorded that it contains seventy thousand villages. Garha is the name of the chief city, and Katanka is the name of a place near it, and these two places have given their names to the whole country. The seat of government was the fort of Chauragarh.... From the earliest establishment of the Muhammadan power in India no monarch had been able to reduce the fortresses of this country or to annex the territory.

At the time when Asaf Khan received the *jagir* of Karra, and accomplished the conquest of Panna, the government of this country was in the hands of Rani Durgavati, commonly known as "the Rani." She was highly renowned for her courage, ability, liberality, and by the exercise of these qualities she had brought the whole country under her rule. The author has heard from intelligent men who have been there that she had twenty-three thousand inhabited villages under her sway. Twelve thousand of these were managed by her own *shikkdars*, and the remainder were in the possession of tributary chiefs. The heads of the various clans paid their homage to her. She was the daughter of a Raja of the tribe of Chandel, who was named Salibahan, who was Raja of Ratah and Mahoba. He married her to Dalpat, a son of [Raja] Aman Das. He did not belong to a high tribe, but he was wealthy, and as evil times had befallen upon Raja Salibahan, he had consented to this alliance. This Aman Das rendered valuable assistance to Sultan Bahadur Gujarati in the reduction of Raisin; he had consequently been promoted, and had received the title of Sangram Shah..... When he died he left a son named Bir Narayan, only five years of age. With the assistance of Adhar Kayath,* the Rani assumed the government, showing no want of courage and ability, and managing her foreign relations with judgment and prudence. She carried on some great wars against Baz Bahadur and his officers, and was everywhere victorious. She had as many as twenty thousand excellent horse soldiers, and a thousand fine elephants. The treasures of the Rajas of that country came into her possession. She was a good shot, both with the bow and musket, and frequently went out hunting, when she used to bring down the animals with her own gun. When she heard of a tiger, she never rested till she had shot it. Many stories of her courage and daring are current in Hindustan. But she had one great fault. She listened to the voice of flatterers, and being puffed up with ideas of her power, she did not pay her allegiance to the Emperor.

When Asaf Khan conquered the country of Panna, the Rani Durgavati, infatuated with the ideas of her army, her courage and her ability, took no heed of her new neighbour. Asaf Khan at first kept up friendly and conciliatory relations with her; but he sent sharp spies and shrewd merchants into her country to get information of the communications and ways of ingress and egress. When he had obtained information of the wealth and treasures of this woman, he conceived the idea of making himself master of the country. He began first with ravaging the frontier villages, and went on until in the present year he received the Imperial command to effect the conquest of Garha.

IV.

Akbar-nama.

(Sheik Illahdad).

The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. The land contains 70,000 inhabited villages. It is bounded on one side by Malwa and the Dakhin, on another by Garha. It is a separate principality, governed by a Rani named Durgavati, who was remarkable for her beauty and lovliness. Asaf Khan, whose possessions her country bordered on, and whose people were constantly going to and fro, managed to make himself well acquainted with its general condition, and the state of its revenues. He began to ravage and plunder the villages in its districts, waiting for an opportunity of taking more extreme measures. At last, in the year 971H., in the ninth year of the reign he valiantly set out with ten thousand horse and foot, purposing to take possession of the country. His valour made him look on this as a matter of easy accomplishment. The Rani, owing to her pride and confidence in her own skill and courage, attended to her own affairs, and utterly disregarded the fact that she had a neighbour whose valour had been proved on several occasions..... She had always kept up a force of 20,000 horsemen, but she was suddenly told that the valiant troops of His Majesty had arrived at Damuda, one of her chief towns, at a time when her troops were dispersed. She had only 500 men with her. Adhar, who was entrusted with the management of the whole business of that country, informed her how affairs stood. The Rani said, "This is through your stupidity. I have long ruled this country, and never acted in such a manner as to bring disgrace on myself. Now, from what you tell me, if the King were here in person, I would present myself before him; but now there is no remedy but war!" The Rani made four marches from that place, and found herself face to face with the Imperial army.

Asaf Khan had gone as far as Damuda with great speed, but he delayed there. The Rani thus had time to collect some 4000 men, and her courtiers recommended her to give battle advising her, however, to post herself in some strong position until the arrival of more troops. The Rani agreed to this counsel, and retreated into the jungles and strong places, so that Asaf Khan became ignorant of her whereabouts.

* It is in the reign of Akbar that we first come across the mention of Kayasthas as a distinct community by Muhammadan historians. The word 'Kayastha' occurs frequently in Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*, but according to Sir Aurel Stein there it means officials, chiefly Brahmins.

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Asaf Khan turned back from that place, and on reaching Garha, took possession of its villages and territories. In the meantime, 5000 men had been collected. When Asaf Khan was informed of the Rani's movements, he left a force in Garha, and proceeded in person against her. The Rani was informed of this, and said to her people, "How long shall we take refuge among the trees and jungles ?" She then made up her mind to fight, and mounting her elephant, she went amidst her troops, endeavouring by suitable exhortations to encourage and prepare them for war. When both armies met, a desperate battle began. Three hundred Mughals obtained martyrdom * and the Rani pursued the fugitives.

At the close of day, the Rani consulted with her chiefs as to what was to be done, and everyone said something. The Rani was of opinion that she had better return to her camp, and thence make a night attack, or remain where they were until daybreak and then renew the battle, because, in the event of her not doing something, Asaf Khan would seize the hill in the morning, and post his artillery on it. Having determined on a night attack, she returned to her camp, but no one agreed to her in this matter, or showed any resolution. At daybreak, what she had predicted happened. Asaf Khan possessed himself of the summit of the hill, and having fortified it, he took post there with his army. The Rani again, intent on fighting, drew up her soldiers and mounted her best elephant. She caused Adhar, who has been mentioned before, to ride before her on her elephant. Such a conflict took place, that, throwing away guns and arrows, the combatants seized each other's collars, and fought hand to hand.

Raja Birsah, † the heir-apparent, behaved with the utmost valour. The conflict lasted until the third watch of the day, and the Raja repulsed the royal troops three times, but at last he was wounded. When the Rani learnt what had happened to her son, she directed her confidential servants to convey him in the best way they could from the field of battle to a place of safety, which they did. Whilst this was going on, so large a body of men went away from the Rani, that not more than 300 remained with her. Notwithstanding this, she firmly maintained her ground, and encouraged her men to fight. Suddenly fate directed an arrow, which struck her on the temple. This she courageously drew out herself, but its barb remained in the wound. This arrow was followed by another, which wounded her in the neck, which she extracted in the same way, but fainted from excess of pain. When she came round, she said to Adhar, who was in front of her, "I have always placed trust and confidence in you against a day like this ; so that, in the event of my meeting with defeat, you might not suffer me to fall into the hands of the enemy." Adhar had not the power to do what was required, so she drew out her dagger, and died a manly death. Very many of her confidential adherents loyally gave up their lives. By the favour of the Almighty, and the fortune of the King of Kings, victory, the splendour of which exceeded all other victories, was obtained. A thousand elephants, a countless booty, fell into the hands of the victorious troops, and an extensive territory was added to his Majesty's dominions.

Asaf Khan, after the lapse of two months, proceeded towards Chauragarh. The Rani's son who had gone thither from the field of battle, came out to oppose him ; but after a short struggle, the army of the King gained possession of the fort. In it were found a great amount of gold, priceless jewels, gold and silver plate, and images of their divinities, together with other valuables and property, which had been collected there by the Rajas during many centuries as is the custom of those people. All these fell into the hands of Asaf Khan,—a hundred and one cooking pots, full of large and valuable gold coins, came into his possession. The performance of this notable action caused his pomp and dignity greatly to increase.....

A most remarkable event occurred at Chauragarh. When Rajah Birsah, the Rani's son, was shut up there a certain number of men were appointed, in the event of a defeat, for the purpose of performing the *jauhar*, an ancient custom of the Rajas of Hind. On occasions like this, they shut their women up in the house, and after heaping up straw, wood, cotton, and ghee around it, they set fire to the pile and burn them. This they look upon as a means of saving their honour. When the fort was nearly reduced, they did this, and all the beautiful women were reduced to ashes. After the capture of the place, when the flames had ceased on the second day, they examined the pile, and discovered two females underneath a large block of wood. One of them was the Rani's sister, the other Raja's wife..... They were taken unhurt, and sent to the royal harem.*

POLITICAL

* The usual expression used to denote death in battle in the case of Muhammadans ; the corresponding expression, in the case of Hindus, is 'went to hell.'

† The Bir Narayan of Abul Fazl.

* The usual fate of all Hindu women, high and low, captured by Moslem ever since the earliest days of invasion. Akbar promulgated an edict to prevent the enslavement of captives. The marriage and conversion of Hindu women captured in war was one of the principal means of the propagation of Islam in India.

The above extracts have been taken from Vols. (1873) and VI (1875) of the History of India as told by its own Historians, by Sir Henry Elliot and Prof. John Dowson (Trubner & Co., London.)

THE POLITICAL POLICE OF THE MUGHALS

By Dr. Syed Mahmud, Barrister-at-Law.

THE creation of the Department of Political Police may be regarded as contemporaneous with the founding of the State. Its necessity was felt to be all the greater in those days owing to the absence of railways, telegraphs, and other means of rapid communication, and the Mughals, in common with other Gove

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ments of the age, accordingly set about organising an Intelligence Department of their own.

They were not, however, the originators of official espionage in India, as its presence, in a necessarily crude and imperfect form, may be traced to the ancient days of Hindu regime. Although the Hindu chiefs devised means of obtaining information regarding their subjects, they cannot be said to have developed them into a regular or well-conducted Department.

The Mahomedan Kings of India appear to have been always anxious to be in possession of the latest information concerning the country and the people over whom they ruled. This was essential, they held, alike for the stability of their Government and for advancing the happiness of the people at large. The latter consideration, of course, did not appeal with equal force to all the Moslem sovereigns. At what period precisely of Mahomedan rule the Political Police assumed the organization of an official department cannot be exactly determined. It is fairly certain, however, that, present in an elementary form under the "Slave" Kings, it crystallised into practical shape in a large measure during the reigns of the Khiljites. "Alauddin Khilji procured," says Ferishta, "intelligence of the most secret discourses of the family of note in the city, as well as every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces." (1) Under the Tughlaks, we find, the system was still further regularised and perfected.

Ibn-Batuta, the famous Moslem traveller of the XIV Century, has put on record his astonishment at seeing the system at work, the like of which, he says, he had not observed in any other Moslem country in the world. He describes at some length his personal experiences in this connection on arriving at Multan. (2)

During the Mughal period the Department of Political Police was systematised to the degree of perfection, commensurate with the conditions of the times. The Mughal Kings utilised their elaborate and far-flung net of espionage mainly for two objects: first, to check the tyranny and oppression of State officials, specially in the remote parts of the Empire, and bring them to justice, and, secondly, to be forewarned with a view to suppressing any political rebellions. "Throughout his reign," remarks Manucci, "Aurangzeb had such good spies that they knew even men's very thoughts. Nor did anything go on anywhere in the realm without his being informed." (1)

There was a Waqi'ahnawis(2) or recorder in each Subah. From Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri(3) it appears that not infrequently the Bakhshis of the Subahs also held the post of Waqi'ahnawis. The duties of this functionary was to report to the capital the conduct and doings of the governor and other officials of the State, as also many minor incidents in detail.

This method was naturally very much open to corruption, and one is not surprised to find that there were cases in which an oppressive Governor or Kazi managed to obtain immunity for his misdeeds by the simple expedient of bribing the Wakiahnawis into suppressing all adverse reports against him.

To check these abuses Akber, in consultation with his ministers, created the appointment of the *Khufia-nawis* (secret news-writer) who were periodically required to send to the responsible minister at the capital a full report of the doings at their respective places. The appointment of the Khufianawis was a sort of State secret, and his name was not divulged to any one. The reports of the Waqi'ahnawis (recorder) and the Khufianawis (the secret news-writer) were on their arrival at the capital compared and if they did not materially agree an inquiry was immediately ordered.

"This is an admirable institution," writes Abul Fazl, "for the well-conducting of the affairs of an Empire. It is even necessary for every rank of society. Though a trace of this institution may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were recognised in the present(Akber's) reign."(4) There were number of officers at the Court to compare and examine the reports of the recorder and the secret news-writer. Two of them did their duty in rotation. There were also supernumeraries or *Kotal* as they were called to help the officers when they

(1) See "Ferishta" by Mohd. Kasim Hindu Shah Frishta.

(2) Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 588-589.

(1) Storia Do Mogor, Vol II, p. 18.

(2) From *Waqiah* an event, and *nawis* a writer.

(3) Memoirs of Jahangir.

(4) Blochman's Ain-Akbari V.VI, p. 258.

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were overworked. To avoid confusion and dispute, every detail, such as the increase of taxes, contracts, sales, despatch, the issue of orders, the papers which received the signature of His Majesty, capital punishment, the reprieve and the proceedings of the general assembly etc., was recorded for future reference. The diary thus prepared was corrected by one of the trusted officers, laid before the Emperor and approved by him. A copy of each report was then made by the clerks and was handed over to those who required it as voucher.(1) The report then received the signatures of *Parwanchi* and *Mir Arz* respectively and in this form it was called *Yaddasht* or memorandum. An abridgment was then made of the memorandum and signed by *Risalahdar and Darogha*.

The abridgment thus finished was called *Taliqah* and the writer was known as *Taliqahnawis*. The *Taliqah* was then signed and sealed by the Minister of the Department.

Sir Thomas Roe who arrived at the Court of Jehangir in 1615 as Ambassador from King James I, mentions that he found that throughout the Empire there were secret news-writers entrusted with the task of constantly noting the misdeeds of the officials. The Emperor was thus kept informed of all matters of any importance. The most secret proceedings of private individuals at the capital were made known to him within a few hours of their taking place.(2)

Mr. Elphinstone describing the difficulties in the path of Aurangzeb says :

".....But in all discouragements Aouranzeb retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress ; drawings of forts were sent for him to fix on the points of attack ; his letters embraced measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country, for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering of Candhar ; and at the same time, there is scarcely a detachment marches or convoy in the moves in the Deckan without some order from Aouranzeb's own hand."(3)

The "Great Moghul" was able to conduct all this business only with the assistance of his "perfect" and "well-kept" department of political police which constantly kept him informed of practically everything happening even in the most distant parts of the Empire. The appointment and dismissal of the lowest officer in the Empire was not beneath his attention; and the conduct of all functionaries was vigilantly watched, and they were kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information.(1)

The system, admirable as it was, had also great drawbacks. This over-centralization was obviously a drag on the rapid disposal of business even though in the case of Aurangzeb it was combined with "an unremitting vigilance in all the greater affairs of State, which shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful at any age."(2)

"Aouranzeb brought his spy establishment to perfection," says Wheeler. "Under Moghul rule news-writers were maintained in every township to report all that occurred. Under previous Emperors, the news-writers were often in collusion with the local officers. But Aouranzeb kept a constant watch. His knowledge was so perfect of all that was going on, that many believed he acquired it by supernatural agencies."(3)

It appears from one of Aurangzeb's letters to his minister that he was fully conscious of the dangers of relying too much on the news-writers. "if these men are dishonest and left to themselves they could ruin a mighty Empire,"(4) says the Emperor. They were appointed after a prying inquiry into their character. No man was appointed to the post unless his honesty and uprightness were beyond question. His dealings with his neighbours and his general reputation was always taken into consideration. As a result of this vigilance and care it was but seldom that an unfit person got the post.(5)

According to Abul Fazl and Khafi Khan Akbar and Aurangzeb were great physiognomists(6) and, amusing as it may seem, before appointing any one to the

1 Blockman's Ain Akbari, p. 259.

2 Vide Sir T. Roe's Embassy to the Court of Jehangir.

3 Elphinstone's History of India, Vth Edition, p. 666.

2 Elphinstone, p. 666.

1 Ibid, pp. 666-667.

3 Wheeler's "History of India" Vol. IV, part p. 327.

4 Vide State Documents MSS. (Collections Aouranzeb's letters MS. No. 1344).

5 MS. No. B. M. No. 18881.

6 Ain-Akbari, p. 254 and Khafi Khan, p. 134.

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post they would examine carefully his physiognomy.(1) The Mir Arz was the officer whose duty it was to submit secret reports to the Emperor. Manucci mentions that in Aurangzeb's time such reports were read over to him by Begums during the night, and the ladies consequently often acquired a sound knowledge of the politics of the Empire.(2)

Francis Bernier criticises the department in a sweeping remark. "It is true," he says, "that the Great Moghul sends a Waqiahnawis to the various provinces, that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place, but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governors, so that their presence seldom checks the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people."(3)

That there were cases in which officers belonging to the department of political police were bribed by the governor or other officials cannot be denied. The contemporary native historians admit the fact. But there is no reason to suppose that the cases of corruption were so numerous or so universal as to damn the efficient vigilance of the department as a whole. And it is abundantly clear that the Emperors themselves, specially Aurangzeb, were fully alive to the dangers of corrupt collusion. Mr. Lane Poole in his book on Aurangzeb says that the Emperor was served by a large staff of honest official reporters. Their "news-letters" often brought information of the most important nature to the capital. "These correspondents, of course, were liable to be bribed by dishonest governors," continues Lane-Poole, "but no doubt they acted as a salutary check upon the local officials. By their aid Aouranzeb was able to exercise his passion for business, to examine the minute details of administration and to exercise his patronage down to the appointment of the meanest clerk."(4)

Although the precautionary principle he followed was the same, Aurangzeb carried his checks upon "delegated authority" further than his predecessors. "He adopted much the same plan," points out Lane Poole, "as that which prevails in the police system of our country; he kept moving his officials about and placed them as far as possible from their estates."(1)

Sir John Hawkins, the well-known Elizabethan adventurer who visited India during the peaceful time of Jahangir, was roughly treated by the Custom officers at Surat. He determined to put his grievance against Mocarab Khan, the Custom Officer of the port, before the Emperor. When he reached Agra he was conducted before the Emperor. "The first thing," says Hawkins, "that the Emperor spoke was that he understood that Mocreb-Chan (Mocarab Khan) had not dealt with me properly, bidding mee bee of good cheer, for he would remedie all."(2)

Hawkins was indeed bewildered at such a good system of intelligence. The news, evidently, travelled faster than he did. The Emperor was informed and the offender punished before the complainant was even able to lodge his petition. This is a good example of the efficiency of the system of official espionage under the Mughals. As for the exact number of employees in this Department, and other similar information, the contemporary historians are silent.

Danishmund Khan, (afterwards known as Naimat-Khan-i-Ali) however tells us, "that there were, in all, four thousands Harkarah(3) in the Imperial service scattered all over the vast Empire. The head was called Darogha-i-Harkarah, who was a man of some influence and was much feared; his establishment formed a part of the postal department managed by a high court official called Daroghi-Dak or the

1 Ain Akbari, p. 254 note 1.

2 See Bernier; Maasari-i-Alamgirl; also Nicholas Manucci who differentiates between "spy" and "Khufianawis." It may be explained in this way that "Khufia-nawis" were directly connected with the Intelligence Department, while additional "spies" were in direct correspondence with the King.

3 *Vide* Bernier's travels to India.

4 Lane-Poole's "Aurangzeb" p. 84.

1. Lane-Poole's "Aurangzeb."

2 Hawkins' Letters, pp. 400-401.

3 The term "Harkarah" for the "spies" is confusing. The word has no connection with the word "spy." His duty was to convey mail-bags from one place to another and he was an employee of the Postal Department. These Harkarahs had to pass through villages and towns with their mail-bags, and it is likely that they might have been used for collecting informations and reporting them to the head office. That seems to be the only explanation of their dual duty. (For this information, I am indebted to a friend of mine, the writer of an article in "East and West" entitled the "Intelligence Department of Indian Mohamedan Kings," Bombay, December 1902).

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Superintendent of the Post ; when in the field these spies were sent out in all directions."(1)

"The department of the political police was in active operation," says Mr. Irvine, "both in peace and war."(2)

The officers of the Department were, in fact, the "Crown Inspectors" and were held in dread by corrupt administrators. Indeed, in spite of the inherent drawbacks of the system and of the fact that Aurangzeb carried his mistrust of everything and everybody to ruinous extremes, the Department may be said to have worked with very tolerable success.

1 Danishmand Khan, entry of the 11th Ramzan 1120. A. H.

2 *Vide* the "Army Organization of the Indian Moghul" by William Irvine.

WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By Frank Howel Evans, Author of "Five Years," "The Cinema Girl," &c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

CHAPTER I.

TWO LETTERS.

"THAT'S the last post, I suppose, Blayre ?"

"Yes, miss. Is there anything else you require ?"

"No, thank you. Good night, Blayre."

"Good night, miss."

Blayre, an elderly, rather stooping man with grey hair and the clean-shaven, passive face of the typical English man-servant who has passed his life in easy, comfortable service, moved towards the door. He half turned the handle and then looked back at the girl seated in a low, lounging easy chair by the fire.

She wasn't more than one or two-and-twenty, this girl with hair the colour of ripe corn, with a clear-cut cameo-like face, with a low, broad forehead and eyes of sapphire-blue, shaded by up-curling lashes so long that they almost touched the delicately pencilled eyebrows. The complexion, even in the mingled light of the fire and shaded electric lamps, could be seen to be real, delicate, and peachlike in its bloom, and as she looked up to say good-night to the old servant, Gladys Tremayne's smile was winning, sweet and kindly, showing a set of teeth which quite deserved the term perfect.

She was in evening dress, soft black, her neck and shoulders, rising from the delicate decollete, showing up in charming contrast ; her arms were bare to the elbow and showed dimpling and round, with tapering hands. Her voice, sweet and low, rippled musically, with just a little faint lingering touch in tone and enunciation which hinted at foreign associations.

She looked casually at the two letters which the old man had handed to her on a silver salver, and then looked up at him again as he stood by the door hesitating.

"Yes, Blayre ?" she said. "Did you want to say anything ?"

"Yes, miss, I did." The old man straightened his stooping shoulders a little and took a step forward. "I'm an old man, and I served Mr. Tremayne ever since I was a boy, so I hope you won't take it amiss if I speak what is in my mind ?"

"No, Blayre, of course not ! Why should I ? I always heard my uncle speak of you in the very highest terms, and when I came to London it was like coming to a home where there was an old friend waiting to welcome me."

Blayre's pale cheeks flushed a little, he looked pleased, and there was just a hint of moisture in his eyes and his voice shook a little.

"Ah, he was a good man, was Mr. Tremayne, my master." he went on. "It broke him up when the mistress died—seven years old you were at the time, miss. Ah, I remember you so well ! A little thing all white you were, miss, with gold curls all over your pretty little head."

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"Yes, I often remember the big, strong giant who used to carry me up and down-stairs, Blayre. How very big, how very strong you seemed to me when I was a little child!"

"Yes, that eleven years ago, miss—a big slice out of a man's life when he's getting on. But there, I'm getting talkative myself and forgetting what I wanted to say. Don't you find it lonely, miss, here all by yourself? Haven't you any—forgive me, miss, for taking the liberty—any young friends you could ask to come and stay with you? You seem so all by yourself."

"That's just how I feel sometimes, Blayre." Gladys looked into the fire. "I don't seem to have had a chance to make any friends. I had just a few schoolgirl friends while I was at the Convent in Bruges, and then—well, I've been travelling with uncle for the last year, and living in hotels, so I've just a few acquaintances, that's all. Uncle said that we would come back here to London and then we should soon gather friends round us. And now—well, I've come back alone, without him. Thank you, Blayre, for taking such an interest. I daresay after a time the friends will come."

"Yes, I hope so, miss, I hope so. Young people want young friends. That's all I had to say, miss—just that I should like, for your sake, to see the house full of people, to hear music and laughter, and see happiness everywhere. It would be splendid to have too much work to do. That's all, miss. And now I'll say good-night once more, unless there's anything else you want?"

Gladys had risen by now and was standing with her foot gently resting on the fender. Slim and tall, her figure was in just the right proportions, and as she moved across the room to the old butler with outstretched hand, she showed that she had that all too rare accomplishment of walking well and gracefully.

"Thank you, Blayre, thank you," she said as she shook his hand. "You're quite right. The house does want brightening up. I've been moping too much. Oh, I daresay I shall soon get to know people, and then—why, we shall run you off your legs. Good night, Blayre, old friend—I may call you that, mayn't I, for I knew you when I was a little tot, and uncle always talked about 'my old friend Blayre'."

"Good-night—and God bless you, miss."

When the old man had gone, Gladys looked round the spacious, high-ceilinged, oak-panelled room, the library of the big house in Kirton Square, left to her, together with seven thousand a year, by her uncle, Reginald Tremayne, who had died on the Continent but a brief three months ago.

Up to the age of seventeen she had been educated at one of those delightful convent schools in Belgium, seeing her uncle only during the holidays. Her aunt had died when she was quite a child, and of her own blood parents she knew nothing. Her uncle had told her as a child that her father and mother were both dead, and that he and his wife had adopted her, but beyond that she could get no information out of him, and though at times she yearned to know more of those parents, yet she had been so attached, so devoted to the kindly, stout, loving old uncle that a sense of blankness, of missing something, hardly entered into her life till he left it.

And now she was alone. Reginald Tremayne had died suddenly leaving her all his property, and when the last sad duties were performed and she stood for the last time by the stone which marked where the old man slept his last sleep, she came to England to take up her heritage.

It was lonely in that big, handsomely-furnished house, with its reception-rooms, its wide, square hall, its luxury, its appointments of wealth, of taste, of rarity. But Gladys knew no one in London, her whole life had been spent abroad.

"Wait till we settle down in the old house in Kirton Square," her uncle used to say to her. "I'll take up the old threads again—if any of them are left—and we'll soon have plenty of young people for you to enjoy yourself with. Eleven years it is since we lived there, and I said I'd never go back to it, but now—well, I must get you married. So next year we'll go back to London."

"But I don't want to get married, uncle," said Gladys. "I don't want to leave you. That would be selfish."

"Tut, tut, tut, tut!" said old Tremayne. "That's what you say now, dearie, but wait till Mr. Right comes along, and then you'll prettily pipe a different tune, I know. Yes, next year we'll go back to the old house and start entertaining."

And now he lay sleeping in the Protes-

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tant part of that little foreign cemetery, and she, his sole heiress, was alone in this great house.

Just a month she had been in London, a lonely, solitary month, and again Gladys sighed—it is bad for one so young to sigh!—as she looked round the comfortable room with its evidences of wealth and good taste everywhere.

"Oh, dear," she said to herself softly, suddenly pulling herself together, "this will never do! If I keep on grumbling and grizzling like this I shall get wrinkles."

And she bent forward on tiptoe and looked at the pretty little face reflected in the glass over the mantelpiece.

"Well, so far there aren't any!" she assured herself. "Oh, good gracious me, I've forgotten my letters! Circulars or something like that, I suppose. There is no one else who would be likely to write to me."

Her situation really was rather pathetic. A pretty, rich, young girl without a relation in the world that she knew of, without really an intimate friend, alone in this great house with only a staff of servants—and Blayre. Oh, yes, Blayre had known her since she was a child; he was almost a friend. There was hardly anyone who would want to write to her. That was a sad thing for a girl of eighteen to have to say or think.

She looked at the two letters idly, then reached over and took a quaint, old-fashioned silver paper-knife from the side-table and opened the first envelope. She looked at the address with a puzzled air—Hotel Riche, Pichon.

Pichon? Pichon? ran through her mind. Pichon? Oh, yes, of course, that was the little place on the southern coast of France, a dear, sweet little place with a sandy bay. Oh, yes, she remembered it quite well now! And the Hotel Riche? Yes, that was where they had stayed. Strange! Who could be writing to her from there?

"Dear Miss Tremayne" (the letter began, and the colour mounted to her face as she read the next few lines) "I should like to say Gladys if I might? I wonder if I might?"

Quickly she turned to the signature, which consisted of just one word—Guardene.

Guardene? Yes, of course, she remembered now! Lord Guardene! She and her uncle had met him at that Hotel Riche at Pichon on their visit there, a rollicking, reckless, dare-devil young fellow, worshipped by children and immensely popular with men and women alike, just a tall, brown, curly-haired, straight-limbed English gentleman, clean-bodied, clean-minded, his creed being that a fellow ought to go straight, owe no man anything, look the whole world in the face, and fight like a demon if it was necessary to stand up for yourself or anybody weaker. A lord? Yes, he was a lord, a peer of the realm, but poor as a church mouse as peers go, for when the charges on his estates were settled he had a bare three thousand a year on which to live, and for a peer this is almost pauperdom. But still he laughed, rollicked, jollied his way through life and he and Gladys during their month's stay at Pichon became fast friends, motoring and golfing together and enjoying frank comradeship on either side.

And now—now he was writing her a letter, a letter of love. Gladys read it through once, read it through twice, and the second time there was a little mist before her eyes.

"Dear Miss Tremayne—I should like to say Gladys if I might? I wonder if I might? Please try and read this letter right through without tearing it up. I am an awfully bad hand at writing a letter, but it is like this. I am here at the old hotel, the hotel where I first met you, and everything reminds me of you so badly—or should I say so beautifully? I have been wondering why I let you go without asking you something, for I have been missing you ever since. How long ago was it? Only five months, but oh! it has seemed five years to me. It was chance or fate or something which brought me back here. I was so miserable, and I seemed to think that I should be happier if I came to the place where you had been, where we had met. I knew then, Gladys, more surely than ever that I loved you. I never ought to have let you go before asking you if you could care for a rotten sort of a fellow like me. I wonder whether you could? That's why I said might I call you Gladys? Will you write to me by return and let me know my fate one way or the other, for I love you, I love you? That's all I can say, but it's singing in my heart all the time—that and your name—Gladys, Gladys!"

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And the letter was signed just simply "Guardene."

But there was a postcript which made Gladys smile, such a sweet little smile, as she read the letter through the second time.

"P. S.—I have a Christian name, and it is Jack—or, rather, John, but people who like me call me Jack, I wonder whether you will call me Jack ?"

"P. S. again.—I don't think your uncle quite objects to me, because he gave me his address in town, to which I am writing, saying that it would always find him, and now I am writing to you there. I have taken a long time to pluck up courage to do it, and dear—dear, you won't be unkind to me, will you ?"

When she had finished reading the letter Gladys sat quietly for a moment looking into the fire thoughtfully, wistfully. Then with half a sigh she read the letter through again and then again. Then, as if communing with herself she shook her head slightly, put the sheet of paper back in its envelope and sighed again as she laid it on a little table by her side.

"What a pity, what a pity he thinks about me like that !" she said half aloud. "I wish I could—oh, but there it's no use, it's no use ! And he was so nice too !"

She passed her hand across her eyes with a little shiver and then took up the other letter. Who can this be from ? she thought as she scanned the address. "Wemmering Ranch, Manitoba, Canada."

The letter itself began abruptly, almost brutally it seemed to her as she read the lines.

"Almost as soon as you get this (it ran) I shall be over in England with my wife and son to contest the will. Old Reginald Tremayne had no relation in the world except me, and now I see by his will in the papers that he has left all his money to you. You can either give it up quietly and peacefully or you can fight the matter in the law courts, I don't care which. I am just a plain, blunt man, and this is to let you know that I intend to have my rights. That's all I've got to say at present.

JOHN RAYMES."

Gladys flushed as she read the hard, insolent words, and she crushed the letter in her hand for a moment as if to throw it into the fire, but quickly calmed herself and unlocked a little cabinet, at the same time picking up the other letter, the one from Jack Lord Guardene.

"No," she said, suddenly, "you shall go there because you're a nice letter." She put Lord Guardene's letter in another drawer. "Poor boy, I wish I could answer as you wish ! And you—you shall go in there and stop there until you go with me to the solicitor's." And she put Mr. Raymes' letter in another drawer.

Then she locked the cabinet and went up to her bedroom, but that night sleep was almost out of the question. Those two letters seemed to have brought new things into her life. Lord Guardene loved her, wanted her to marry him, and she thought regretfully of the handsome, laughing lad—he was little more than that —who had charmed everyone. She liked him. Yes, but she didn't love him ; she knew that. No, her heart had not been touched. He didn't know of her riches, of her position ; he only knew that she was just the girl he loved—she saw that in his letter—and it hurt her to think that she couldn't answer as he wanted her to answer.

And then, blotting out his face, there came the memory of that second letter, the one from Mr. John Raymes. Who could he be ? What was it ? Was it blackmail or what ? Well, to-morrow she would see Mr. Cowan, her uncle's solicitor, and ask him for advice.

At length, after many weary waking hours, exhausted nature forced sleep upon her, and it was with a start that she heard her maid say the next morning that it was nearly eleven o'clock.

"You were sleeping so soundly that I didn't like to distrub you, Miss," said the girl. "Shall I bring you up some tea now ? And Mr. Blayre said I was to tell you that a lady and two gentlemen were waiting to see you in the library. They've just come."

"Eleven o'clock ! Good gracious me, how disgraceful !" cried Gladys. "Quick, get my bath and everything ready, and some tea too, Ellen. Did those people give their names ?"

"The name of Raymes," answered the girl.

CHAPTER II.

THE RAYMES FAMILY.

"Ah you're Miss Tremayne then—at least that's what you call yourself. My

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name is Raymes, John Raymes. This is my wife and this is my son. I thought we'd better just come and see how the land lay, as it were."

Gladys had dressed quickly and gone down to the library, where the visitors were waiting for her. Her heart fluttered a little, and she felt nervous as she opened the door. "Of the name of Raymes," had said her maid. This call then followed the receipt of the letter last night.

A broad-shouldered, burly man, with a fringe of reddish beard, now turning to the lighter colour of more than middle age, framing a face fat and ruddy, but with thin lips and a thin, pointed nose. Small eyes glittered behind bushy eyebrows, and the man stood before the fireplace, with thumbs hooked in his waistcoat, with a proprietorial sort of air. His voice was harsh and rasping, and he looked Gladys up and down with almost a sneer.

Close by stood the woman he had said was his wife. She was of medium height, with hair just beginning to turn grey, and plain, uninteresting, unattractive features, and a way—it might have been a trick or a habit—of clasping and unclasping her hands on the handle of her umbrella. She continually looked at her husband and then at Gladys, glancing from one to the other with quickly moving eyes.

"I am Miss Tremayne," said Gladys quietly, with rather a heightened colour. "Won't you sit down ?"

As she spoke the younger man, who had been looking out of the window, turned round. He was tall and dark-haired, with features rather irregular in outline, with square jaw and chin that was almost pugnacious in the way that it thrust itself forward. His thick eyebrows almost met in a straight bar, and, contrary to the fashion of most young Englishmen, a black moustache shaded his upper lip. His face was mahogany tinted. His clothes were rough and badly cut, and the square, strong hand that rested on the back of a chair for a second had never known the fripperies of a manicurist; the white nails were not polished to a ladylike pink. There was a scar, too, across the back of that hand, and somehow or another Gladys found herself looking at it and thinking what a strong hand it seemed. And when with an easy motion the young man lifted a heavy chair with that one member and passed it to her with a smile that showed brilliant white teeth, something told her that she was right; it was indeed a strong hand, and the owner of it was a strong man.

And then she forced herself to face the situation which confronted her.

"I'm a plain, blunt man, as I told you in my letter," went on Mr. Raymes in his harsh voice. "I suppose you got that ?"

"Yes, I received it last night," said Gladys with quiet dignity. "I understand that you lay claim to my late uncle's property which he left to me. Don't you think it would be better if we left the matter to our respective solicitors ?"

"Oh, well, if you want law you can have it," went on Raymes. "You ought to have had my letter days ago, but I suppose it went wrong somewhere. Anyway, we arrived in England yesterday, and the sooner things are settled the better has always been my motto. Now what are you going to do ? Clear out nice and quietly ? Or are we going to have trouble ? Give me your answer one way or the other and I shall know what to do."

Gladys was now white to the lips; she had never been spoken to like this before and she rose and tried to speak with calmness, though her lips were quivering and every nerve was tingling.

"I think it would be best to see your solicitors, father," said young Raymes, rising quickly.

"Oh, I'll see my solicitor fast enough!" was the rough reply as old Raymes rose too. "If you like to put on high and mighty airs I've done with you. If you'd have been willing to be a bit humble, I might have seen to it that you didn't want for anything, but as you're trying to treat me like a bit of dirt, you'll have to suffer for it. Come on, mother !"

Gladys moved across to the bell, and young Raymes spoke to her quietly, almost in a whisper.

"My father doesn't really mean all that he says——"

"The door, Blayre. And I'm not at home again to Mr. Raymes or any of his family."

Old Raymes laughed harshly.

"You won't be at home at all very soon and you'll be sorry you ever spoke like that before I've done with you."

He stalked out of the room. Mr. Raymes looked after him and then looked back at Gladys as if she would like to speak.

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"I—I—I'm very sorry," she said, rather huskily. "I didn't know he was going to speak like that."

Gladys stood still, motionless, her face immobile, white. She might have been a statue.

"I say, I'm—I'm awfully sorry," said young Raymes. "Father had no right to say such things. I wouldn't have come if I'd known."

And still Gladys looked straight before her. She answered not a word, and the young man, with head a little bowed, walked out of the room.

"I'll fight, I'll fight, I'll fight," said Gladys between her clenched teeth when she was by herself. "What do they mean by coming here and insulting me like that? And yet," she stopped for a moment in the rapid paces she was taking across the room with hands clasped close to her sides and head erect, "and yet it was only the old man; the others, the mother and the son, they seemed ashamed. Yes, let me be just, let me be honest, they seemed sorry. Now then for Mr. Cowan!"

She took the telephone book from the little slab in the corner where the instrument was, and was rapidly turning the pages with trembling fingers when the door opened and Blayre entered.

"The young man, miss," he said, "the young man who went away just now, he's come back and insists on seeing you, and says he won't go away till he has."

"Very well then, I'll see him," said Gladys, with a sudden impulse which afterwards she could not understand.

Young Raymes came in with his head held high. His rough, ill-fitting coat was buttoned close to him as if to show that he was ready for a fray of some kind, and his pugnacious chin seemed to jut out more sternly than ever.

"I told your servant I wouldn't go till I'd seen you," he said. "You wouldn't listen to me a few minutes ago, but I'm going to try and make you now. I am ashamed, yes, absolutely ashamed, of my father, and I told him so to his face in the street before we had gone many yards, and said that I was coming back to apologise to you. And yet there is something to be said for my father, too, Miss Tremayne. He's had a hard life; he's had to work hard, too, all his life, and may be it has helped to kill the softer feelings within him. But I want you to believe that he isn't as black as he looks."

"I think I said that the matter had better be conducted by our solicitors," said Gladys, with icy hauteur. And almost in the same second she hated herself for her attitude.

"But you must let me explain things; try and smooth them a little, Miss Tremayne! Yes, you must, for I'm not going out of here till you've heard me. I'm a bit of a rough fellow myself, and I'm not much used to a lady's company, but when I start at a thing I generally fight it through to a finish. Now will you listen?

"Yes, I'll listen," said Gladys almost meekly, and much to her own surprise. This masterful young man evidently meant to have his own way.

"Well, father had just decided to retire. He had made enough to live on for the rest of his life and keep mother and me in comfort without my having to work; but I wasn't going to live on him—I was going to stick to the old ranch where he made his pile. And then one day he read in the paper of the death of old Reginald Tremayne, and how he had left all his money and property to his niece, Gladys Tremayne—that was you, Miss Tremayne, of course. When he read it, father said he knew perfectly well that he was old Tremayne's only living relative, that he, Tremayne, had never had a niece in his life, and that—forgive me, Miss Tremayne, I'm only a plain, blunt man—that you must be an impostor, and that he should come here and fight the matter to a finish if necessary. He said he should come and see you the moment he arrived in England, and mother and I came with him, because—well, we thought we might perhaps see things differently from what he did. Of course, now we've seen you, Miss Tremayne—at least, I'm speaking for my mother and myself." Young Raymes spoke awkwardly, tugging at his coat collar. "We know perfectly well that you couldn't be an impostor. Couldn't we settle this matter pleasantly without any bother about lawyers? Father's plenty of money; it isn't that with him, I know. I believe really it's only that he thought—oh, well, dash it all, I don't know how to put it—"

"He thought that I was an impostor," said Gladys quietly. "Will you go on, Mr. Raymes, please? I should like it better if

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you spoke out plainly. Your father alleges that I can't be Mr. Tremayne's niece. Is that so ?"

"Well—well," the young man fidgeted again on his chair, "he says that old Tremayne never had a brother or a sister, no more had Mrs. Tremayne, so there couldn't be a niece. Of course, that's only what father says, and he must be wrong. But your solicitor would be able to prove that, wouldn't he, so that there would be nothing for you to bother about, and father would just jolly well have to apologise, that's all."

"Your father may be right," said Gladys quietly. "And if I'm an impostor, of course I've no right here. Thank you for coming back to see me, but right is right. I'll see my solicitor as soon as possible, and if you'll leave me your address, he will doubtless communicate with you. I don't think I need say any more."

"Oh, that'll be all right, I'm sure. And you'll excuse my rough way of putting things, won't you ? I've never had much opportunity of speaking to real ladies, and father isn't really so bad at heart, you know ; it's only his way. And I say, Miss Tremayne, if everything goes all right, as I know it will, you'll try and forgive us all, won't you ? I expect even now mother is talking straight to father about it."

"My solicitor will communicate with your father, I've no doubt," repeated Gladys.

Young Raymes took up his hat and moved easily to the door. For a big man he was astonishingly light on his feet, and his movements were the graceful ones of an athlete, of a man whose limbs Nature had trained to move in their proper manner.

"I've done my best," he said in rather a crestfallen way. "I thought perhaps you would have accepted my apology, but I can quite understand. You were hurt, and I don't wonder. We never ought to have come to see you ; we never ought to have let father come, but we didn't know he was going to speak to you like that. We're only common people, and that must be our excuse. And father was angry because he thought someone had swindled old Tremayne of whom he was very fond, though he hadn't seen him for some years. We're only common people," he repeated, "and I'm sorry, very sorry. Good morning."

And when young Raymes had gone Gladys muttered to herself :

"Only common people ! Only common people ! But even common people have their rights. If the money isn't mine, I won't keep a penny of it. Only common— But I don't think the son's common. Ah, but there, what's the good of thinking; I must act."

Quickly the telephone number of the solicitor was found, Gladys made an appointment to see him at once, and in his office she heard something that staggered her, that frightened her.

The old lawyer, a lifelong friend of Reginald Tremayne, was sympathetic, and listened to all she had to tell him. Then he hesitated a little before he spoke.

"I always feared that something like this would happen," he said, "and I told my old friend so. I told him that it would be better for him to let you know himself than that you should find out in any other way. My dear child, it is quite true. You are not, you never were, Reginald Tremayne's niece. He and his wife adopted you when you were quite a baby ; they never even told me your real name. I begged and prayed Tremayne to leave the information with me ; but no, he wouldn't.

"So—so," said Gladys, "I really don't know who I am ? I have no right to the name of Tremayne ?"

"Of course you have ! You have the right of use, my dear. But there, you needn't worry. And no one could turn you out of your property. The will is strong and firm enough—I saw to that. This distant relative—Raymes, John Raymes—pah ! he wouldn't have the ghost of a chance. I'll see him and give him a talking to. Now you go home, my dear, and dry your pretty eyes and set about enjoying yourself. Nobody can touch your money, depend upon that, and nobody can turn you out of your house. Give me the address young Raymes left with you, and I'll write to his father. I'll teach him to come frightening my pretty young client. There, there, good-bye, my dear."

Gladys returned home saddened, depressed, feeling mortified, humiliated. It was true, then, that she wasn't Reginald Tremayne's niece. She didn't even know her real name. And yet, what did that matter ? she tried to think. She had never known those parents who had given her into the keeping of strangers ; she had been brought up to love her so-called uncle and aunt, and they had treated her as

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she were their own child. She had a right to the name of Tremayne ; the money, the property, was all hers still. Why, then, should she trouble, should she worry ? But still the feeling couldn't be shaken off. Somehow or another she felt that she was indeed what the old man had called her—an impostor. She had no right to her name, she had no right to be in this big house ; all the estate ought to have been left to the relative, however distant. Quixotic, far-fetched, ultra-sentimental her ideas would have been thought by the worldly ; but a woman's sweet, simple nature made her feel unhappy in thinking that she was enjoying the possession of what was not really hers. And yet, could she give it all up ? Perhaps, after all, old Raymes would fight, and she shuddered to think that she might have to appear in court, that she would perhaps be looked upon as an adventuress, as one who had twisted an old couple round her little finger.

Then she tried to persuade herself that all that was merely her imagination, that no such thing could happen. Mr. Cowan had told her that he would settle everything with old Mr. Raymes.

And so for a week she tried to occupy herself with other matters, to force her mind to take an interest in outside things.

But everything was brought back to her one morning when Blayre announced that Mr. Raymes senior has called and would like the favour of an interview with her. The favour of an interview ! Then Mr. John Raymes was finding his manners.

He was in the same room where she had seen him with his wife and his son ; he was in the same attitude before the fireplace, with his thumbs in his waistcoat, but his manner was just a trifle less cocksure, less bullying.

"My wife and my son both tell me that I owe you an apology," he said. "Well, that's as may be. I was only speaking what was in my mind. But what I've come to you about this morning is without prejudice, as the lawyers say, and quite private, you know. Now, I've been to my lawyer, and he says that I've a very good case to fight you on. I heard from your lawyer a man of the name of Cowan, and he told me that I hadn't got a chance, and that I'd better keep quiet. But my own lawyer tells me different ; he says it's worth fighting, and he's a sharp chap. He's found out all about you, how you aren't old Tremayne's niece at all, and how you were adopted by them. Now, I don't want to say anything nasty, but that's a pretty good thing to go to law on, isn't it ? Remember there is such a thing as undue influence over an old man, you know. A nameless child, no relation at all, getting everything when there is a relative somewhere in the world. A pretty good case my man says I've got."

Gladys faced old Raymes and looked him straight in the eyes.

"Mr. Raymes, you said you'd come here to apologise to me," she said. "I think you're insulting me again, aren't you ?"

"Oh, bless you, I didn't mean it ! It's only my way, you know. Now, if you'll come to my way of thinking there are going to be no law proceedings—that's settled. Now, I'm a plain, blunt man, as I have said before. You've got plenty of money, you've got possession of the estate, and possession is nine points of the law, they say. Well, I've a bit of money too, but not too much, and there's my boy——"

The colour flew to Gladys' cheeks.

"Yes my boy. A fine young fellow ain't he ? Well, now, I've got ambitions for him ; I want him to do well. I want him to go into Parliament, or something of that sort. But he wants toning down a bit, smoothing off, you know, and to do that wants a lady, and a lady with money, and then—well, he'd be somebody before long, I know. D'you understand ?"

Gladys nearly sank to the floor with shame ; the inches which dignity had added to her height seemed to vanish ; she felt humiliated.

"I'll just put what I mean in a few words," went on old Raymes, quite unconscious of Gladys' discomfiture, of her pain and shame. "You and my boy Harry fix it up. You're just the sort of girl for him, I can see that. Then you could stick to your money and the house and everything there is without any bother."

Gladys steadied herself with a great effort, and even tried to smile.

"I suppose you mean well, Mr. Raymes," she said, "but that's not the way marriages are arranged in this country. I thank you for the compliment and beg to decline your offer."

Perhaps the old man thought there was a sneer in her voice, for his red face turned a dull purple.

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"Oh, not good enough for you I suppose!" he said. "Is that it? I suppose you don't know what you're risking, do you? Having all your money and everything taken away from you."

"Stop, stop!" Gladys was roused now; she felt strong and resolute. "Mr. Raymes, again you are insulting me. You're threatening me, you're—oh, can't you understand the shame of it all to a woman? You're trying to force me into a marriage with your son, a man I've only seen once. I wonder if you've spoken to him about me? I could kill myself if I thought you had. And you've threatened me, you've threatened to take my money from me if I won't agree to your shameful, to your wicked proposal to me. You dare, you dare to speak to me like that! Take the money, take the house, take everything there is, Mr. Raymes, but I'll still keep my pride, thank you. You can take all—all—everything! I'll leave this house in an hour, but until then please try to imagine that it is mine, and leave it at once."

And as she spoke she rang the bell.

"The door, Blayre!" she cried, with an unconscious, magnificently dramatic gesture of the arm as the butler appeared, pointing the way out to old Raymes, who left with an uncomfortable and unusual perspiration on his brow.

"Oh, it's all right," he said to himself as he walked down the steps, "she'll come round. She won't want to lose all that money for nothing, I know."

As she stood there when old Ray had left, swaying slightly to and fro, seemed to Gladys that the white purity her maidenhood had been stained— seemed as if her very soul had been drag in the mire. She had been offered a barg as if she were, indeed, an impostor, woman who would cling to her mon whatever might betide. Every fibre in splendidly virginal being revolted again old Raymes's insulting proposal, and wh he had left, it was with the strength desperation, of insulted womanhood, th she went upstairs and gave her orders her maid.

"Pack all that belongs to me in the w of personal things, Ellen," she said. shall send for them before very long. I going out, I'm going away. My hat, cloak, quick!"

The maid looked frightened, awed, her mistress's mood was imperious, co manding, and she helped Gladys with hat and cloak, wondering the while wh had happened.

Her gold chain-bag Gladys took fr the dressing-table, heedless of what mo it contained, and walked downstairs i the street. She gave one look back at tall, stately mansion and then made way straight to the office of Mr. Cow the solicitor.

"I'll give it all up! I'll never go ba never, never, never!" she said to herself

(*To be continued*).

POSSIBILITIES OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By Dr. P. C. Ray.

THE development of chemical industries is dependent on the economic utilisation of the bye-products and can only proceed *pari passu* with the general industrial development and educational advancement of the country. The simultaneous growth of a system of interdependent industries is essential so that the bye-products in one industry may be profitably utilised in another. The growth will necessarily be slow, but when the foundation will have been successfully established on a continuous chain of connection, progress will be steady and sure. total production of coal tar colour Germany now comes to over £50,000, annually and the industry as it st to-day is the result of over forty y of continuous research work and of tiring manufacturing and merchand effect and development. The coal tar co industry has now become essential German industry and the success is a butable to a large extent to the gro

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of a chain of allied industries in which the bye-products of the great colour industry are most economically utilised.

It will be seen from the trade returns of British India that United Kingdom contributes a considerable portion of the total imports of heavy chemicals in India.

The principal heavy chemicals which constitute the bulk of the total imports from the United Kingdom are—

1913-14	Quantity (Cwts)	Value (£)
Carbonate of Soda (Soda ash and Soda crystals) ...	4,22,720	106,054
Bicarbonate of Soda ...	86,353	28,244
Caustic Soda ...	91,018	53,871
Other Soda Compounds ...	27,958	13,520
Bleaching Materials ...	58,062	25,427

The soda compounds came almost exclusively from the United Kingdom.

The most important chemicals which are required in the many industries in India, and for the matter of fact in every country, are alkalis and sulphuric acid. They are required by themselves in the manufacturing processes connected with many industries as well as for the manufacture of other chemicals. In fact, it has very aptly been said that sulphuric acid is the mother of all industries. The importance of the local manufacture of alkalis is still more emphasised by the fact that the bye-products, *viz.*, hydrochloric acid and chlorine, are essentially required for the preparation of a series of chemicals, the various chlorides and bleaching materials which are so important for daily consumption in the textile and paper mills and for various other industries in India.

The manufacture according to modern processes of the alkali and compounds named above has not been taken up in India. Practically the whole of these compounds, the bleaching materials and various chlorides required for Indian consumption are imported. Consequently, any shortage of production in the United Kingdom leading to restricted imports into India may seriously handicap many industries.

Caustic Soda.—Caustic soda apart from feeding the chlorine industries by its bye-products is itself essentially necessary in many industries in India, the most prominent among them being (1) manufacture of soap, (2) refining of oils, (3) dyeing, (4) manufacture of paper-pulp.

Soap.—The manufacture of soap in its various branches (toilet soap, household washing soap, laundry soap, etc.,) is comparatively a new industry in India. But already there are indications of its growing expansion. With the spread of education and with the growth of ideas of sanitation this industry with its advantages in raw materials will probably expand. Up to now the work done in this direction is insignificant and up-hill.

For trade purposes the import of soap falls under three heads. The imports under these heads in 1913-14 shown below will indicate India's requirements.

	Cwts.	£
(*a*) Household and laundry soap (in bars or tablets) ...	3,01,369	3,14,511
(*b*) Toilet soap ...	45,339	1,66,194
(*c*) Other sorts ...	16,152	19,695

It is remarkable that of the total imports of soap (362,860 cwts.), imports from the United Kingdom alone stood at 350,703 cwts., or, in other words, nearly 97 p.c. of the total imports came from the United Kingdom. This predominant position of the United Kingdom is due to her cheap alkali, the command over the soap producing oils and to her capability of utilising the bye-product, namely glycerine. India is rich in oilseeds, and her export trade in oilseeds is very large. Even if the oils for soap making are produced here largely, absence of cheap alkali and our inability to utilise the waste liquors for recovery of glycerine are great obstacles to the development of soap industry.

Paper-pulp.—Pulp of wood or other materials imported for the purpose of paper making in India amounted to 247,636 cwts., valued at £ 115,800 in 1913-14. This quantity is consumed in the few paper mills in India which cannot even meet a small percentage of India's paper requirements. Materials for manufacture of paper-pulp are largely available in India, and high price of caustic soda, bleaching powder and other alkali products stand in the way of the manufacture of paper-pulp.

There is yet another industry with considerable possibilities which has not been undertaken in India and in which large quantities of caustic soda are required. The use of aluminium utensils for various purposes is gradually becoming popular in this country. But the aluminium metal for this purpose is wholly imported. This is anomalous for a country where the raw

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material for the purpose occurs in abundance. The first stage of the manufacture is extraction of alumina from bauxite with alkali and the second stage is the manufacture of the metal from alumina. Bauxite of good quality occurs in India near Jubbulpore.

From the foregoing observations it will be seen that local manufacture of alkali is urgently necessary to meet gradually increasing requirements for the development of other Chemical Industries. The raw materials are available or can be made available in India. The difficulty of obtaining cheap electric power is not insuperable. The Hydro-Electric Scheme for the supply of cheap electric power in the Bombay mills is an indication of advancement in this direction. The most important is that unless the manufacture is conducted on a very large scale economical production of the alkalies and of the various bye-products, so as to compete with imported articles, is believed to be impossible.

The capital already sunk in the alkali works in England is enormous and from the Indian point of view simply colossal. The profits made by one firm alone last year exceeded a million pounds sterling. Unless a captain of industry with the genius and resources of a Tata were to enter the field, I am afraid, there is very poor chance of success.

By harnessing the Cauvery the Government of Mysore has secured a supply of cheap electric power which is now utilised mainly in the Kolar Gold Fields but which may also be diverted to the manufacture of chemicals.

The subject of alkali manufacture and its bearing on the general industrial development has been briefly dealt with. It has been already said that the extent of industrial development of a country is indicated by its requirements of sulphuric acid. This is a subject on which I can speak with some personal experience.

There are two principal factors which stand out prominently as bar against the development of the sulphuric acid and consequently to the alkali and chlorine industries. One of these is due to natural causes—the absence of suitable Iron or Copper Pyrite mine which supplies the sulphur content, the chief content, of sulphuric acid. There is a move now in the right direction and the country is being searched for Pyrite mines and some day one may find workable Pyrite in the Central Provinces or in the Southern Pergannas, those hitherto sealed treasuries of India's mineral wealth. Pyrite has to be imported and one may look forward in a near future, to the introduction of Pyrite sulphuric acid. We are making all through out in India and Burma small quantities of sulphuric acid from sulphur, technically called crude sulphur but which is practically a pure product containing 98 per cent sulphur. The price of sulphuric acid made therefrom is necessarily very high. But even if we find Pyrite locally or import conveniently, yet there is that other bar, that of transport difficulty, and heavy railway freights; that appears to be insurmountable. If sulphuric acid were made in Calcutta or Bombay as cheap as in London, yet for you at Baroda it will make little difference in cost whether you import from Bombay or from London taking into consideration the heavy railway freights common to both and the high charge of acid-proof vessels.

Fertilisers and Superphosphates.—One of the uses of cheap sulphuric acid is for the manufacture of fertilisers; notably the manufacture of superphosphates from bones, the use of which, however, has not yet become popular in India on account of absence of education of the agricultural population in the matter of "intensive cultivation." Yet India has recently purchased 2000 tons of superphosphates, half of which is coming from Osaka. India exports large quantities of bones annually. The total exports during 1913-14 amounted to 105,413 *tons* valued at £522,233. This enormous quantity of bones is going out of the country for conversion into fertiliser elsewhere. This is an indirct loss to the soil of India and the condition is alarming. This loss is, however, unavoidable till the agricultural population realises the utility of the fertiliser. Meanwhile the country should be able to manufacture superphosphates and export them instead of the raw bones and importing bone superphosphates. Here again, absence of cheap supply of sulphuric acid is a handicap. I may state here, in passing, that the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works is making an effort in this direction.

Ammonium sulphate.—This is being manufactured at present to a limited extent in certain places in connection with gas

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works and bye-product recovery in coke-ovens. Ammonium sulphate manufatured in India is being used locally in sugar-cane plantations and some amount is also being exported to Ceylon and Strait Settlements. With a large number of coke ovens, and cheap supply of sulphuric acid there is prospect of the industry going ahead.

Oil Products.—There is a large export trade in oil cakes from India. They are castor, cocoanut, groundnut, linseed, cotton cake and other sorts of cakes. The total export in 1913-14 amounted to the large quantity of 3,506,272 cwts., valued at £ 920,249. This is no doubt a valuable trade for India, but this large figure shows that the use of oil cakes as fertiliser has not become popular in India. This is due to ignorance of the agricultural population. Total export of oils of castor, cocoanut, groundnut, linseed and cotton amounted to the figure of 2,491,535 gallons. Great part of this amount could be converted into various oil products and exported as such instead of in the condition of raw oil. It is remarkable that India is a large producer of cotton seed, but she exports most of the seeds instead of building up a large industry of cotton oil and cotton oil products. The export of cotton seed from India in 1913-14 amounted to 5,686,533 cwts., valued at £ 1,416,743, whereas she exported only 2,507 gallons of oil valued at £ 347. The cotton oil industry is in its infant stage in India. The oil is valuable for soap making. The oil itself by proper refining process can be made a valuable edible oil. The main difficulty is that as long as the cotton cake does not find a ready market in India the manufacture of the oil locally is not likely to prove profitable.

We may learn a good deal from the history of the cotton oil industry in the United States of America which produces a large amount of cotton seeds. As far back as 1834 the settlers in the United States utilised most of the seeds as manures and only a meagre portion was expressed for oil, which was used for burning and painting. During the period of the American Civil War attention was turned to the expression of the seeds and since then its trade is continually increasing.

The oil contains certain volatile principles which caused a disagreeable odour when the oil was used for cooking and created natural prejudices. The oil was made edible by removing the volatile principles and by improving its flavour and consequently the industry made a rapid stride. This was the chemists' service and we find that in 1913 nearly 76 per cent of the entire crop was expressed for oil which fetched about 49 crores of rupees. The chemist was not satisfied with his triumph and has now converted the liquid oil, an unsaturated body, by hydrogenization into a saturated substance which is a solid fat and has proved to be a better substitute for animal fat used in cooking.

The oil cake obtained in that country has been found to be a good cattle food, having the food value of low-grade hay. The price of the cake varies according to its quality but generally it is a rupee per maund.

It will thus be seen that a vast amount of profit is derived from the cotton seeds and it has been calculated that the chemist has added from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 to the value of the crop for every bale of cotton grown. Considering the fact that India grows about 5 million bales of cotton we are only left to shudder at the immensity of loss that we are suffering on account of our ignorance and incapacity.

What has been said here applies under certain limitations also to Mohua Oil of which there is an abundant supply in and about Baroda.

Elementary Education of the agricultural population is essential for the improvement of agricultural conditions in general in India and it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the enlightened State of Baroda is forging ahead in this direction. One acre of land in Java produces cane which gives 3.44 tons of sugar whereas in India one acre yields cane capable of producing only about 1.3 tons of sugar.

Tanning Industry.—India is one of the largest suppliers of raw hides to the world. The export of total hides and skins (raw) from India in 1913-14 amounted to 1,602,310 cwts., valued at £ 7,990,882. There is some export trade in leather, tanned or dressed, mainly from Madras and Bombay. This leather is only half tanned by bark and is subjected to further tanning on arrival in foreign countries. The industry of chrome tanning is of recent growth in India. There is great scope for its development.

Tannin Extract.—India abounds in tannin materials. The most prominent

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are myrobolams, babul bark, wattle bark, avaram bark, mangrove bark, and in the Baroda State, besides these, we have a plentiful supply of Khair, asintree, aavil, amla, and roinee. Tannin extracts can be made in India and exported to other countries.

Starch.—Import of starch into India under head 'starch and farina,' in 1913-14 amounted to 101,067 cwts., valued at £65,606. Starch is required mostly in cotton and paper mills for sizing. Starch generally used is obtained from wheat, potato, rice or maize. Some starch derivatives, such as dextrine, are also used considerably, especially for soft dressing.

India is *per excellence* the country for cereals and starch ought to be manufactured in extensive quantity for export.

Some of the other chemicals required for various industrial purposes are—

Potassium Compounds.—Cyanide of potassium imported from United Kingdom during 1913-14 amounted to 5,239 cwts., valued at £22,657. Other potassium compounds imported amounted to 8,733 cwts., valued at £15,812. Of this, United Kingdom contributed 3,318 cwts., Germany 3,225 cwts., and Italy 1,320 cwts. The rest came from other countries. Potassium compounds are used in the manufacture of soft soap, potash glass, in textile and dyeing processes and as manures. Stassfurt in Germany is the chief source of world's potash supply. Potash deposits occur in the salt range of the Punjab, but they are of very poor quality.

Ammonia and Ammonium salts.—Of the total imports to the amount of 13,340 cwts., in 1913-14, United Kingdom alone contributed 12,985 cwts., valued at £ 28,-428. The manufacture of ammonium sulphate in India has already been referred to.

Carbide of Calcium.—Total import in 1913-14 amounted to 19,998 cwts., valued at £14,474 of which 2,783 cwts. came from United Kingdom and 10,901 cwts. from Germany. Its manufacture does not appear to present special difficulties provided a cheap supply of electric power is available.

Disinfectants.—Total import in 1913-14 amounted to 25,395 cwts., valued at £ 26,394, of which 23,815 cwts., valued at £24,599 came from United Kingdom alone. Germany contributed only 623 cwts., valued at £1,045. The source of practically all disinfectants is coal tar distillation products. Coal tar is made in very small quantities in India and no attempt has hitherto been made to distil what little is produced in this country.

Industrial Alcohol.—There is a very large import trade from Java in this article. Java makes huge quantities of alcohol from molasses which it gets as a by-product in its sugar factories. There are hardly any sugar factories here working on a large scale and almost all the alcohol that is made here is used as liquor. The price of molasses is high and would not warrant manufacture of cheap alcohol. But we need not look to molasses for alcohol having an abundant supply in mohua. The sugar content of mohua is identical to that of molasses whereas its price is only half. There is no reason why mohua should be permitted to be exported as food for cattle and pigs and not utilised in the manufacture of spirit. Representing one of the Pharmaceutical Works I have had to feel keenly the want of rectified spirit cheap enough to be utilised for manufacture of tinctures and other medicinal preparations. It only needs an enterprising organiser to establish the industry and I am glad to find the Baroda Alembic Works has made a successful beginning in this direction.

There has been a dearth of organic dyestuff employed in our textile and leather industries and also of other chemicals used in medicine, while there has been a constant demand of chemicals made in India from outside, owing to the present war. It is chiefly this cause, aided by our Swadeshi awakening, that has made us feel the necessity of developing our chemical industry. In this respect, however, we must be guided by prudence and also by the experiences of other countries. Let me be more clear.

An undertaking for starting a factory for the production of dyestuff and fine chemicals would be futile and is foredoomed to failure and disappointment. Even in England and America, where there are already such industries in existence and where the people are feeling still more keenly the scarcity of these, there is still some hesitation among a section of the people for further attempt towards the advancement of the industry, because of the competition of Germany. Let me quote from the presidential address delivered by Professor Perkin, perhaps the highest authority in England on Organic Chem-

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try and the worthy son of the first discoverer of the aniline dyes, at the Annual Meeting of the Chemical Society of London, held in 1915, to illustrate this. He says,

"I am inclined to think that we must be prepared to face the certainty that some years must elapse before we can compete successfully against organisations which have taken years to develop and bring to perfection. Many of us hold the view that in order to prevent underselling and other methods of competition, the Government ought to protect the new venture for ten years at least by placing an import duty of not less than 25 per cent. on all German dyes and other organic products."

Let me also give you an idea of the enormous German organisation by giving a few figures, regarding the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabric, one of the big German companies. For transportation within the plant the company utilises 42 miles of rail road. Its water works supply 10 billions gallons yearly and its ice factory 12,000 tons of ice. It has four hundred steam engines and five hundred electric motors, nearly as many telephone stations, and 25 steam fire engines. It has a frontage on the Rhine of one and a half miles and handles sulphuric acids in tank steamers. In about the year 1908, it employed 217 chemists, 142 civil engineers, 8,000 workmen and a commercial staff of 918.

Another dye industry, the Farbwerke, Vormals Meister, Lucius and Bruning, in Hochst, employs 350 chemists, 150 engineers and technical experts, 600 clerks and about 10,000 workmen.

There are such four great and eighteen smaller companies in Germany involved in dyestuff industry, and in addition to these are Kahlbaum, Merck, Schering, de Haen and a host of others engaged in producing fine chemicals. So that the number of research chemists alone in all the factories, we believe, would come up to several thousands.

Under these circumstances, we can only profitably direct our energies in other channels where we have already found some indications of success. India exports annually from 12 to 14 crores of rupees worth of practically raw hides and skins. Bark tanning of a crude sort is done in Madras by *chamars* but experts are of opinion that the unscientific process adopted by them only deteriorates the quality of the skin. India again exports considerable amount of dyeing and tanning materials.

Here we have to open the first dismal chapter in the economic condition of our country. We have an abundant supply of raw materials both in hides and tanning-yielding barks and fruits and yet we remain contented with talking things aloud. It is an act of national folly and crime to allow a single raw hide or skin to leave our shores, which has not been properly turned into the finished leather. If we take the average price of a raw skin at Rs. 7, a very moderate price, a simple calculation will show that we in our helplessness and ignorance allow about 50 crores of rupees per annum to slip out of our hands.

Patience and perseverance should be our watch words. Rome was not built in a day. More than two centuries and a half ago, England produced a Newton and a Boyle and in the nineteenth century a Faraday and a Kelvin. In Germany, again, Agricola, who has been called the Father of Mineralogy, was born in 1494 being the contemporary of Paracelsus the Great. The celebrated Glauber who was born in 1604, *i.e.* more than three centuries ago, wrote his encyclopœdic work—"The Prosperity of Germany"—in six volumes, in which he pointed out that the application of science to industry would be the means of bringing forth untold wealth to his Fatherland. The self-sacrifice and assiduity of Bernard Palissy, the founder of modern art pottery, are known to all of you. The services rendered to ceramics by Pott who died in 1692, are no less invaluable. "The mode of preparation of the Meissen porcelains being naturally kept secret, the King of Prussia instructed the celebrated chemist Pott to determine the nature of materials used, and he, being unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation, was obliged to investigate the properties of those substances which might possibly be used in the manufacture, mixed in varied proportions; for this purpose Pott is said to have made no less than thirty thousand experiments. To these we are mainly indebted for the establishment of the reactions which occur when various minerals are heated, and much valuable information applicable to the manufacture of porcelain was thus obtained."

Very few of us realize the training that is necessary and the research that has to be done before success can be achieved.

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The Badische Company spent seventeen years completing the indigo work after the first synthesis, and expended about a crore and half rupees before a pound was put on the market.

Like the other advanced nations, we must pass through a probationary and evolutionary period and should not be in a hurry to reap the fruit before we sowed the seed.

Local conditions and the genius of the people should determine which particular industry should be chosen. Jute mills flourish on the banks of the Hooghly; for cotton mills, Bombay and Central Provinces offer greater facilities. For tobacco manufacture, Rungpore, Cooch Behar, Tirhut and the adjoining districts are favourable. For the metallurgy of aluminium, not only proximity to the ore, bauxite, but also to water powers should be looked for as already pointed out. In this respect, the location of the Tata Iron Works has been almost an ideal one. Not only is there limitless supply of superior quality of hæmatite, but coal and limestone are within very easy reach. Local circumstances will often secure a monopoly for peculiar industries, provided, of course, the people are advanced in scientific attainments. In Germany, the Stassfurt mines contain an almost inexhaustible deposit of potash and magnesium salts. The blockade of Germany has resulted in the cutting off of this supply of these two chemicals. The entire world, including America, is now suffering from what has been called a "potash famine". Potash is not only a basis for many important chemicals, *e. g.* bichromate of potash, permanganate of potash, but in a crude form is an essential constituent for manures. Magnesium sulphate is largely consumed in the textile industries. Before the war broke out this chemical used to sell at Rs. 3-8 per cwt. The post war price has fluctuated between Rs. 9 to Rs. 15, and only a day or two before I left Calcutta, my firm (the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd.), entered into a contract with the manager of one of the leading mills on your side for a few consignments at about Rs. 9 per cwt. The abnormally high price which now rules in the market for many fine chemicals, notably the aniline dyes, has no doubt given a stimulus to the starting of chemical industries in England. But in this respect it is necessary to exercise the utmost self-restraint and caution, otherwise the p... moters of any hastily-got up scheme... sure to be landed into dengerous quagm... As soon as peace is concluded, Germ... will make a frantic effort to recapture... lost market and India along with ot... countries will be the unhappy dumping s... for the output of her factories. S... industries alone should be taken in ha... which have a fair and reasonable chance... outliving foreign competition.

I need not tire your patience furth... I shall conclude with the pregnant wo... of His Highness the Gaekwar uttered... the Calcutta Industrial Conference... years ago,—words which are still ring... in my ears.

"The industrial prosperity of a country ma... said roughly to vary directly with its export... manufactures and imports of raw materials; and... versely with the exports of raw produce and imp... of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reli... canon of industrial economics. One most sad... prominent feature of the foreign trade of India is... constant excess of exports over imports which is... conducive to the prosperity of the people.

"Famine, increasing poverty, widespread diseas... all these bring home to us the fact that there is s... radical weakness in our system and that someth... must be done to remedy it. But there is another as... of the matter and that is that this economic prob... is our last ordeal as people. *It is our last chance.*

"Fail there, and what can the future bring... We only grow poorer and weaker—more dependen... foreign help. We must watch our industrial freed... fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existe... as hewers of wood and drawers of water to... foreign power which happens to be our master.

"Solve that problem and you have a great fu... before you, the future of a great people worth... your ancestors and your old position am... nations."

Ancient India was famous for... metallurgical skill: the wrought iron pi... close to the Kutub near Delhi, the i... beams in the temples of Puri and Kana... and the iron pillar at Dhar excite... wonder and admiration of even mod... experts. In my History of Hi... Chemistry, in the chapter devoted to... "Knowledge of Technical Arts, and Dec... of the Scientific Spirit", I have discus... some of the causes which brought ab... our present abject condition. I shall q... one para.

"The arts being relegated to the low castes an... professions made hereditary, a certain degree of... ness, delicacy and deftness in manipulation w... doubt secured but this was done at a terrible... The intellectual portion of the community being... withdrawn from the active participation in the... the *how* and *why* of phenomena—the co-or... tion of cause and effect—were lost sight of; the... of enquiry gradually died out among a m...

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naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Descartes or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world."

In bringing my brief survey of the Chemical Industries to a close, I cannot but think of the many passages in which I have made mention of the difficulties in our way and the keen competition of industrial countries backed by superior scientific and technical skill. But this instead of damping our spirit should make us all the more resolute and cautious in our industrial undertakings. Already a beginning has been made. The youth of India will no longer tolerate to be told that he lacks this and lacks that. I see—I feel the fire of life burning in him. It requires a guiding impulse and a helping hand to lead him on the right path of industrial progress. That impulse and that help are being supplied by the enlightened States of Baroda and Mysore. And in the great honour you have done me by inviting me to be before you, I read the throbbing impulse of that industrial progress that is animating you. You have already the nucleus of a chemical works here and I hope the name of your State will stand high in connection with the future industrial development of our land.

Lecture delivered at Baroda in connection with the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition under the Presidency of H. H. the Gaekwar, on January 8, 1917. Specially revised for and contributed to the *Modern Review*.

HOW ROMANCE CAME TO DRUSILLA

By Florence Gwynne Nixon.

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IT is said the coming events cast their shadows before, but when Drusilla ensconced herself comfortably in a third-class compartment with her two big basket cases she had not the faintest intimation of the adventure which was to befall her before she reached her journey's end. She had had the basket cases put into the compartment with her because she did not want the bother of having to hunt them out of the guard's van. Everyone knows how liable solitary female passengers are to get their luggage lost or mislaid. At any rate, Drusilla did.

Her destination was Brockenhurst Hall: her business there was the arranging of costumes and certain stage accessories for a party of guests who were getting up private theatricals. A chain of circumstances too common to be worth describing had caused Drusilla to have to earn her own living, and she had elected to become an assistant to Madame Minette, the celebrated costumier. Drusilla had any amount of good taste, was quite an artist with her needle, and having very just notions of life in general, she conceived that though she was an officer's daughter, she was not accepting a more derogatory position in becoming assistant to madame than she would have done if she had become a governess to a pack of unruly children, or a companion to some fine lady full of insolence and whims.

It was a January afternoon; the skies were grey, betokening snow. The compartment, however, was pleasantly warmed, and Drusllla was not at all sorry to have it to herself. Just as she was thinking no one could disturb her for the next hour, she was disturbed in startling fashion. Fate gave the word, and the curtain rolled up on the first scene of the drama in which she was to be called to play.

Seated in one of the corner seats, she felt a sudden rush of cold air behind her and, turning from the contemplation of the wintry fields, she became aware that in spite of the fact that the train was already well on its journey a man was entering the compartment from outside. The first glimpse she had of him was as he balanced himself on the foot-board, swaying unsteadily with the door wide open in one hand and the other arm flung

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out wide. He seemed unable to make the effort necessary to get inside the compartment. Drusilla, seeing this, ran to his assistance and, seizing his arm, helped him in. Most girls of nineteen would have screamed with fright or have fainted away at such an apparition, but she had real grit in her, and her first thought was to save the man's life, let him be who he might.

He sank down in the corner seat, and then she began to understand why he had failed to get in without help. His left arm had caught against a piece of jagged timber which had projected from a passing goods train, and it was pretty severely torn. The blood was streaming from his wrist.

"You are hurt!" she said when she had closed the door. "Oh, why did you try to get into the train in this way?"

She thought he had simply missed his train at the station and had made this desperate attempt to board it rather than be left behind.

His reply undeceived her and sent a thrill of horror to her heart.

"There was no other way. I am an escaped convict. The police are on my track. See!" As he spoke he flung back the overcoat he wore, and showed underneath the horrible livery of drab yellow marked with the black arrow. "I tell you the truth," he went on slowly, while his eyes fixed themselves steadily on her face. "I will not deceive you. Do what you like with me. Pull the communication chain and give me up to the guard, and I promise you I will not stir a finger."

To be told that she may do a thing is, cynics assure us, the surest way of getting a woman not to do it. Drusilla had very little perversity about her: she was one of the sweetest and most sensible of girls: nevertheless she seemed to justify the cynics, for the moment she was bidden to pull the chain she lost any latent desire she might have had to pull it. Instead she looked at her companion, and, trusting to instinct, decided he could not have done anything very wrong. His face was pale, but it was a nice face—attractive alike in feature and expression. A good mouth, a good forehead, and singularly nice eyes. No matter what the man had done, he was of gentle birth and culture. Moreover, he could not be more than five or six and twenty. Just the right age to appeal to the sympathies of a girl of nineteen.

"I—I don't want to give you up if I can help it," she said tremulously. "But you must tell me what you have done."

"I have killed a man!"

Her cheek paled, and she recoiled involuntarily. The man went on eagerly and yet with an amazing calmness. "Do not think it was a crime committed for mercenary motives. I can't bear that you should think that. But if I am to speak nothing but the truth to you I must own that I did the deed deliberately and in cold blood. The man was a villain; he deserved death; he had done things which must have made any civilised community with a proper sense of right and wrong cry out against him. And yet the law could not touch him. He ruined a life that was the dearest thing on earth to me. I made up my mind then that it was the duty of someone to send him out of this world to answer for his sins in another. I went to him, gave him five minutes in which to repent, and then I killed him. The world called it murder. I called it, and still call it, an act of justice."

If there had been the slightest wildness in his look Drusilla would have thought she had to deal with a man obsessed by a mania; but it was simply impossible to accept this explanation. Calm sanity looked out of his clear, unwavering eyes; his voice was unhurried, his manner that of one whose will is well under the mind's control. Looking at him more closely still she noted the contours of jaw and chin, and saw that they denoted no ordinary determination and strength of character. But the mouth was not harsh or severe on this account. The milk of human kindness ran freely in his veins; there was humour, too, the last and divinest of gifts, expressed by the curve of the well-cut lips and in the flash of the fine grey eye. Of course, it was dreadful to kill a fellow-creature, but even a nineteen-year-old girl could imagine circumstances in which such an act might be the epitome of justice. She waited with her heart on her lips and in her eyes while he went on: "The jury reduced the crime to manslaughter—owned I had had provocation, if not justification. I was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. I have served one year, and yesterday I escaped. You see I have been perfectly frank with you. I don't want to whine, or to extort any

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from your pity that would not be approved by your sense of right. If you think I ought to go back to prison, pull the chain!"

Suddenly Drusilla came to a decision. "I shall not do anything till I have bound up your arm," she said quietly. "Just look how it is bleeding. If it isn't stopped soon you will bleed to death."

She had been the pet of an old army surgeon before her father died, and from him had got some useful lessons. She was therefore very well qualified for the task she set herself, which was to stop the flow of blood and to bind up the wounded arm.

Very winsome she looked with her grey-blue eyes lustrous with secret emotion, with her dark, upcurling lashes, her red, ripe mouth and her snowy brow. A man's heart must have been cold indeed if it had not been warmed by her young beauty. The touch of her soft fingers, the fragrance of her breath were intoxicating things.

She worked in total silence, but her mind was busy. When the work was done she sat down opposite her fellow-traveller and said with a composure which surprised herself: "Now, if I am to help you, I must know a little more about you than you have told me yet. First of all, what is your name?"

"Austen Clare."

She reflected a little with a puzzled look. The name was uncommon, one might almost say romantic. She wondered she had not heard and remembered it in connection with what must have been a startling case. He saw the look on her face, and said: "May I ask what it is you are thinking about so deeply? Perhaps you regret befriending me?"

"No, it isn't that. I was only wondering how it was I never read about your case, or heard of it, at the time."

Was it fancy, or did he slightly change colour as if before some unlooked-for difficulty? If he was non-plussed, it was only for the fraction of a second, however, for Drusilla suddenly recollected something, and said: "Oh, I understand it now. You say it is a little over a year since? I was out of England with my poor father at that time. I buried him in Italy."

The mention of her father conjured up old memories. Her sweet face grew pensive, and she sighed. Austen Clare sighed too, whether out of sympathy for her trouble, or at the recollection of his own, she could not tell; but it seemed to draw them closer, and her charming eyes were bright with determination as she said: "Well, I shall do all I can for you, because I do believe your word that you did the right thing, though it seems a very dreadful one. This train will stop in about ten minutes, so we must make up our minds what you are to do. Is there any fear that the police will be looking for you?"

"There is every fear."

"Then you must be disguised. I have thought it all out. Look here." And she opened her basket-cases and showed every conceivable thing necessary for a complete "make-up" inside. "I am on my way to a house where they are having private theatricals, and I was taking these things down. I can use some of them for you. Be quick, now, and put this wig of grey hair on. That turns you into an old woman in a moment. And here is a gown, and a cloak, and a muff, and a bonnet and veil. Nobody could possibly know you in these."

He put on the articles under her directions, and in less than five minutes was metamorphosed into a rather stout elderly lady. Drusilla knew how to put the necessary "touches" to his complexion. The transformation was complete. "Give me your coat," she said, and bundled it into a basket-case and had got all made neat again when the train ran into the station where she was to alight. Indeed, the station was a terminus. She lowered the window and looked out. Not three paces away stood a policeman in earnest conversation with the station-master. The sight gave her a shock, but she bore it well. Turning round to Austen Clare, she said in a low voice: "There is a policeman here, evidently watching for you. You must come with me. Carry one of the cases. I think I knew what to do."

She stepped from the train and Clare followed. His disguise was splendid. No one would have dreamed he was other than he appeared—a sedate, middle-aged, middleclass woman.

A servant in livery stepped up to Drusilla. "If you are from Madame Minette, Mrs. Hartopp has sent the car for you," he said.

The constable was not two yards away. He could hear every word; Drusilla fancied he looked at her scrutinisingly; but whe-

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ther this was so or not, she did not lose her composure.

"I am from Madame Minette," she replied, "and this is—a—a friend of mine. If there is room in the car, I should like her to go with me part of the way. It is quite a long distance, isn't it, to the Hall ?"

"A matter of five miles, miss. Yes, there's plenty of room in the motor. This way, miss—this way, ma'am."

Would the policeman suspect ? Would he step forward and lay his hand on the escaped prisoner ? It was a moment of breathless suspense, but it passed. The servant led the way to the car, Drusilla and her disguised "friend" followed. In less than a minute they were on their way to Brockenhurst Hall.

"Now," whispered Drusilla when the door had shut upon them, "I shall ask the man to put you down at the cross-roads. From there you can get to another railway station which will take you to London. It will be quite easy in that disguise. But first you must have money."

She pulled out her slenderly-stocked purse, but Austen Clare drew back.

"No—no ! I cannot take money from you !" he exclaimed.

"You can, and you must. Do you think I have been at all this trouble to let you be taken now just for the sake of your railway fare ? Here is a sovereign. I wish I had more, but you are quite welcome to it. Yes—take it. Indeed, you must." And she thrust it into his unwilling hand. "Here are the cross-roads. You must get out, and turn to the left when you have gone about half a mile down that road that lies straight before you. Then you will come to the station. Good-bye."

She had pulled the check-string and the car stopped. "Good-bye, and God bless you !" said Austen Clare in a deep, earnest whisper as he got out and turned away in the darkness.

* * * *

It was ten days later. Drusilla had done her work at Brockenhurst Hall, and was now at another country house whither she had been sent by Madame. This time her duties were of a slightly different character. A young lady who was to have assisted at some private theatricals had been taken ill, and Drusilla was to have the honour of taking her place, at any rate at the re-hearsals. Mrs. Monsall, the mistress of the house, had found that Madame's young assistant was distinc clever, as well as very charming in app rance, and she had thought she might se as an understudy quite nicely. As a co quence, Drusilla was in the library with brilliant bevy of guests.

She was neither happy nor easy in mind, and the cause of her disquietude Austen Clare. His handsome ari cratic face, coupled with his romantic st had taken a stronger hold upon her ima nation, if not upon her heart al than she quite knew, and ever since t memorable night when she helped escape he had rarely been absent fr her mind. But something had happe or rather she had discovered someth within the last few hours which wa source of serious disquiet. The disco was simply this: As soon as she co leave Brockenhurst Hall she had, naturally, gone to a public library and tained a file of old papers with the in tion of reading up his case. What was amazement to discover that there was such case. A search through number papers issued during the last two ye had convinced her that not merely there no reference to anyone named Aus Clare, but that no such case as he described his own to be had ever occu at all. The conclusion was obvious. escaped convict had deceived her. Do less his real crime had been of a na such as he did not care to avow.

It was a humiliating discovery. W one has wound all manner of roma fancies around a man, to find that he deliberately tricked, not to say swin you, is to be wounded in one's tende susceptibilities, and Drusilla's suffering not small. She had allowed her thou to linger so often and so kindly o stranger with the fine forehead and attractive eyes, that she now felt read sink into the earth with shame as recalled some of her own fancies t mind.

Seated in the big library in a lo corner until her services should be requ she was roused from a painful reveri the entrance of a servant with a tele which Mrs. Monsall read out aloud every demonstration of delight.

"Sir Norman Carew is coming. He be here at any moment," she exclaim her husband ; and from the way in w her guests received the announcem

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especially such of them as were of the feminine sex and unmarried, it was clear that Sir Norman Carew was a social "lion" of no mean order.

Drusilla, listening in her corner, soon gathered that he was one of the richest baronets in England, and in addition was a celebrated shot, a traveller whose tales were worth listening to, and last, but not least, a writer of distinction. He had already written one successful play, and was credited with having another "on the stocks." "What a paragon !" she thought to herself amusedly, and promised herself no small food for humour when the paragon should appear.

In less than a quarter of an hour there was a bustle in the hall ; the hostess hurried out and came back shortly with her newly-arrived guest. Imagine Drusilla's consternation when she recognised in him her run away convict !

Dressed now in perfect taste, quietly, and yet in the mode prescribed by the best fashion, he looked all that Drusilla's girlish fancy had ever pictured him. He was introduced to everyone in the room except herself. She in her quiet corner was so easy to overlook; and indeed Mrs. Monsall would not have dreamed of presenting to her newly-caught "lion" the little assistant from Madame Minette's.

Drusilla sat in a whirl, at one moment saying he must have come here as a colossal impostor, at the next asking herself whether it was her duty to stand up and expose him. That he had seen and recognised her she was certain. His eye had swept the room as he entered it, and though he neither changed colour nor showed any other sign of uneasiness, she could tell that he had marked her presence.

"He must be personating Sir Norman Carew, and these people here do not happen to know Sir Norman personally," was her thought, but it was soon swept away by the greetings which were showered on the newcomer. One young man present had evidently been at college with him ; an old lady had known him all his life. What was the solution of the mystery ? Her brain, as she tried to find a feasible one, might well be in a whirl.

Suddenly a sentence uttered in Sir Norman's clear, well-bred tones reached her ears, causing her heart to beat so violently that she literally gasped for breath.

"Talking about plays," said Sir Norman, "I should like to tell you an amazing adventure which befell me a week or so ago."

Everyone expressed eager desire to hear the story, but by no one was that desire felt as by the pale, quivering little listener in the corner of the room.

"I had been writing a play," said Sir Norman, fixing himself where he could distinctly see that little tremulous figure, "and some of my friends read it. We had a difference of opinion. One man declared that the leading situation was not only unnatural, but impossible. Briefly, it dealt with the escape of a convict from Dartmoor. The convict enters a train and throws himself on the mercy of the heroine, a young girl who is travelling alone. She believes his story, sympathises with him, and helps him to escape. My friend said no girl would do this. We had a rather warm dispute, and I made a bet that I would prove the truth to life of my play. I undertook to get into a train, dressed as a convict, and to win help and sympathy of a fellow-passenger."

"And did you do it ?" queried half-a-dozen eager voices.

"I did it!" said Sir Norman, slowly. As he spoke he fixed his eyes apparently upon a painting on the wall, but really they never rose higher than Drusilla's charming figure just beneath it. "I did it, and in doing it met with the adventure of my life. I went to a certain railway station wearing a convict's dress, which I had got from a theatrical agent, under my overcoat. I watched the passengers enter the train, and noticed among them a young girl with the sweetest, brightest face I had ever seen. She was alone in a compartment. In a moment I made up my mind that that girl was the person whose sympathies I must gain. To do that meant a good deal more to me than the mere winning of my bet. I let the train leave the station, and then jumped on to the footboard and entered her compartment. In doing so I chanced to hurt my hand rather badly. That girl was an angel. I posed as the character in my play. I used the very words of the play, as I had pledged myself to do. She justified me in every particular, for she believed my story, sympathised with my wrongs, and helped me to escape. Of course, I won my bet."

"What a romance !" cried everyone.

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"It is a romance that has not yet reached its last chapter," said Sir Norman, smiling. "I hope to meet that girl again, and when I do meet her I mean to ask her to be my wife."

Drusilla, her pulses thrilling with strange emotion, could bear no more. She got up softly and stole from the room. She felt that she must get out into the air beneath the cool, sweet stars. She must ask herself what this new and wonderful thing was that had come into her life, making her flush with joy even while she trembled with tender dread. She found a hat and cloak in the hall, and was just passing out of the door when a step sounded behind her, and she turned to face Sir Norman.

"Drusilla!" he said in a voice which made her pulses leap. "Where are you going? Are you running away from me?"

What she answered she never could remember, but presently she found him walking beside her on the terrace with her arm drawn through his, his handsome, eager face downbent to look into her lowered eyes.

"Drusilla, every word you have hea me say is true," he whispered. "I fell love with you from the first moment I sa your bonnie face. It wasn't the winni of the bet, but the winning of a wife th made me go through the rehearsal of th scene from my play as well as I did. I to know your name—who you were. came down here to-night simply and so to see you. Dear, darling little girl know I must not expect you to care me yet; but will you, realising how and truly I love you, will you promise try to care for me some day?"

Having done one kindness to a pers one is always inclined to do anoth What could Drusilla do but promise she would try? Whether she succeeded not, may be judged by those who chan to see the announcement which recen appeared in the fashionable papers c cerning the marriage of Drusilla, only ch of the late Major Westcott, with Norman Carew.

THE ROYAL DUTIES: KING'S DAILY ROUTINE OF WORK

By Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar.

VI.

The King's duties and the literature thereon.

THE manifold duties that devolve on a king after his accession to the throne are treated of in a good many Sanskrit works, both printed and manuscript. The lists of duties furnished by the works vary of course as to their details but agree generally as to certain main points. They touch on personal duties under which may be classed moral discipline and such other virtues together with the study of the *Vedas* and the sciences and arts, conducing to the improvement of his intellect and physique. These duties go towards making the sovereign a better man while his public duties enjoined by the *Sāstras* have a direct bearing on his relations with the people at large. They cover a very wide range, and numerous lists of royal duties in the Sansk works generally re-iterate one or other his obligations regarding the following, the law of the four castes, the maintena of the four *stages of life* (*āsramas*), consu tion regarding the affairs of the State, a adherence to the principles of the works government (*nītisāstras*) in daily practic the appointment of competent ministers a other officials, the officiation of compet priests (who were often associated with pu functions), the supervision of the duties the officials, the inspection of the finance, administration of justice, enquiries into economic state of the country and the undi taking of works for the economic welfare the people, the inspection and maintena of the army, foreign relations, encourageme of learning, protection of the needy

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helpless, and the establishment and maintenance of institutions of public utility.[1]

The duties are heavy and numerous, and the conscientious monarch who undertakes to follow the injunctions has to work very hard to discharge properly his responsibilities. Many of the aforesaid duties have religious sanctions at their back making the task all the more heavy for one who wears the crown.

KING'S IDEAL, DAILY ROUTINE ACCORDING TO KAUTILYA.

The traditionary ideal daily routine of a monarch for the performance of his heavy duties is laid down in a good many works going back to an ancient date. The one given by the *Arthasāstra* divides the day and night into 16 equal parts and allots to each part a particular item of his duties:

Day—(1) 6A.M. to 7·30 A.M. is devoted to looking after the defence of the country and the supervision of the finances;

(2) 7-30 to 9 to the supervision of the affairs of the townspeople and provincials;

(3) 9 to 10-30 to ablution, dining and study;

(4) 10-30 to 12 to the collection of state dues from the heads of the departments (*Adhyakshas*);

(5) 12 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. to correspondence with absent ministers;

(6) 1-30 to 3 to amusements or self-deliberation;

(7) 3 to 4-30 to the inspection of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry;

(8) 4-30 to 6 P.M. to consultation with the commander-in-chief and evening-prayers at night fall;

Night—(1) 6 P.M. to 7-30 P.M. to interview with the secret agents;

(2) 7-30 to 9 to ablution, supper and study;

(3), (4) and (5) 9 to 10-30 to entering the bed-chamber amid sounds of trumpets, and sleep;

(6) 10-30 to 3 to waking amid trumpet-sounds and calling to mind the *Sāstric* injunctions and the duties of the ensuing day;

(7) 3 to 4-30 to convening the council

1. For royal duties, the following works may be consulted:—
'Satapatha-Brāhmana' (S.B.E.) Part III, Kānda V, Adhyāya 4,
'Brāhmana' 4, para 5; Part IV, Kanda IX, Adhyāya 3,
'Brāhmana' 3, paras 10 & 11; Part IV, Kānda IX, Adhyāya 4,
'Brāhmana' 1, paras 1 & 13; Part V, Kanda XI, Adhyāya 2,
'Brāhmana' 7, para 17; Part V, Kānda XIII. Adhyaya 1,
'Brahmana' 5, para 4; Part V, Kanda XIII, Adhyāya 2,
'Brāhmana' 2, para 7; &c.
Manu VII, 2-3, 35, 80, 88, 111-112, 142-144, 203; VIII, 41-42, 46, 172, 303-309; IX, 253; X, 80, 119—(protection of the people under his care).
Ibid., VII, 54-59, 60-68, 81—(appointment of officials).
Ibid., VII, 146-183, 205-216; IX, 294-299—(consultation).
Ibid., VII, 79, 145—(giving audience).
Ibid., VII, 37-38, 79, 82-86, 88, 134-136, 145; VIII, 395; IX, 313-323; XI, 4, 21-23—(encouragement & honour to Brahmanas).
Ibid., VIII, 27-29—(support of the helpless).
Ibid., VII, 127-133, 137-139; X, 118, 120; VIII, 401-403—(financial & economic duties).
Ibid., VII, 14-34; VIII, 302-303; 310-311, 335, 343-347; IX, 252-293, 312; VIII, 1-8, 43; IX, 233-234; VIII, 9-10, 18-19, 40-44, 126-129, 171-175; IX, 249—(judicial duties).
Ibid., VII, 78-79, 145—(appointment of priests, & sacrifice).
Manu VII, 39-42, 43, 44-53; IX, 301-311—(personal duties).
Ibid., VII, 69-76 99-100, 201-203, 222; IX, 25, 223; X, 115, 119—(military duties).
'Apastamba' (S.B.E.), 'Prasna' II, 'patala' 10, 'Khanda' 25, paras 1-15; 'Prasna' II, 'patala' 10, Khanda 26, paras 1-17.
'Gautama' (S.B.E.), ch. VIII, paras 1ff.; ch. XI, paras 1-31.
'Vasistha' (S.B.E.), ch. XIX, paras 1-20, 22-48.
'Baudhāyana' (S.B.E.), 'Prasna' I, 'Adhyāya' 10, Kandikā 18, paras 1-20.
'Vishnu' (S.B.E.), ch. III, 2-98.
'Yājnavalkya' (M. N. Dutt's ed.), ch. I, 309-368.
'Parāsara' (*Ibid*), ch. I, 56-59.
'Sankha' (*Ibid*), ch, I, 4.
'Hārita' (*Ibid*), ch. II, 2-5.
'Atri' (*Ibid*), ch. I, 14, 17, 22-24, 27, 28, 29.
The following 'Purānas' speak also of royal duties:—
'Matsya-Purāna', chs. 215-227.
'Skanda-Purāna', 'Nāgara-Khanda', ch. XII, slks. 1ff. (scanty).
'Bhāgavata', 4th 'Skanda' ch. 14, slks. 14-20; ch. 20, slks. 13-16.
'Mārkandeya-Purana', ch. 27; ch. 34, slks. 113-117; ch. 18, slks. 1 ff.
'Agni-Purāna', chs. 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239. 240, 241, 242.
'Garuda-Purāna', chs. 111, 112, 113.
'Devī-Purana', ch. 9, slks. 10 ff.
'Vrihaddharma-Purāna' '(uttara-khanda), ch. 3.
'Kālikā-Purāna', chs. 84 & 85.
'Kāmandakiya-Nītisāra', 'sarga' 1.
'Sukranītisāra', (Prof. B. K. Sarkar's transl., S.B.H.), pp. 4, 6, 7, 11, 23, 36 and 63.

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and sending out secret agents on their errands ;

(8) 4-30 to 6 A.M. to receiving benedictions in the company of his tutors, and domestic and sacrificial priests, interview with the physician, head cook and astrologer, and entering the court after perambulating a cow with her calf, and a bull.

The above divisions of the time-table however admit of alterations to suit the capacity of a particular monarch. The routine does not leave much leisure to the king but keeps him occupied with some State business or other the greater part of the day. There are only three hours during which he is set free from the cares of the State (9 to 10-30 and 1-30 to 3). His labours come to a close at 7-30 in the evening after which he gets seven hours and a half at a stretch, of which about 6 hours are devoted to sleep. The rest of the day and night (viz., 24—10½ or 13½ hours) is divided among the various state-engagements. It should be noted that these hours do not all impose upon the monarch brain work or physical worry of the same intensity. The time for instance from 4-30 A.M. to 6 A.M. is of comparative rest as also a few other time-divisions and their fractions during which his work is more passive than the rest of his working hours. The time expressly set apart for study recurs twice during day and night. Though it adds to the volume of his intellectual work, the period allowed to it is short, considering that it is to be snatched from the hours of ablution and dinner. However, the sort of life implied by the routine is one of much stress and strain and pressure of work explaining the necessity of disciplined life essential to kingship.

The second division of time in the morning (7-30 to 9) is an important one, devoted as it is to giving audience to the public and considering a variety of matters affecting the people at large. The king is enjoined to make himself easily accessible to the petitioners and attend personally to the subjects of their applications in the following order, instead of entrusting every thing to his officials[1] :—

(1) Deities (*devatā*), (2) abodes of ascetics (*āsrama*), (3) (heretics) (*pāshanda*), Brāhmanas versed in the *Vedas* (*srotriya*), lower animals (*pasu*), (6) sacred places (*puny sthāna*), (7) minors, as also (8) the old, (9) diseased, (10) the distressful (*vyasanī*), the helpless and (12) women. The abo order of business may however be chang owing to importance or urgency of a par cular item.[1]

IT IS PRACTICALLY SAME AS IN *Manu*, *Yājna valkya* AND SOME *Purānas*.

The routine as set forth in the Samhi is in substance almost the same as t one in the *Arthasāstra*. Manu[2] a

1 Durdarso hi rāja kāryā-karya-viparyāsamāsanyaih kāryate. Tena prakritikopamarivasam vā gachhet—'Arthasāstra', Bk. I, 'Rājapranidhi', pp. 38, 39.

1 Kārya-gauravādātyayikavasena vā, *Ibid*, p. The reason is given thus :—

Sarvamātyayikam kāryam srinuyānnātipātayet; krichchhrasādhyamatikrāntamasādhyam vā vijāya

[i.e., all urgent business should be forthwith att ed to and never postponed ; (for otherwise) it g either (1) difficult, (2) almost beyond remedy, or unperformable. Ibid., p. 39, 1st couplet.] The forma observed when attending to business concerning ascetics is that of returning to the room containing sacred fire where the work is to be done in the c pany of the teacher (ācāryya) and the dome priest (purohita) (and persons learned in th Vedas). The king is to rise from his seat and sa the ascetic petitioners. He is however enjoined no do the work regarding persons versed in sorcery, he personally incurs their displeasure (Vaidya-tapa nām in the second couplet may mean "asce learned in the 'Vedas' " or 'physicians and ascetic Vide 2nd and 3rd couplets, Arthasāstra, Bk. 'Rājapranidhi,' p. 39.

2. Buhler's Manu (S. B. E.) :—

"Having risen in the last watch of the night, ha performed (the rite of) personal purification, hav with a collected mind, offered oblations in the fire, having worshipped Brāhmanas, he (king) shall e the hall of audience which must possess the ma (considered) auspicious (for a dwelling)."—VII., 14

"Tarrying there, he shall gratify all subjects (come to see him by a kind reception) and after dismiss them : having dismissed his subjects, he take counsel with his ministers."—VII., 146.

"Having consulted with his ministers on all th (matters), having taken exercise, and having ba afterwards, the king may enter the harem at mid in order to dine."—VII., 216.

Adorned (with his robes of state), let him a inspect his fighting men, all his chariots and beast burden, the weapons and accoutrements. 'Buhl Manu' (S. B. E.)—VII., 222.

Having performed his twilight-devotions, let well-armed, hear in an inner apartment the doing those who make secret reports and of his spie VII., 223.

But going to another secret apartment and missing those people, he may enter the harem, rounded by female (servants), in order to again.—VII., 224.

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Yājnavalkya[1] give details, as also some of the *Purānas*.

THE AGNI-PURANA.

The time-table in the *Agni Purāna*[2] corresponds in its main features with the traditional type.

Having eaten there something for the second time, and having been recreated by the sound of music, let him go to rest and rise at the proper time free from fatigue.—VII., 225.

A king who is in good health must observe these rules ; but, if he is indisposed, he may entrust all this (business) to his servants.—VII., 226.

1. 'Yājñavalkya' (M. N. Dutt's ed.) :—

"Having risen up early in the morning, he (king) should personally look after the work of collection and disbursement ; next he should attend to law suits, after which he should bathe and take his meal at ease.—I., 327.

"He should then deposit in the treasury the gold brought by persons engaged in the work and then see the secret agents, after which he should with his ministers send the envoys on their errands."—I., 328.

"Thereafter he should enjoy his leisure alone or in the company of ministers. Next, he should take counsel with his commander-in-chief after the inspection of the army."—I., 329.

"Then after evening adoration, he should listen to the confidential reports of the secret agents. He should then enjoy singing and dancing, take his meal and study."—I., 330.

"He should then go to sleep amid sounds of trumpets and get up from bed similarly, when he should cogitate the scriptural injunctions and all his duties."—I., 331.

"Then with respectful welcome, he should send secret emissaries to the dominions of other kings as well as his own after receiving blessings from his sacrificial priest, domestic priest and teacher. Next, he should see his astrologers and physicians and confer on the Brāhmanas learned in the Vedas, kine, gold, land, houses and their furniture.,—I., 332, 333.

1. 'Agni-Purāna,' ch. 235, slks 1-17.

"Pushkara said, 'I shall relate to you the daily routine of the king. It is called 'ajasra-karma' i.e. incessant work. When there are only two 'muhurtas' (48 minutes) before the break of dawn, the king should get up from bed amid music and singing of panegyrists and see the secret emissaries so privately that nobody can recognize them when on duty as his men. Next, he should attend to his income and disbursement and then after attending the calls of nature, he should go to his bathing-house. There, after cleaning the teeth and taking bath, he should perform the 'Sandhyā' service, repeat prayers and worship Vasudeva. He should them make sacred offerings to the fire and worship the manes of his ancestors, take blessings from the Brāhmanas and make gifts of gold and kine. Then after decorating his person and smearing it with unguents he should see the reflection of his face in a mirror as also in clarified butter kept in a gold receptacle. Then he should hear the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the day, take the medicines prescribed for him by the royal physicians, touch the auspicious articles, make obeisance to his superiors and

THE *Devī-Purāna*.

The *Devī-Purāna* gives a similar programme of royal duties.[1]

then enter his hall of audience where, Oh Highly Fortunate, he should receive the Brāhmanas, the ministers and the officers of the court as also such of his subjects as would be announced by the usher. Then having heard the reports of works, he should determine the steps to be taken, and then proceed to adjudicate law-suits, after which he should consult his ministers on important matters. A king should take counsel neither with a single minister nor with too many ; nor with the ignorant and untrustworthy. He should carry into action those schemes that have been well thought over and will not therefore injure the State. He should not betray his secrets by looks and gestures, for the wise can gather other's intentions from those outward signs. A king following the advice of his astrologers, physicians and ministers attains prosperity, for the latter are the custodian of the former' welfare. Council dissolved, the king should take physical exercise with a discus or sword, or on a carriage. Then he should bathe in a tank free from aquatic animals, and see that the God Vishnu has been duly worshipped, that the sacrificial fire has been duly lighted and offerings made to it, and that the Brahmanas have been properly honoured with presents. Then having decorated his body, he should make gifts, and next take his meal which has been duly tested. Then, he should take dressed betel and rest awhile on his left side. Then, after the inspection of the army, armoury and store-house, he should peruse the Sāstras. He should then finish his evening prayer and send the secret agents to the works previously thought over by him. Thereafter, he should take his supper and enter the seraglio. The king being well protected should do this every day amid songs and sounds of musical instruments."

1 'Devī-Purāna', ch. 2, slks. 69-76 :—

Having divided the day into 8 portions and the night into ghatikās, Ghora (a king) energetically applies himself to his duties.....

He rises from bed at the 'Brāhma Muhūrta' (the period included between the 4th Ghatikā and the 2nd before sunrise) and after attending the calls of nature cleans his teeth by a tooth-stick of the efficacious 'kantaka-tree-twig' after repeating the 'āgama,' i.e., the 'vānaspatya mantra'. The teeth being cleaned in the prescribed way, he sees the reflection of his face in a mirror or in clarified butter and makes gifts of cows. He then comes to the audience-hall and looks into the affairs of the petitioners impartially, irrespective of friends or enemies. Next, he looks into his finances, after which, in the company of priests who apprise him of the hour for religious duties, he goes to bathe, and propitiates the gods and the manes of his ancestors, performs sacrifice, takes his meal and engages in some diversion. Then he comes to the court and after inspection of military matters, he dismisses all people from his presence except his ministers with whom he takes counsel, by which he comes to know of friends,

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The routine followed in part by Krishna in the Bhagavata-Purana.

A portion of this routine up to the holding of court in the assembly-hall (the differences in details being excepted) is represented in the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* as being followed by Krishna in his capital at Dvārakā.

It is also given in the *Raghuvāmsa*.

The *Raghuvamsa* refers to the traditional routine upon which Mallinātha makes his commentation adding some details.[2]

enemies and neutrals, and the "circle" of his near and distant neighbours with whom he has to maintain political and diplomatic relations ; and in the light of these facts, he makes provision for eight kinds of forts, increase of wealth, defence of his kingdom and punishment of enemies. He also receives informations about the actions of his subjects and classifies them. He thus carries on his administration free from the eighteen vices.

1 See 'Bhagavata-Purana,' Skanda 10, ch. 70, slks. 4-17.

Having risen at the 'Brāhma muhurta' and cleansed his teeth and eased himself, he soothed his senses ; then after religious meditation, he took bath in pure water, performing the necessary rites connected therewith, and put on clothes. Next, he performed the 'Sandhya' service and studied the 'Vedas', performed sacrifice and repeated within himself the 'mantras.' Then he bowed to the rising sun and worshipped the gods, ascetics, the manes of his ancestors, his superiors as well as learned Brahmanas. Next, he made gifts of cows to Brahmanas, made obeisance to the gods, Brāhmanas, preceptors, superiors and cows, and touched auspicious articles. Then he put on clothes, ornaments, garlands, and smeared his body with unguents, saw the reflection of his face in clarified butter and mirror, and took a view of cows, bulls, Brahmanas and images of gods. He next fulfilled the wishes of the people of his seraglio and the city after which he distributed garlands, betels and unguents among Brahmanas, and met his friends, relations and subjects. He then got on his chariot and went to his audience-hall called "Sudharma."

2 The 'Raghuvamsa' has this sloka (Sarga 17, slk. 49) :—

Rātrindiva-vibhageshu yadādishtam mahīkshitam. Tat sishebe niyogena sa vikalpa-parānmukhah. (He followed regularly and confidently what has been enjoined as the table of daily duties for the kings by dividing the day and night into the proper divisions).

Mallinatha's explanation is as follow :—

"Rātrindinamiti ahorātrayoh ityarthah tayoh vibhāgah amsa praharādayah teshu mahīkshitām rajnam yat ādishtam idamasmin kāle kartavyamiti manvādibhih upadishtam tat sah rajā vikalpa-parānmukhah sansayarahitah san niyogena nischayena sishebe anushthitavān ityarthah." [i.e. rātrindinam' means the day and night ; their divisions refer to the 'prahara' &c., according to which kings are enjoined to regulate their actions; 'ādishtam' refers to the rules that have been laid down by Manu and others

And also in the *Dasakumāra-charita* where Dandi parodies Kauntilya.

Dandī, in his *Dasakumāra-charita*, parodies the Kautiliya routine but hands down the tradition.[1]

enjoining that a particular work should be done at particular time ; that king followed the rules regularly and without any doubt in his mind as to their propriety.]

1 Day.—"The king risen from his bed in the 'first of the eight divisions of the day' hears reports concerning his income and disbursement, after having washed his face in a hurry and devoured a handful or half-handful of food. The cunning heads of government departments of a king, who does not hear them attentively, rob him of double the wealth and multiply thousandfold the four hundred means of collection of wealth enjoined by Chānakya.

In the 'second division' of the day, the king passes his life distressfully with his ears burnt so to speak by the hubbub of mutually quarrelling subjects. The judges decree or dismiss the cases of the suitors at will, bringing sin and disrepute upon their masters and wealth to themselves.

The 'third division' is the time for bath and meal. So long as his food is not fully digested, his fear of being poisoned does not leave him. After meal, he stands up, in the 'fourth division,' with his hand stretched out for gold.

In the 'fifth division,' he suffers great pain from consultation with his ministers. Then also the ministers individually or collectively grow indifferent and turn at will to their evil design the good or bad qualities of things, the reports of envoys and secret agents, the practicability or otherwise of actions as well as the states of undertakings due to time and place, and are supported by the "circles" of friendly, inimical and neutral kings bringing their master under their control by secretly and in the guise of peacemakers inflaming the anger of people within and outside the kingdom.

In the 'sixth division' (3¾ dandas, i.e., 1½ hour) he engages either in amusements or conversation.

In the 'seventh,' comes the inspection of the military force composed of its four elements.

The 'eighth' is devoted to consultation with the commander-in-chief regarding military matters.

Night.—Having performed the 'Sandhya' service he sees the secret agents in the 'first division of the night.' Through them the very cruel uses of weapons, fire and poison are to be provided for.

In the 'second,' after meal, he commences religious studies like a Brāhmana versed in the Vedas.

In the 'third,' he goes to bed amid sounds of trumpets while the 'fourth' and the 'fifth' find him asleep, fast asleep, because of the incessant mental work by which he enjoys the pleasure of sleep like an ascetic.

In the 'sixth,' he cogitates the Sastras and his own duties.

The 'seventh' is devoted to the sending of secret informants on their duties after consultation. They by their sweet words gain wealth from the sender as well as the person to whom they are sent, and increase it by commerce through routes where they have

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IT IS ALSO FOUND IN MEGASTHENES.

The regular round of daily duties of the sovereign is fragmentarily referred to by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes: "The king may not sleep during the daytime [1].....He leaves his palace.....for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with the cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice".[2]

The traditional programme of diurnal duties as we find it, is the result of evolution through centuries dating back to the Vedic times. The discharge of heavy responsibilities of the king ought to follow a method; and the method that was recommended to the monarch was one matured by the wisdom of statesmen. The monarch could no doubt alter it to suit himself but the freedom was hedged in by limits which he could not overstep. The considerations by which the programme was framed are briefly stated in a sloka of the *Mahābhārata viz*, equable pursuit of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* (for explanation of these terms, see *supra*).

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE ROUTINE.

The general principles to guide the monarch in the regulation of his duties are found in both the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*[3] and also in a Vedic injunction by Daksha with which the later developments seem to have a relation of direct descent.

The injunction is as follows:—

Purvāhne chāchareddharmam madhyāhne'rtham upārjayet, Sāyāhne chācharet kāmam-ityeshā vaidikī srutih.[1] (Forenoon is for religious duties, midday for acquisition of wealth, and evening for diversion: such is the Vedic saying).

to pay any tolls, and roam about by skilfully creating works where there are none.

In the 'eighth,' the priest and other come to him and say &c."

1 Cf. the Vedic injunction, "mā divā svapsīh (or sushupthāh)" found in several 'Grihya Sutras,' 'Brāhmans' &c.

2 See 'Megasthenes, Fragm. XXVII.

1 Sabhāparva, ch. 5, slk, 20—
Kachchidarthancha dharmancha kāmancha jayatāmvara Vibhajya kāle kāle kālajna sadā varada sevase.

2 & 3 'Rāmāyana, sarga 100, slk. 17—
Kachchinnidrāvasam naishi kachchit-kāle 'vabudhyase, Kachchi'chchāpararātreshu chintayasyarthanaipunam. The 'Mahā'bhārata (Sabhāparva,' ch. 5, slk. 29) repeats the above sloka with the variation of the last expression into "chintayasyarthamarthavit" (Nilakantha comments on the sloka as follows:—
Yathā'kālam svapnapravodhatā brāhme muhūrte 'mātyādibhih saha kritasya mantrasya paryālochanam kartyavyam. Brāhme muhūrte chotthāya chintayedātmano hitamiti smritestadā nirnīto'rtho na viplavata ityavasāyāt).
Also 'Mahābhārata,' Sabhāparva, ch. 5, slk. 85—
Kachchit dvau prathamau yāmau rātre suptvā visāmpate, Sanchayasi dharmarthau yāma utthāya paschime.

1 Vide Nilakantha's commentation on sloka 20, ch. 5 of the 'Sabhāparva' (Mahābhārata).

THE VICEROY'S CONVOCATION SPEECH

IN the speech which His Excellency the Viceroy delivered last month at the Convocation of the Calcutta University as its Chancellor, he said that he should like to speak "as one University man to other university men."

THE DREAMS AND VISIONS OF YOUTH.

He said:—

I have been 18 years of age, though I am afraid it is a long time ago. I have dreamed dreams and I have seen visions and I have not forgotten them. I have every sympathy therefore with those who are stirred by causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm.

The circumstances under which young men dream dreams and see visions in England and in India are different. In England idealism does not give rise to suspicion; in India idealists form a large por-

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portion of "the political suspects" whose names figure in the bad books of the police and some of these "suspects" seem to have been interned upon no evidence whatever, and certainly not on any evidence that would be acceptable in law-courts. A great part of the idealism of Indian young men must be political, because India is a dependent country whose inhabitants do not enjoy even some of those civic rights which are enjoyed by the people of the least advanced European countries. But it is not political idealism alone which lands our lads in trouble. Religious, social, economic and educational idealism also rouse the suspicion of the police, and what the police say is generally accepted as true by the highest executive authorities, as Lord Carmichael's Durbar speech on the 11th December last shows. Therein he spoke of there being members of a widespread conspiracy among teachers and among those who render social service, mentioning particularly the workers of a religious mission. It is not, then, as safe for our lads to dream dreams as it is for British youth; it is rather risky for them to talk of their dreams, and positively dangerous to write about them: though neither their dreams nor the plans, if any, for their realisation, may be in the least unlawful or criminal.

It is true, idealism may sometimes take a wrong turn. But it is the part of wisdom not to penalise or discourage a thing because evil *may* come out of it. Every one who possesses a match-box is neither an incendiary nor a possible incendiary, nor is a match-factory a breeding-ground of criminals.

The daily work of the police brings them into contact with criminals, and consequently they see very much more of the dark side of human nature than its bright side. Moreover, they cannot be good detectives unless they have an extra dose of suspiciousness. These causes make the police bad judges of human altruism. They cannot generally understand how or why men should teach poor people without pay, or why they should give help to people rendered helpless by flood, famine or epidemics, without any hope of gain, or any ulterior selfish or bad motive. No doubt, whenever circumstances require it, the police should keep watch over particular movements or persons, but they should under no circumstances be *practically* made the arbiters of their destiny. Police underlings should be strictly ordered not to interfere with schools or social service work. If Government tells the police to keep watch over or report upon particular persons or movements, they generally manage by threats and other means to make short work of them, in order to minimise their own work and have as easy a time as possible. This is the underlying cause of the closing of many night-schools and other schools for the working classes in Bengal.

There are many things to be done in connection with the dreaming of dreams and the seeing of visions by our young men. It has to be seen that their dreams regarding the development of their personality and the fields of their future activities are of the right kind; and circumstances should be made favourable for the dreaming of such dreams. Those who wish India to have a bright future should also try to make the conditions favorable for the growth of the right kind of idealism in religion, politics, education, and social service in general. The statesman's concern should be to prevent the confounding of the idealist with "the political suspect." His concern should also be, not so much to punish those whose idealism is about to lead them astray, as to make it possible to warn them and guide their steps aright.

May it be hoped that Lord Chelmsford's "sympathy with those who are stirred by causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm" will take a practical shape? Should he try to show his sympathy in any practical manner, our observations might be of use in indicating how and in what directions help was needed.

Character and the Responsibility of Citizenship.

The Viceroy asked, "what then do we look for from you as a result of your University life?" and answered :—

First.—That you should come out with your character formed and strengthened and that that character should be no unworthy one; and *next*,

That you should come out men ready to take up the duties of citizenship and play your part in the common life.

In short men with character and purpose.

As I look back to my University days, I believe even as undergraduates we dimly held by these two ideas—Character and the responsibility of Citizenship. For us it was largely a matter of tradition. On the

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walls of our Colleges we could see the portraits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We took in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk.

For you the task is a harder one. Your University is still young and though you have had distinguished *alumni* in the past and you have them in the present, your tradition is not yet one of centuries. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on.

Most Englishmen sojourning in India have two ideals of character. One they keep for their own sons, the other they prescribe for ours. We do not know which the Viceroy had in view when he spoke to the graduates on character. It is not our intention to write a complete essay on the subject. We wish simply to point out that the English ideal of character for "home" consumption is not merely that of harmlessness, which is sometimes born of weakness. That ideal certainly has the negative connotation of harmlessness. It also includes purity. But it lays special emphasis on grit, on courage, on self-assertion, on love of country, and on all the other manly virtues. It values discipline not for its own sake, still less for producing soulless machines, but for some ulterior high object. Here in India, the emphasis is laid not on *strength* of character, but on its harmlessness. Subserviency to authority,—no matter what the character of that authority is, is particularly valued. Submissiveness is a perfect gem, no matter to what or whom you are required to submit. Artists speak of a line of beauty. The British birds of passage in India see this ideally beautiful line in the curved backbone of the obsequious Indian, though in their own country they prefer an erect posture. The British bureaucrat in India sees great danger to the character of Indian lads if they become Congress volunteers, or listen to speeches delivered in the Congress pandal; but he will not take any effective steps or even utter a word of warning to discourage them from attending theatres where the actresses are invariably women of ill fame and the moral atmosphere is foul; nor will he do anything to prevent juveniles from drinking or smoking.

We value discipline, obedience, respect for lawful authority as much as we ought to. But we also lay stress on all the virtues which go to make men. The ideal for our sons which the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat has in view is that of a political animal born to be ruled and to act as pliant and obedient tools and taxpayers and producers of raw material. This is practically the whole of his ideal of character for Indians. Our own *political* ideal of character is that which makes a man fit to win and exercise self-rule. But our whole ideal does not end here. We want our youth to be chaste in thought and word and deed, to keep our old-world courtesy, to be deeply spiritual and to be loving and self-sacrificing in all forms of social service.

Character is formed and strengthened by study, thinking, contact with the world, and active work. As the official prescription is intended to confine our students merely in "an atmosphere of pure study," which is an utter absurdity, the other conditions for the formation and strengthening of character, besides those of the class-room, have to be supplied. Who is going to supply them and how? It is to be remembered that, as Macaulay says, "the virtue which the world wants is.....a virtue which can expose itself to the risks inseparable from all spirited exertion."

We do not ascribe to the Viceroy the bureaucratic ideal of character meat for Indians. But as His Excellency has to pass his days almost exclusively in the atmosphere of Anglo-India, we have ventured to make some remarks on Anglo-India's ideal of character for Indian consumption, and our ideal.

As right and duty, rights and responsibilities go together, whenever there is a reference to duty and responsibility, the thought of our rights naturally occurs to us. What rights of citizenship have we, that we are called upon to discharge the duties of citizens? In what sense are we citizens? By asking the questions we do not mean to imply that persons who have no civic or political rights have no duties. Duties they have as human beings; and if they have no or few civic or political rights, it is their duty to win them. What we mean to say is that those who do not possess the rights of citizenship cannot be *called upon* to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. It should also be borne in mind that the power to do the duties of citizenship grows by conscious and unconscious education. The teaching of history and geography is a means of such education, but these subjects have been assigned an inferior place in India for some years past. Civics is a subject taught

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in many free countries for giving such education, but it is not included in our school curricula. Student self government, as a training ground for political and civic self-rule exists in many states; it does not exist in India. Our students are not allowed to have as much contact with contemporary history, which is another name for politics, as Western students have. Under these circumstances, how can they be expected to "come out men ready to take up the duties of citizenship?" "An atmosphere of pure study" can make men ready only for the life of clerks or bookworms.

On the walls of British Colleges Lord Chelmsford and his fellow-students "could see the portaits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We took in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk." What are the great parts in the life of the State which His Excellency's youthful listeners could expect to play? For the most part, those of clerical *hands* in offices, of *assistant* masters in high schools*, of *privates* in the army of the Empire, of *extra assistant* commissioners, of *sub*-deputy and *deputy* collectors, of *subordinate* civil judges, of *sub*-inspectors and *deputy*-superintendents of police, of *sub*-inspectors, *deputy* inspectors, *assistant* inspectors and *additional* inspectors of schools, of *junior* professors of government colleges, and, in only a few cases, of *puisne* judges of High Courts and of *additional* members of those glorified debating clubs which are known as legislative councils. His Excellency was perfectly right when he told his youthful audience, "For you the task is a harder one.... On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on." We wish them joy of the glorious constitutional struggle that lies before them! May they win many a bloodless victory by intellect, ability and character! And if they have to suffer, may they be able to face their trials like men!

"THE CALL TO THE RISING GENERATION."

His Excellency has nobly voiced the call to the rising generation.

> Each generation has its particular call and for you in these days I believe the call has come to do something for the education of your country and the improvement of its material welfare.....

* For the headmasterships are slowly being usurped by the European members of the Indian (I) Educational Service.

> The call then to your generation is, I believe, to educate your people and to improve their material welfare. For my part, I promise you that I shall do all that is in my power to enable you to answer that call.

His Excellency will be the greatest benefactor of India if he succeeds in keeping his promise. We think it our duty, however, to tell him that many of those who were in the past punished as senditionists and are still shadowed were only *Swadeshists* who responded to the call to improve the material welfare of their country, and many of those who have been interned or deported as conspirators are those who heard the call to educate their people and responded to it. We do not know whether it would be possible for any one who has the power to liberate them to *personally* investigate their cases. But they will not have suffered in vain if Government really take the *Swadeshi* vow and help the people to do so, and if Government really undertake the duty of educating all illiterate persons, juvenile and adult, and encourage all who are doing that duty. As an earnest of the fulfilment of his lordship's promise, the re-opening, at Government expense, of the free schools for working men and their children which have recently ceased to exist, would be felt as a blessing.

"THE GREAT PROFESSION OF TEACHING."

Regarding the "great profession of teaching" His Excellency observed:

> At the present time it is only regarded as a form of employment which will keep the wolf from the door until briefs come in or some other permanent occupation be secured. This is not as it should be. The profession of teaching is a great and honourable profession and it should engage the whole attention of those who follow it. But this is not likely to be the case so long as teachers are paid an inadequate wage. If we are to divert students to this road, we must increase the pay and opportunities of our teachers and magnify the status of the teaching profession.

There is no doubt the pay and opportunities of our teachers ought to be increased, and the status of the teaching profession magnified. Did the Viceroy include our professors among the teachers? Their pay and opportunities also require to be increased, though not to the same extent as those of schoolmasters. But we are against the enhancement of tuition fees as a means to this end.

Besides the steps that the Viceroy spoke of, others would require to be taken

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gain the object in view. The usurpation of headmasterships of high schools by members of the Indian (!) Educational Service should be at once put a stop to. The relegation of almost all Indian professors to *junior* professorships should cease once for all. All chairs should be filled in consideration of merit; race should have nothing to do with it. Salaries should be paid according to the work done, not according to the race or complexion of the professors as at present. Teachers should not be required to do in secret the work of the C. I. D. Such work is degrading alike to the teacher and the taught. If, as His Excellecy declared, one of the objects of the University be to turn out responsible citizens, that object ought to be kept in view from the very first stages of education. Teachers and professors can train up citizens only if they themselves can act as citizens. It is, therefore, necessary that teachers and professors of aided and unaided institutions at any rate, should not be prevented from having anything to do with civic and political matters in a lawful and constitutional way.

New Avenues of Employment.

We shall be glad if the Viceroy is able to fulfill his promise to open up new avenues of employment. He declared the policy of his Government as follows :—

> It is my sincere hope and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour by all means in our power to open up other avenues of employment. So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions, so long shall we get congestion and overcrowding in those professions, with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent. Our policy then is first to secure that there shall be as many opportunities of a livelihood as possible open to the educated classes and next to endeavour to divert the students into channels other than those of law and Government clerical employ.

It is generally assumed that among Government appointments we are fit only for clerical employ, though even many of the more highly paid clerkships are monopolised by Eurasians whose qualifications are far inferior to those of our graduates. Those bureaucrats who think that some Government posts other than clerkships may be given to Indians, seem to assume that our claims have been fully met, and that we have got the maximum number of appointments to which we may be entitled. This is not true. We are entitled to all the posts, as we are the permanent inhabitants of the country. Our deprivation of any portion of them can be tolerated only as a passing phase.

New avenues of employment certainly require to be opened up, but many of those already in existence are practically closed to us. The first step then that ought to be taken is to open these to us. In December, 1915, we published an article on "Indians and Higher Government Posts," based on the Combined Civil List published by the Pioneer Press. As the proportion of these posts now held by Indians and Europeans practically remains unaltered we print below a few figures taken from that article, *which, it should be noted, dealt only with civil appointments, the commissioned ranks of the army being closed to us.*

The Indian Civil Service.

Province.	Total I.C.S.	Europeans.	Indians.
Bengal	178	165	13
Bombay	185	173	12
Madras	176	165	11
Assam	43	43	0
Bihar-Orissa	116	111	5
Burma	125	123	2
Central Provinces	97	93	4
Punjab	150	145	5
N.-W. F. Province	15	15	0
United Provinces	239	227	12
India	1324	1260	64

Departments	Europeans	Indians
Postal Circles	56	10
Archæo. Dept.	9	6
Imp. Forest Dept.	3	0
Botan. Survey Dept.	5	2
Geolog. " "	18	0
Royal Indian Marine	13	0
Imp. Agricult. Dept.	13	1
Survey of India	8	0
Imp. Civil Vet. Dept.	3	0
" Meteor. Dept.	9	3
Forest Research Inst.	10	3
Telegraph circles (Engin.)	76	12
Finance Dept.	57	12
Provincial Forest Depts.	226	2
Agri. Depts. (Provinces)	70	9
Customs, Salt, &c.	179	31
Survey (Provinces)	42	2
Jail Departments	71	5
Registration Depts.	8	3
Police*	740	11
Marine Depts.	44	0
Educ. Appts. (Foreign Dept.)	22	1
Depts. of Public Instruc.	249	14

* As the Combined Civil List contains the names of Deputy Superintendents of Police *only* for Burma, the European and native officers (14 each) of that class in that province have not been taken into consideration.

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Ecclesiastical Depts.	219	2
Medical ,,	379	23
Political Depts.	99	5
Public Works Dept. (including Asst. Engins.)	831	198
Miscellaneous Appts.	164	3

The Imperial and Provincial Secretariats, the personal staffs of the Viceroy and the provincial rulers, the Railway Department, the Government of India Foreign Department, Posts and Telegraphs, the High Courts and Chief Courts, &c., have not been taken into account in the two tables given above, It is also to be noted that most of the appointments held by Indians are of lower grades carrying comparatively small salaries.

A University Commission.

The most important announcement made in the Viceroy's speech was that next cold weather a Commission would be appointed to report upon the Calcutta University. His Excellency observed with regard to the problem of our University:—

> The nearer one approaches it, the more difficult, the more complicated, does it appear. Its immensity; the fact that the University is situated in the centre of a vast city; the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time; and the demand of what we hope will be a great commercial and industrial development, all call for serious consideration. Shortly before the war I had occasion in connection with my work on the London County Council to study the needs of London and the report of the London University Commission. It seems to me that *mutatis mutandis* the problems of Calcutta and its University run on very similar lines; and as in London it was imperative, if the University was to fill its place in the life of the community, to institute an enquiry of a very comprehensive and searching character, so too in Calcutta I believe an enquiry of the same nature is likely to be fruitful of good results. We all desire that the education given here should be of the highest and best quality and should proceed on the soundest educational lines. In London the Government of the day realised that the problem was too vast and complicated for executive action, so they appointed a Commission of very great strength presided over by Lord Haldane, and the result was a report which *omnium consensu* is of the highest educational value.....
>
> We, as the Government of India, have very carefully considered the situation with regard to Calcutta University and we have come to the conclusion that a small but strong Commission, appointed to sit next cold weather, on similar lines and with terms of reference following those of the London University Commission, is a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy in relation to your problems, and we have every hope that a Commission so appointed may give us a report of equal educational value.....
>
> I am determined that, so far as in me lies, the composition of this Commission shall be of the strongest possible character on the educational side, and that educational qualifications shall be alone considered. I am hoping to get as many as three educational experts from England to advise us, and local representatives will of course also have a place on the Commission of whom the same qualifications will be required. Educational problems should be considered with single eye to educational efficiency and that has been, and will be, my sole thought in the establishment of this Commission and in its composition.
>
> As I told you at the outset of my address, I visited last week some of your hostels and I was struck by the excellent educational material which was there. It must be our care that these young men receive the very best education on the soundest lines that we can give. In this policy I feel sure that I shall have the cordial assent and co-operation of the University and the people of Bengal. As one long connected with education and as your Chancellor, I am anxious that educational questions should be approached from a purely educational standpoint and that our sole objective should be educational efficiency. I believe that a Commission instituted, as I have indicated, will best secure this end.

We know there is much room for improvement in our University. We know its defects and shortcomings. But, on the whole, we believe Calcutta University is as good as the other Universities of India. Bombay University, too, "is situated in the centre of a vast city; the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time," exists there and in the other Universities, too; there has already been "a great commercial and industrial development in Bombay. For these reasons the appointment of a commission to consider the condition of Calcutta alone seems rather ominous. The Patna University Bill has given the public some idea of what the Government of India at present considers an ideal university. That has filled the public mind with apprehension. Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor-elect of Bengal, is highly prejudiced against our university and the commission is to sit during his *regime*. That is another cause of apprehension. That the apprehensions of the Bengal public are not unfounded will appear from the following observations of *The Leader* of Allahabad, which is an ably conducted organ of the United Provinces, edited by a Madras journalist who is not an alumnus of Calcutta University and is not known to be partial to Bengal or Bengalis:—

> We will make no concealment of our apprehension about the latter part of Lord Chelmsford's address. Why does he want a commission to investigate into the affairs of Calcutta University? 'We, as the Government of India, have carefully considered the situation with regard to the Calcutta University.' What is that situation, and what is there alarming or disquieting about it? How does it differ from the situation with regard to the other Indian Universities? From the Indian point of view there is a good deal that is wrong with all of them, and an inde-

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dent commision which will give due weight to Indian national requirements and report without fear or favour will be welcomed. But such as they are, the University whose policy calls for improvement is Allahabad vastly more than Calcutta. Such as the Indian Universities are at present, the least unsatisfactory is easily the Calcutta University, thanks to the wealth of talent it commands, its strong and fairly independent Senate, and the splendid work done by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as Vice-Chancellor. At the same time it is true that the University which gives the least satisfaction to Anglo-Indian critics is also Calcutta. It has been evident for some considerable time that the Government of India are not quite happy over the affairs of that University. The Chancellor of another University nearer home has even gone the length of utilizing his Convocation address to cast a stone at it. What the Government of India's present ideas are on the constitution proper to an Indian University, we have been allowed to know in connection with the proposed Patna University. These all are circumstances which cannot be dismissed as irrelevant in an examination of the decision to appoint a commision of investigation. Has the University Senate itself been consulted regarding it? We are not aware that it has been. Nor is it a proposal that is put forward; it is a decision which has been announced. This amounts to a censure of the conduct of affairs by the Senate. Is there a justification for it? Not that we know. In the circumstances we must maintain that there is no case for a commission of investigation and we must regret the decision of his Excellency's Government. Of course it does not follow that we prejudge the work the commission will do. We shall rather be moved by the hope that its deliberations may bear good fruit— unlike those of many another commission.

The Viceroy is "anxious" "that our sole objective should be educational efficiency." We are very much afraid of Efficiency as understood by the bureaucracy in India. For while real efficiency is seldom attained, the progress of education is thwarted under the plea of increasing efficiency. However, if Lord Chelmsford's ideal be efficient education *for all who seek it*, as it ought to be, we have no complaints to make. But we cannot agree that our sole objective should be the educational efficiency of an artificially limited number of students drawn from the comparatively well-to-do classes. There is no civilised country in the world where the spread of education has had to be sacrificed on the altar of Efficiency. Everywhere the extension and increase of efficiency of education have gone hand in hand. *And there is a reason why for the sake of efficiency itself, the universal spread of education is required. For the most efficient education, the teachers and equipments must be the very best, and the students must also be the ablest available in the country. But unless all young people of an age to attend educational institutions can be accommodated, one can never be sure that the most capable students have been secured.* Education is not a mere matter of the class-room. Its quality depends greatly on the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the society to which the students belong. Even the best teachers cannot give the most efficient education to bright students, if the community from which they are drawn occupy a low moral and intellectual level. For this reason, the efficiency of education demands the enlightenment of the mass of the people. A superb educational structure requires a correspondingly broad base.

Therefore, to make education really efficient, not only should better pay and prospects be provided for the teachers and professors, not only should there be good school and college buildings, hostels, libraries, laboratories, museums, &c., but there should be free and compulsary education for all children at first up to the elementary stage and then up to the secondary stage, and the tuition fees in Colleges should be further reduced and the number of freestudentships and scholarships tenable there should be increased. It will be noticed in the article on the London University Commission's Report that not only is enhancement of fees opposed, but their lowering is recommended therein.

We have a few remarks to make regarding the composition of the commission. It is very easy to compose a commission and lay down its terms of reference in such a way as to secure a report on predetermined lines. Therefore the fact that "as many as three educational experts from England" are expected "to advise us," does not fill us with any necessarily joyous anticipations. Education is not in every respect a pure science like pure mathematics. Much depends on the particular circumstances of a country; and these experts may be very extensively ignorant of Indian conditions. "The very best education on the soundest lines" according to their ideas, may not suit us at all. Our demand is nation-wide national education under national control. In times of scarcity and famine, the question is not so much how to provide the best food to a select few, as how to provide enough of not unwholesome food to all to enable them to live. There is education-famine in India. Let us surely have the best education we can, but equally important is the

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provision of education for a rapidly increasing number of students year after year. There is really no incompatibility between quality and number of recipients in education, as the condition of education in England, Germany, U. S. A., France, &c., shows. As the State derives its revenue from every village and town in the country, bare justice requires that every village and town should be in a position to profit by its educational system.

REPORT OF THE LONDON UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Teaching in London presided over by Lord Haldane, is li known in India. In our article on "Te ing and Research in Indian Colleges Universities" published in November, 19 we made some important extracts fro Reference was made to it in some N also. In the present issue we publish article based on the Report, which, hope, will be found useful and interesti

In conclusion, we wish to say that shall be glad if the apprehensions of public prove unfounded and if the C mission be the means of providing a be education for a larger and larger num of the youth of Bengal as years pass.

THE LATEST PLAN OF UNIVERSITY REFORM IN ENGLAND

I. HISTORY.

THE London University was founded in 1836, chiefly through the exertions of the Non-conformists and Philosophical Radicals, as a means of imparting high education to youths outside the fold of the State Church or closely connected with a large business and political centre like London. It was, thus, a sort of protest against the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with their monkish ideals and mediæval methods. The new university was a non-residential and *purely examining* body, with only affiliated colleges which were outside its administrative control and not entitled to any financial aid from it. On this model the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1854.

In 1900, the University of London was reorganised so as to be a teaching as well as an examining body, with 24 colleges (some of them being sectional and being called "schools").

This is the present strength (in 1915) of of the three great English Universities :—

	No. of teachers	No. of students
Oxford	... 130	1,000
Cambridge	... 140	1,100
London	... 1140*	4,070

* London has 860 "recognised teachers" who are included in this table.

Before the war, in 1913-14, Oxford 4,020 and Cambridge 4,420 students.

In May 1910, a Royal Commission appointed with Lord Haldane as Presid

"to inquire into the working of the present or sation of the University of London, and other ties for advanced education existing in London;

to consider what provision should exist in Metropolis for University teaching and research;

to make recommendations as to relations should subsist between the University, its incorp ed colleges and schools and the various public b concerned;

and to recommend as to any changes of con tion and organisation which appear desirable."

The commission submitted its fina port on 27th March 1913, and it printed (Code 6717).

II. THE IDEALS AND ESSENTIAL CONDIT OF A TRUE UNIVERSITY.

The Report first lays down the Es **tials of University Education** as

(i) That *students* should work *in c tant association with their fellow stude* of their own and other Faculties, an close contact with their *teachers*.

(ii) *University work* should differ i nature and *aim* from that of a second school or a technical, or a purely pr sional school. In the secondary sc definite tasks are prescribed, and pupils mentally and morally trained by the or ly exercise of all their activities,..... in university *knowledge is pursued* not

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for the sake of the information but always *with reference to the attainment of truth.*

(iii) There should be *close association of undergraduate and post-graduate work.* Proposals which tend to their separation are injurious to both. Free intercourse with advanced students is inspiring and encouraging to under-graduates. The influence of the university as a whole upon teachers and students is lost if the higher work is separated from the lower. [*Special* research institutes should not form part of the university organisation.]

(iv) The establishment of a University Press, under full university control, is an essential function of the university. [Technological institution should be included among the functions of a university, but it should not be of a narrow utilitarian kind, but be based upon a thorough grounding in pure science.] The granting of degrees is not the real end of a university's existence.

Having established the above general principles, the Report lays down the conditions necessary for the realisation of the foregoing ends :—

First condition.—*A previous sound general education*, giving the power of accurate expression and orderly thought, together with the formation of moral habits, accompanied by a wide range of study at school.

Two school examinations should be established : the lower examination, taken about the age of 16, would test the possession of a broad general education; the higher examination, taken at about the age of 18, would test a general education carried further, together with specialisation in some direction. The University should exercise pressure upon students to delay leaving school till after passing the higher examination... This additional two years [at school] would enable intending university students to make some definite preparation for the Faculty they propose to enter. *Schools*, which at present cannot provide instruction beyond the standard of the lower school examination, *must raise their teaching* to the higher level.

Second condition.—*Homogeneity of Classes.*

A homogeneous body of students is required to form the basis of a real university ; the students working in classes of the nature of the German seminar must all be university students, i.e., students qualified and intending to be candidates for its degrees, and must not include students of imperfect general education (due to the imperfections of the secondary schools) or students receiving professional education under the university without intending to take a university course (leading to a degree).

Third condition.—*A University Quarter.*

Constituent colleges and departments of the University worked by the University out of its own funds and through its own officials (as distinct from external colleges, which merely send up candidates for its examinations) should be grouped as near together as possible. [The centralisation of *teaching* is insisted upon, not that of residence in Hostels within the university limits, as at Oxford.] The creation of a University quarter would lead to economy in administration, to increased co-operation between the different departments of study, to greater intercourse between the students and teachers, and probably to a better public understanding of the University ideals and problems.

Fourth condition.—*University Hostels and Societies.*

The influence of the University over its students should be extended by means of residential *hostels in the suburbs*, while the Central University buildings, offices, library and club house for the Union Societies as well as the constituent colleges and departments (directly run by the University) are to be placed in Bloomsbury, in the very heart of London City, (West-Centre).

Fifth Condition.—*A University professoriate.*

The University must appoint, pay, pension and dismiss its teachers. The University may be trusted to choose its staff for *individual excellence* from the *widest* possible field, to give them an *adequate remuneration*, to arrange that their teaching duties *leave ample time for* their own *individual research work*, and to give them *a voice in the selection of their colleagues.*

Sixth Condition.—*Professorial control of teaching and examination.*

The standard of a teaching university can be maintained only by the rigid *exclusion of students unfit for university work*, and the existence of *a body of highly qualified teachers.* The *teachers* should, under certain recommended safeguards, have

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control of the *examination of their students.*

Examination is a test of knowledge only, not of education or of the quality of the work. It is a fallacy to assume that self-education is induced by the examination. A detailed syllabus and an external examination (*i.e.*, conducted by persons other than the teachers) are inconsistent with the true interests of university education, injurious to the students, and degrading to the teachers. "A system of external examinations is based on want of faith in the teachers." An internal examination (*i.e.*, one conducted by the teachers themselves) when based upon a wide syllabus is injurious to the students, being practically an external examination owing to the number of institutions involved and the demands of the common syllabus. Degrees, therefore, should not be awarded upon examination alone.

"If the academic freedom of the professors and the students is to be maintained,—if scope for individual initiative is to be allowed to the professors, and the students are to profit to the full by their instruction, —it is absolutely necessary that.....the degrees of the University should practically be the certificates given by the professors themselves [upon the whole record of the student's work], and that the students should have entire confidence that they may trust their academic fate to honest work under the Professors' guidance. There is no difficulty whatever in the University providing for such control, regulation, and publicity as will be an adequate guarantee of impartiality and uniformity." (Page 36).

Seventh condition.—*Financial control by the University*, over all the institutions within it. This control should be vested in a small council acting as the supreme executive body of the University. For the various improvements suggested, the Commission demand an *additional annual income of* 10 lakhs and 40 thousand Rupees, which may be capitalised into an endowment of three crores and twelve lakhs of Rupees. This amount the Commission expect to come out of the public funds and *not from the enhancement of fees.* "We think that it is a matter of *national importance* that the University of London should be recognised and accepted as a great public institution,... more and more *entitled to public* recognition and support. A great University is not self-supporting, and can never be so,... it can never exist financially on the fees of its students."

The Commission propose the *reduction* of fees to Rs. 225 a year in Arts, Rs. 300 in science, and Rs. 450 in Engineering. [The Welsh colleges and Scottish universities charge even lower fees.] As the average income of Indians is Rs. 30 per annum per head and that of Englishmen Rs. 583, it is clear that the fees charged in Government Colleges in India are very high. "We agree in the opinion that the promise of free places or scholarships cannot get over the difficulty presented by prohibitive fees... The University of London must always be in the main a middle class University" (p. 152). At present the fees in the Imperial College of Science and Technology range from Rs. 540 to Rs. 675 per session according to subjects.

III. CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Lord Haldane's Commission propose the following constitution for the reorganised London University as most likely to secure efficient and smooth working and promote improvement and the realisation of their ideals:—

(A) The University *Legislature*, to be called the *Court*, composed of 200 members and forming a widely representative and supreme governing body, in which teachers are scantily represented and laymen or outsiders form the majority. It would have final control over the Statutes governing the University, the affiliation of Colleges and the decision of all matters in which a minority of the Senate appeal against the judgment of the majority. "One of the principal advantages of a large body of this kind is that it should bring an intelligent lay judgment to bear upon the solution of problems which divide expert [educational] opinion.... In the main this form of government has proved eminently successful [in the provincial universities of England], and we believe that it is equally suitable to the circumstances of the metropolis."

[The reader will see that the Haldane Commission actually recommend *Vakil rule* for the supreme governing body of the London University! *Ruat cælum!*]

Below the court, should be two bodies of experts dividing between themselves the actual conduct of the University business, *viz.*, the Senate and the Academic Council.

(B) The central *Executive* organ of the University, to be called *Senate*, will be a small body of 15 members. It will be concerned with administration and finance including the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, the appointment or remov-

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of all officers of the University, discipline, inspection of affiliated colleges, &c. "The representatives of the teachers should be limited to two" on this body of fifteen !

(C) The Academic Council, a body of 15 teachers together with the Vice-Chancellor ; its function being mainly to advise the Senate on academic questions and incidentally to exercise executive power only as regards educational matters delegated to it by the Senate. "To this body the Senate should be able to delegate the power of deciding any academic matter involving a question of policy which ought to be determined from the point of view of the University as a whole and which therefore cannot properly be decided by any single Faculty." It will, therefore, afford a machinery for co-ordinating the work of the various faculties.

(D) The Faculties should each consist of the University Professors (or Readers, where there is no Professor) in the subject, and other teachers co-opted by the Faculty. It should have the power of appointing committees to act as Boards of Studies,—— determining the conditions for the award of degrees,——conducting examinations, ——and advising the Senate as to the organisation of the teaching within the Faculty. (Page 53 and 195).

"The status of a Professor would always confer independence in the sense that his post would not be subordinate to that of any other teacher. The status of a Reader would also confer independence in the same sense, provided that there was no Professor of the same subject." (Page 52).

[What becomes of the invidious colour-line in the Education Department of the Government of India, by which raw Europeans are put at the very outset in the highest educational rank, while Indian Professors are kept in the Provincial Service all their lives, and automatically become junior and subordinate to every I. E. S. teacher as soon as the latter is appointed ? Is Lord Chelmsford prepared to accept the Haldane Commission's views in *this* matter, and ensure that the Government Colleges affiliated to the existing universities and the Constituent Colleges of the proposed universities are staffed by men chosen for "their individual excellence and from the widest possible field" (p. 196), instead of being kept as close preserves for the I. E. S. monopolists ?]

IV. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

Besides proposing the above constitution for the University of London, the Commission make several recommendations, of which we summarise only those which have any bearing on Indian problems :

The area of the University for the admission of *Constituent* colleges and University Departments will be the County of London ; which has an extreme length of 16 miles, an extreme breadth of 11½ miles, and an area of about 117 square miles. [In the proposed Patna University the constituent colleges must be within a radius of *one* mile from the Senate House !] "Those educational institutions which are not under the educational and financial control of the University, will, if they comply with the necessary conditions, be SCHOOLS of the University." (Conditions on pp. 203-205). "The principal teachers in the Schools of the University will be grouped into Boards of Studies, which will prepare the curricula and syllabuses of examination for students in *Schools*," [and not in the University proper]. "The public examinations for degrees of students in *Schools* of the University will be general examinations common to all the Schools presenting candidates." Thus, there will be two sets of educational institutions, with entirely different systems of management, boards of studies, examinations, and designations, but both grouped under the same University of London and both leading up to the same degrees, viz., B.A., Honours, &c. One set of these institutions, under entire University control and limited to the London County, will be called Colleges and University Departments ; the other and lower set of institutions will be called *Schools*, and they may be situated anywhere in a much wider area, viz., the counties of London, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Essex and Hertfordshire,——in short the whole S. E. Province of England. But the graduates must insert the name of their College or "School" after their degrees.

"The normal qualification for admission to the University will be *a school examination* based upon the curriculum of the school. There should be two such examinations, a lower planned for pupils of about the age of 16, which should be a test of general education, and a higher for pupils of about the age of 18, which should be suitable as a test for pupils whose course has to some extent been specialised." A student who has passed the higher will, on entering the University, be excused the In-

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termediate examination, but the course for the degree will not be shortened for him. A *Matriculation* examination will be held only for those students who do not approach the University through the normal avenue of the secondary school, and no pupil of any such school will be allowed to sit for this examination; he must pass the School Final.

We shall, for the present, pass over mere technical or professional details and describe the composition of the *Court* or Supreme Legislature of the University. Its 200 members, are to be thus chosen :—

4	by the Ministry.
20	,, Convocation.
31	,, London County Council.
6	by six County Councils.
15	,, Corporation and Companies of the City.
5	,, the Court itself out of the members of the Borough Councils, London.
About 20	by the Borough Councils of the six Counties other than London.
11	Members of Parliament (ten of them co-opted by the Court).
25	Co-opted by the Court.
23	by various Boards, Societies, Institutes and Chambers.
160	
14	must be teachers.
2	,, elected by the Students.
	Principal of each Constituent College.
	Deans of the various Faculties.
15	members of the Senate.
1	representative of each Constituent College or Department *not* being a member of the teaching staff.
1	,, of each School, *not* being a member of the teaching staff.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG. *By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India Society, Allahabad. 1916. Manager, Arya-bhusan Press, Poona. Eight Annas. Pp. 91+lxii.*

This is the first of a series of political pamphlets, and an excellent one it is. Mr. Sastri shows how this is a proper occasion for India to put forward the claim of self-government. He proves by some comparisons that the colonies and England herself were not fitter for self-government than India when they took the first steps in the art of managing their own affairs. He then examines the question of our fitness in detail. An outline of the Indian scheme of self-government is then given. The author then meets objection. He then discusses the question: "Will Englishmen renounce power?" In conclusion he shows what our duty is, and exhorts the nation to take occasion by the hand.

There are two appendices. The first gives the Memorandum of "the Nineteen," and the second brings together the statements and pronouncements of English statesmen on India's services made on various occasions during the war.

Mr. Sastri has done his work very ably.

THE TILAK CASE. SECURITY UNDER SEC. 108 CR. P. C. (1916). EDITED BY *D. V. Gokhale, B. A., LL. B. Published by the Printing Agency, Poona City.* 12 As.

This pamphlet contains portraits of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Lokamanya Tilak, Mr. R. P. Karandikar, Hon. J. Batchelor, Hon. J. Shaha, Hon. Jinna, Mr. Baptista, Mr. S. R. Bakhale, and Mr. Yerulkar; an introduction by Mr. Kelkar dealing ably with the Tilak case; the Magisterial Proceedings; the trial in His Majesty's High Court of Judicature; and English translations of, Mr. Tilak's speeches on Home Rule on which the Bombay Government took action.

The contents are very interesting, and must be useful to all who have the cause of Home Rule and of freedom of speech at heart.

CONFESSIONS OF A THUG. *By Colonel Meadows Taylor. Edited, with introduction and glossary, by C. W. Stewart, B. A. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay. 1sh. net.*

Though the book makes gruesome reading, it holds the reader's attention from the first page to the last, and, as a historical romance, acquaints him with one of the most cruel and wicked perversions of human nature known to history. "The Thugs were a hereditary guild of murderers who, acting under the supposed patronage and direction of the goddess Kalee, strangled and robbed their victims in every part of India. Religious belief was the mainspring of the system: to the Thugs murder was not crime, a means of gain, but a duty and an act of worship. "Thuggee is now believed to be extinct, and

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modern conditions the old widespread system can never revive."

The book is included in "The World's Classics" series published by the Oxford University Press, which is a guarantee of merit. It is well got-up and includes a map of Central India and the Deccan in 1817, to illustrate the confessions of the Thug Ameer Ali.

The Oxford University Press has sent us 18 dainty books of the "*Memorabilia*" series, each in an artistic envelope. One of them is in French, "Noels Francais." Nine are in English, namely,

"Easter Day" by Robert Browning ;

"The Ideal of Citizenship," being the speech of Pericles over those fallen in the War, translated from the Greek of Thucydides by A. E. Zimmern ;

"Christmas Eve" by Robert Browning ;

"Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" by John Milton ;

"Elegy written in a Country Church-yard, and other poems" by Thomas Gray ;

"The Happy Warrior and other poems" by William Wordsworth ;

"A Book of Carols" ; and

"Quia Amore Langueo and Richard de Castre's Prayer."

These are all well-known productions. The paper and type chosen make it a pleasure to read them. Book-lovers will certainly like to possess this series.

Eight books consist of reproductions of works of art, edited by G. F. Hill. They are—

"The Visitation of Mary", 12 Representations by Artists of the xiv—xvi Centuries :

"The Adoration of the Magi," 12 Representations by Italian Painters of the xiv—xvi ;

"The Flight into Egypt," 12 Representations by Painters of the xiv—xvi Centuries ;

"Twelve scenes from the Life of Christ after Duccio" ;

"Saint George the Martyr," 12 Representations by Artists of the xiv—xvi Centuries ;

"Saint Francis of Assisi," 12 scenes from his Life and Legend after Giotto ;

"Portaits of Christ", 12 Representations by Artists from Early Christian Times to the Renaissance ; and

"The Last Supper," 12 Representations by Artists of the xii—xvi Centuries.

While some of the works of art reproduced possess mere an historical interest, many are undoubtedly excellent specimens of artistic idealisation. They must be very clear and precious to Christians. They deserve also to be cherished by those non-Christians who love and revere Jesus as one of the best of men. To art-lovers also the booklets should be welcome. The editor introduces each work of art to us in a few brief and well-worded sentences.

The price of each book of the "Memorabilia" series is one shilling net. R. C.

THE STATE IN RELATION TO INDIAN INDUSTRIES *by C.S. Deole, B.A., Member, Servants of India Society. Price two annas.*

This is no. 2 of the series of pamphlets on Indian economic subjects which the Indian Economic Society of Bombay has taken upon itself to publish periodically. The author, after quoting from many authorities to prove the unsoundness of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, especially when applied to the industries of an economically backward country like India, goes on to indicate the directions in which state-aid is likely to be most beneficial to the economic development of this country. "A national system of education, including both liberal and technical education of the highest quality, being based, at bottom, on compulsory and free primary education ; assurance to the agriculturist of the fruits of his labour ; introduction of a judicious measure of protection ; a programme for developing Indian shipping and shipbuilding and training for Indian sea-men ; organisation of capital, credit and labour ; and lastly the establishment of an Economic Board, these are some of the things which Industrial India has a right to expect from the State within the limits of its economic functions." This may seem a very large order, but it is not more than what the most progressive nations of the world have already adopted and are systematically following. It would occur to many as a curious anomaly that in India the State, which claims to be the owner of the land and was one of the first to take part in industrial enterprises which in other countries are left to private initiative should require, at a time when rapid action would have been much more effective than words, the services of a strongly constituted Commission to recommend to it an extension of the policy which it has been more or less successfully pursuing for the last half-a-century and more.

At page 3 of the pamphlet under review, the author tries to indicate the relative prosperity of different countries by citing the statistics of foreign trade per head of their population. This standard, though frequently adopted, becomes very inaccurate and misleading unless due allowance be made for the size of the countries or their respective internal trade. A small country like England which has to import large quantities of raw materials of industry and food-stuffs and to export a corresponding value of manufactured goods to pay for these imports, must necessarily show a larger volume of foreign trade than another country, (e. g., U. S. A.) which is more self-contained and exchanges its manufactured goods for its *own* raw materials and food-stuffs within its own borders. That is most probably the reason why in Mysore the trade (foreign) *per capita* is double that in the whole of India (p. 3) and not because the people of Mysore are twice as prosperous as the people of the rest of India. The home trade of a country is always more important than its foreign trade ; and it is the total of internal and external trade, and not the latter alone, that really counts.

PRASAD CHANDRA BANERJI.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIE INDIA : *by Pramathanath Banerji, M. A., D. Sc. (Lond). Macmillan & Co. 1916. Pp. 316. 7-6d net.*

The period mainly dealt with in this book is the millennium 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., but occasionally, references have been made to earlier and later periods. In Ancient India, the different branches of knowledge were grouped under four heads, namely, Philosophy (Anviksiki), the Vedas (Trayi), Economics (Varta), and the science of Government (Dandaniti). The Mahabharata says : "When the science of Politics is neglected, the three Vedas as well as all virtues decline." The Arthasastra of Chanakya is the most important of the works which treat especially of the subject of Public Administration. The political doctrine preached in this book, namely, that the end justifies the means, marks a notable departure from the high moral standard of earlier times. Chanakya was a contemporary of Aristotle. He has sometimes been compared to Machiavelli, but according to Dr. Banerjea, 'in intellectual acumen and in comprehen-

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siveness of outlook, Kautilya far surpasses his Italian rival.' Megasthenes's description of the Punjab brings out the relation between the moral and material factors of the State: "The inhabitants having abundant means of subsistence exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing..... It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a great scarcity in the supply of nourishing food." It is worthy of note that in India the state itself never became a theocracy in the proper sense of the word. First, the ruler was never regarded as the head of religion. Secondly, the primary object of the state was not spiritual salvation, but social well-being. Thirdly, law, mingled as it was with religion and morality, was the chief source of the authority of the state. Lastly, the political status of individuals was independent of their religious beliefs and convictions. "The great drawback of the state in Ancient India was that the rights of man as man were not fully recognised. Individuals had rights and duties not as component parts of the body politic but as members of estates or classes in society." It is interesting to note that in the Mahabharata era, almost all the Indian nations possessed popular institutions of some type or other. At the time of the rise of Buddhism, the republican or oligarchical system of government prevailed in most tribes. Even at the date of Alexander's invasion, the nations of the Punjab lived under democratic institutions. Sometimes the state was ruled by a President at the head of an assembly of elders. But the suzerain (Chakravarti, Samrat, Sarbabhauma) idea gradually gained in importance, though the system of government which supplanted the republics was a limited monarchy. The Shastras, the customs of the country, the influence of learned Brahmans as a class, the natural guardians of society, and of the council of Ministers were the various checks on the authority of the monarch. 'The results of good government were to be seen in the happiness and prosperity of the people, the growth of literature, arts and sciences, and the development of a high order of civilisation.' The Empire of Asoka, according to Mr. V. A. Smith, was far more extensive than the British Empire of to-day, excluding Burmah. In Vedic times, kingship often seems to have been elective. Kings were also sometimes deposed by the people. The formal offer by the people of the sovereignty to the king was for a long time held essential. Gradually there grew up the theory of the divine origin of kingship. But there is no doubt that at bottom the relations between the ruler and the ruled were contractual. 'The conception of the king as the servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India.' The Sukranīti says: "(Brahma) created the king to be the servant of his subjects, and he is remunerated by a share of the produce. He assumes the character (of king) only for protecting (his subjects)." Again, "If the king is an enemy of virtue, morality, and power, and is unrighteous in conduct, the people should expel him as a destroyer of the state." 'The idea of an autocratic (svatantra) ruler was not very congenial to the Hindu mind.' 'The king in India was never regarded as being above the law.' At no time was the royal power, in theory at least, quite absolute. The Mahabharata derives the word 'Rajan' from 'ranj,' to please. Among the kingly duties as enumerated in the great epic, are (1) to please the people, (2) to protect them and (3) always to seek their welfare. There were two kinds of Assembly—the Samiti and the Sabha. The popular assembly was a regular institution in the early years of the Buddhistic age. The rule of majority was not known, and it is probable that the decisions of the majority prevailed. The Mantri-Parishat or Council of Ministers was the chief administrative authority in the kingdom. It possessed immense powers, and enjoyed a great deal of independence. In exceptional cases, it had even the power to elect the king. "In point of numbers," says Megasthenes, "it is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice." According to the Nitivakyamrita, "unanimity of opinion being difficult to obtain, the number (of ministers) should be uneven." "Though such ministers controlled the destinies of large kingdoms and sometimes extensive empires, they, as a rule, led very simple lives, and were renowned for their honesty, integrity, and nobility of character." "The Parishats of olden days may, in a sense, be called legislative assemblies. Although their main business was to interpret—not to enact—laws, yet in performing this duty they, not unoften, changed the laws so as to bring them into greater harmony with the altered circumstances of changed times. The rules of conduct were not inflexible in ancient times, and the Parishats, while maintaining the infallibility of the Vedas as the Smritis, considerably modified the spirit of the laws. The text-book writers, in compiling the code of laws of the country, greatly helped the process of change, and in later times, the commentators also contributed to the same result." The administration of justice bore several points of resemblance to the system now prevalent in civilised countries. The king together with the Chief Justice (Pradvivaka) and three or four other judges (dharmikah), formed the highest court of justice. It was, however, the Chief Justice who in reality presided over the King's court even when the king was present, had two sorts of jurisdiction, original and appellate. Next in importance to the King's court were the district courts, and below them were the village courts, composed of the headman and the elders of the village. There was a regular mode of appeal from the decisions of the inferior courts to the superior courts. Trials were always held in public. The Sukranīti says: "Neither the king nor the members of the Judicial Assembly should ever try cases in private." The prevalence of litigation in modern India is sometimes referred to as a sign of its falling off from a past golden Age. But it appears that the complaint is as old as Narada himself, for he says: "When mortals were bent on doing their duty, and were habitually veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred nor selfishness. The practice of duty having died out among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced." There were professional lawyers (pratinidhi). The means of arriving at truth at the disposal of judges were four, namely, direct perception (pratyaksha), reasoning (yukti), inference (anumana), and analogy (upamana). There were trials by ordeal, which were resorted to when the evidence failed to elicit the truth. Hieun Tsang emphatically states that in the investigation of criminal cases the rod or the staff was never used. "The idea of equality before the law was not fully developed in Ancient India. A modified form of privilege ran through the whole system of Hindu jurisprudence. The law was not the same for all, but depended upon the status of the person concerned. The Brahmans, as a rule, enjoyed immunity from the more degrading kinds of punishment..." "From the records preserved in Indian literature as well as from the accounts left by foreign travellers, it seems quite clear that the administration of justice was very efficient in ancient India. This must have been the result of three factors, namely, the uprightness of the judges

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the efficiency of the Police, and the general honesty and probity of the people." Vishnu gives the following advice to a conqueror: "Having conquered the country of his foe, let him not abolish (or disregard) the laws of that country... A king having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity. Let him not extirpate the royal race..." Chanakya says: "The King should adopt the manners, customs, dress, and language of the conquered people; and show respect to their national, religious, and social ceremonies and festivals." While the rulers of the different parts of India fought with one another for supremacy, the country remained constantly exposed to the danger of foreign invasions. The history of these invasions shows us in a clear light the weak points of the political system of ancient India.... neither their martial spirit nor their efficient military organisation was of any avail for the preservation of their national independence, for the political condition of the country was eminently favourable to Alexander's designs. The Punjab was then divided into a number of separate States, and instead of presenting a united front to the invader, the states, in most instances, fought him singly, with the result that they were overcome with comparative ease.... As Mr. McCrindle rightly remarks, "if Alexander had found India united in arms to withstand his aggression, the star of his good fortune would have culminated with his passage of the Indus."...The politicalcondition of India which made possible the foundation of the Mahomedan empire is thus described by Stanley Lane-Poole: "The country was split up into numerous kingdoms, many of which were at feud with one another.... Internal division has proved the undoing of India again and again, and has sapped the power of mere numbers which alone could enable the men of warm plains to stand against the hardy mountain tribes!"

The above are extracts from only a few of the chapters of this most interesting and instructive book. The author's patriotism, moderation, and fair play are no less conspicuous than his great learning and ardent spirit of research, and the style is simple and pleasant. The book is full of suggestions for the student of ancient Indian history, and will prove a valuable addition to his library. Dr. Banerjea has rendered a patriotic service by striking out a new path which other Indian schools will do well to follow.

POL.

HINDI.

ANATH BALAK, *translated by Pandit Parasnath Tripathi Kavyatirtha and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 207. Price—As. 10.*

This contains a very telling story about the way in which a poor boy bereft of all his guardians except his pious aunt finished his education. There is a simple and natural pathos about the novel which is a continuous narration of events the like of which are not infrequent. There is a lack of such really useful and instructive novels and hence we welcome the present volume with all zeal. The use of the word "pratah-pranam" on p. 178, l. 13, in the conversation in which it is introduced is not quite natural, and the author has in some instances gone to details, which, though not long, are not quite in keeping with the trend of the novel. But the story is all the same exquisitely charming and leaves a very sound impression on the mind of the reader. The character of Mokshada and that of Raghu have been very dexterously depicted and the evil characters introduced in the book have also felt the artistic skill of the author. Altogether the book is unique of its kind. Its get-up is excellent.

SAVITRI, *translated by Pandit Gulzarilal Chaturvedi and published by Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 204. Price—As. 8.*

In this novel the foolishness of attaching too much importance to the astrological matters at the time of a marriage etc., has been graphically pointed out. This resulted in a second marriage of a bridegroom; and the second wife proved to be all but the ruin of the family. The way in which the piety and self-sacrifice of the first wife has been portrayed, is really very touching. Several phases of domestic and social life have been depicted in the novel. The get-up needs no comment as it is invariably excellent in books published by Messrs. Haridas & Co. We commend the present publication, presenting as it does many novel features, to the readers.

MAHAKAVI GALIB AUR UNKA URDU KAVYA *by Pandit Jwaladutta Sharma and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 102. Price—As. 5.*

The life of the great Urdu poet has been given and his writings have been very critically examined. No doubt this publication will help the admirer of the great Galib to find new beauties in his writings. For the use of those who do not know Urdu, a list of the difficult Urdu words occurring in the course of the extracts given in the book has been subjoined to it. The special tastes of the author in Urdu have helped to make this publication really useful.

JIVANI SHAKTI *by Pandit Jwaladutta Sharma and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta, Crown 8vo. pp. 79. Price—As. 5.*

This is a translation of the book of the same name by Dr. Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. The translation is no doubt good. As to the views of the original author, a few of them may appear to be novel to the present-day people who have studied other books on the hygiene and on the subject of the preservation of life, but they have the merit of being based on the special experiences of the author. A perusal of the book will give much real and practical help to the reader. Some of the subjects are specially instructive.

KRISHNAKANTA KI WILL *translated by Pandit Gulzarilal Chaturvedi and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 203. Price—As. 12.*

This is a Hindi translation of Bankim Babu's "Krishnakanta's Will." Another translation of the same book has been published before this by the Khadgavilas Press. But the work under review has the merit of being written in simpler and more homely style. The other translation is rather learned. As to the novel itself, it will give an insight into Bankim Babu's versatile genius who could impart a special freshness to every novel of his, nay to each one of his writings. The translator who published the book in the K. V. Press remarked adversely on the way in which "Bhramor" the noteworthy character in the novel has been depicted: she has been painted, according to him, more like a European heroine who can take so much pride and who can have such egocentric individuality. We have not much to say on this point. But Bankim Babu's genius was nothing but grand and its characteristic was diversity of a

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singular type. The get-up of the publication under review is excellent and we congratulate the publishers on their admirable enterprise.

USTAD ZOUQ AUR UNKA KAVYA *by Pandit Jwaladutta Sharma and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 119 plus 7. Price—As. 7.*

This is another of the critiques on an Urdu author published by the author. The life of the poet has been very graphically described and stress has been laid on his simple, unostentatious and kind nature. In certain places comparisons have been instituted with Sanskrit poets and their verses quoted. The publication will no doubt prove very interesting to those Hindu readers who have at best some taste in Urdu.

HAMARE SHARIR KI RACHNA, PART I, *by Dr. Trilokinath Varma, B. SC., M. B., B. S., Demonstrator, Anatomy, King George Medical College, Lucknow and to be had of him. Crown 8vo. pp. 266. Price—Rs. 2-4-0.*

We cannot but hail with joy the appearance of such books in Hindi. We have long thought that the Hindu University will bring in a new era for India, and if the suggestions of a set of leaders in India be carried into effect and Hindi be given prominence in the University, there is no doubt books like the one under review will prove very useful. It deals with the elements of Anatomy and Physiology. We have been used to have in Hindi books on Science translated from the Bengali by third rate men and even prescribed as text-books. But those writers who understand the subject they are dealing with or translating, can be of invaluable help to the cause of education in India. The want of this has long been a drawback in Hindi and we are gratified to find that drawback being gradually removed. Books on Science, Economics and History are cropping up and we can only hope for a fast continuance of this state of things. The publication under review has been written in just the language suited for the purpose. The technical terms used are many, but their equivalents in Hindi has been very dexterously chosen and the author has been wise in transliterating rather than translating such terms as "amæba", etc. The latter are very few in number. The blocks in the book have been very carefully prepared. The equivalents of terms given in the book will be found useful not only by the reader of the book itself, but other writers on the subject. Ayurvedic physicians, Sanitary Inspectors and others who might not know much of English, will find the publication very serviceable. The printing and get-up are excellent.

AROGYA DIGDARSHAN *translated by Pandit Giridhar Sharma and published by Udaylal, Hindi Gauravgrantha Office, Girgaon, Chandavari. Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 128. Price—As. 11.*

This is a very practical and useful book on hygiene and has been the result of much careful thought on different topics. In many cases useful departure has been made from the old stereotyped matter of the antiquated books on hygiene. Methods of treatment for various accidental diseases, etc., have also been given. The book must prove very helpful to everybody and its get-up enhances its attraction.

ABHIMANYU CHARITRA AND DHRUVA-CHARITRA *edited by Mr. Ramkrishna Upasani and published by Messrs. Upasani & Co., 1 Jugomohan Saha's Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 44 and 63. Price—As. 2-6 & 4.*

These carefully prepared compilations on Pauranic heroes will be very nice manuals for the Hindi reader. We wish to see more of them in the field. The language and get-up are quite satisfactory.

LACHHMI *translated by Pandaiya Murlidhar, published by Messrs. Haridas Vaidya & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 243. Price—As. 10.*

This novel takes us back to the Mahratta depredations in the eighteenth century. Mixed up with the events of those days, it is the story of a very chaste wife and equally devout husband. The morality of the book is unique, and the characters portrayed will not but teach a good deal to any reader. We commend the book highly.

VYAPAR SHIKSHA *by Pandit Giridhar Sharma, published by the Hindi-Grantharatnakar Office, Hirabagh, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price—As. 8.*

This is a very practical and useful book. Useful details have not been given in it, but all the useful information and pieces of advice as to how business and trade should be conducted, have been concentrated in a very instructive and practical manner. The book will be eminently helpful, we may say indispensable, to any youth trying to enter the commercial life. We cannot but hail such books most zealously into the field of the Hindi Literature. Both the manner and the matter of the book are to be greatly commended and we wish the publication speedy and large sale. In any commercial or technical school, it will be a nice text-book.

MAHARAJA CHHATRASAL *by Mr. Sampoornanand, B. Sc., L. T. and published by the Mantri, Granthaprakashak Samiti, 4, Paththargali, Benares City. Crown 8vo. 125. Price—As. 8.*

This is a well-written biography of a great man who is, however, not much known to students of Indian History. His life is edifying and very instructive, and the manner of description as also the style of the book increase its attractiveness. There is a good deal of research also in the book. Much care has been bestowed in writing it. The get-up is very satisfactory.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

PRATIMA NATAK, *by Manilal Chhahalal Bhat, printed at the Granthodaya Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 80, Cloth bound. Price Re. 1. (1916.)*

This is a translation into Gujarati of the well-known Sanskrit drama by *Bhas*. Based on certain incidents in the Ramayana it is bound to appeal to every Hindu. The translation is done in a commendable way, and will repay perusal. The footnotes add to its value.

HINDI LEKHA MALA, PART I, *published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 298. Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-8 (1916).*

This volume consists of a collection of papers written by well-known Hindi writers in their own language, and printed in Gujarati character. This is an entirely new departure on the part of this society and is, we expect, put forth in the nature of an experiment. We do not know how far the experiment would succeed, as the cultured Hindi in which the papers are written would not be easily followed

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the inhabitants of Gujarat. There are in all forty-one papers, and they range over a variety of subjects including the military exploits of our Indian soldiers in the present war in Flanders. This paper is one of the best and should be read widely, so that people at large might know how our brave brethren acquitted themselves on the battle-fields of Europe.

SHRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI, PART V, *edited by Jivanchand Sakarchand Jhaveri, and printed at the City Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 399. Price As. 10. (1916).*

This is the fifth book in the series which the Trustees of Sheth Dinchand Lalbhai are publishing of old Jain manuscripts. The well-known Jain poet, Rishabhdas of Cambay has written a poem (Rasa) in connection with the famous event in the reign of Akbar, viz., the interview between the Emperor and the Jain saint, Shri Hirsurivijay. It is this Rasa (written in 1685 Vikram era) which is published in this volume. It is preceded by an introduction by a Gujarati writer, who has spent his whole life in the study of Prakrit and Pali, which is worth reading. Its writer Mr. Bechardas Jivraj, who possesses the degrees of *Nyayatirtha and Vyakarantirtha* tries to shew that Gujarati was never an original language but is the result of the many changes undergone by the several old languages of India. This view will not pass unchallenged, we think, by those who have studied this subject.

JANG MAN ZUKELUN JAGAT, *by B. L. Kaji, B.A., S.T.C.D., and C. D. Nanavati, B.A., S.T.C.D., both Assistant lecturers in the Government High School, Broach. Paper Cover, pp. 130. Second Edition. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1916).*

Principal J.N. Fraser's book, "The World at War," has been translated by these two gentlemen, in order to acquaint the masses and also those who do not read English with the causes of the origin of the present war, and its moral responsibility. This they have done in order to dissipate incorrect ideas about it. It is full of information, which is conveyed in simple and lucid Gujarati and hence calculated to serve the purpose for which it is written, fully.

THE PICTURE RAMAYANA, *by Balasaheb Pandit Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, printed at the British India Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Price As. 12. (1916).*

That an Indian prince should so far be an expert in the art of painting, that he should evolve the whole story of the Ramayana in a series of striking colored pictures from his own brush is indeed a matter which should be noted with pride. This is an *edition de luxe* of the Ramayana in pictures printed on art paper; its get-up is in every way worthy of its princely author. In order to make it useful over the whole of India, the letter press giving the descriptions of the episodes forming the subject of the pictures, besides being in Sanskrit (the original shlokas being quoted), is printed in the six chief vernaculars of our country, Marathi, Gujarati, Canarese, Tamil, Hindi and Bengali. The introduction to the Gujarati edition is written by the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Sammaddar, C.I.E., and it gives a very good idea of the subject.

SNEHALATA *by H. R. Patel, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 270. Thick Card board. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1916).*

This is a novel, which would not be found heavy or uninteresting reading. The object of the writer is to portray love marriages (स्नेहलग्न) as contrasted with physical union (देहलग्न). The price is exorbitant.

Aitihasik Rasa Sangraha Part II, edited by Jainacharya Shri Vijaya Dharma Suri, A. M. A.S.B., printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp. 74. Unpriced. (1916).

We have already had an occasion to review the first part of this series, the second part only confirms the commendation we bestowed on the literary labors of the Acharya. The Rasa contained in this book is one written by a poet, Lavanya Samay by name, in the Samvat year 1589, and is divided into three sections, giving respectively the lives of Khemrishi, Balibhadra and Yashobhadra Suri. The understanding of the text is made greatly easy by means of notes, and a vocabulary giving the meaning of difficult words, and two post scripts. The book is sure to prove useful to students of old Gujarati.

Nandshanker Jivani-Chitra by Vinayak Nandshanker Mehta, B.A., I.C.S., Mirzapur, U.P., printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, with three photographs, pp. 258. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1916).

This "picture of the life" (जीवनचित्र) of Nandshanker is written on a novel principle. It is not exactly a biography, as its very title implies. It is a collection of sayings and statements of the deceased, jotted down from memory in the style of Boswell, rendering the work very pleasant to read. There is no heaviness in it: it is all light reading. R. B. Nandshanker is best known all over Gujarat as the author of a unique historical novel, the Karan Ghelo, depicting the last days of Hindu rule in Gujarat. Beside this his work as a teacher and a revenue officer, hardly counts except with those who knew him personally. The same is the case with his extremely mild and amiable natnre, which won for him many friendships; so that for a regular biography perhaps there was not much scope, and Mr. Vinayak has therefore done very well in confining the discharge of his filial duty to a mere narrative of reminiscences. The opening portion of the book for several pages hardly touches the personality of "Master Saheb" as R. B. Nandshanker was popularly called; it is taken up so much with grandmotherly stories of his ancestors and caste men, which are very entertaining to read but of ephemeral interest. The self-satisfaction with which a Nagar of Surat (the caste to which he belonged) or for the matter of that of the whole of Gujarat and Kathiawad regards himself. The way in which he considers himself to be the cream of Hindu Society in the province, (even if one were to disregard the egotism which results from such a state of mind) peep out at the reader from every line of this portion. Besides this, another feature of the book is the free use made by the writer of Persian and Urdu words, phrases and quotations, some apposite and some not, some well-known and others obscure, which rather detract from the merits of an otherwise interesting work. The same is the case with German quotations. Serving in Upper India Mr. Vinayak has been betrayed into using the former inspite of his care to avoid them.

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His intimate knowledge of German has overflowed its proper bounds, and flooded a channel, too weak to contain the impetuous onrush on account of its narrowness. Besides this there are printer's errors. The book required careful editing, judgment having to be used as to what portions of the work should be published and what omitted. But after all this is said, it must not be forgotten that the book has supplied a real want, and filled a gap. It has set the style for such "Chatty" works, and thus opened a new channel into which Gujarati literature may run with advantage. On the whole we welcome the book, and feel grateful to Mr. Vinayak for furnishing us with the means to partake of a feast which though it would not last long, still consists of pleasant, light and wholesome food.

K. M. J.

We have received two books, on the preservation of health, one by V. C. Tankar, B.A., and the other by Prof. Manikrao of Baroda. They are too old to be usefully reviewed. K. M. J.

URDU.

"NILI CHHATRI" (The Blue Umbrella). *An Urdu Detective Story by Mr. Zafar Umar, B.A., D.S.P., published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Price As. 12.*

This is a very interesting tale of the adventures of a born-detective and a super-thief. The story beg with the theft of some beautiful originals of Tagore and Ravi Varma. The plot thickens darkens owing to the complicity of Feeroza Bai, heroine, with Behram, the king of thieves. Behr is a genius who has reduced his unlawful profes to a fine art. Though Masud, like Sherlock Hol of Conan Doyle, is beaten in the end, he lives to ca his rival in the next work of the author. The stor modelled after the French detective novels and tho pseudo-historical and fantastic at places, does suffer thereby.

It will appeal greatly to young men between and 25, will be equally appreciated by the inquisi and the imaginative and will not fail to amuse general readers of both the sexes. It might also directly help the Policeman in the detection of cr by reminding him that in human life facts are often stranger than fictions

A. R.

A Correction.

The review of the book, the Sacred Ku being the Maxims of Tiruvalluvar, singer, saint, sage, appeared by mistake under the heading Ta in the Reviews and Notices of Books columns of Modern Review for January 1917. The book be an English translation of the great Tamil classic, ought to have come under the heading *English.*

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

MR. PURAN SINGH ON SIKHS AND SIKHISM.

To

The Editor,
"The Modern Review"
Calcutta.

Sir,

Will you allow me to dissociate myself and many others of my Sikh friends from Mr. Puran Singh of the Forest School, Dehra Dun, in the attitude that he has taken up with regard to the Sikh Gurus in his paper, published in the "Modern Review" for November last? He is absolutely wrong in deifying Sri Guru Nanak Dev and his nine successors. The deification of man is a great sin according to Sikh Scriptures. The Adi Granth says,

"So mukh Julau jot kahah Thakur joni."
Burnt be the tongue that says God takes birth.

Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji, the noble founder of the Khalsa Church, says :—

"Je hamko Parmeshar uchrain,
Te sabh nark kund menh parain."

"All those that will call me God will be punished being thrown into hell."

Stronger language I can not use with regard Mr. Puran Singh.

His statement that all Sikh women are G Nanak's wives is equally sinful and is a gr insult to the sacred Guru and the ch established by him. The relations of the Gurus with their disciples is purely spiri and, though a devoted disciple would give his life for the Guru, if need be, it would wicked for the Guru to accept a Sikh's daughter conjugal purposes, without wedlock, or for a to make such an offer. Mr. Puran Singh is, of co free to write and behave in any way he please, but I would crave permission to point out very few men in the Punjab, the home of the Si take him seriously.

Yours faithfully,
Gahil Singh,
Naib Nazim, Civil Judge
Magistrate 1st clas

4th January, 1917,
Dhuri, Patiala State.

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"VARNASRAM-DHARMA" AND RACE-FUSION IN INDIA

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A.

EVERY country presents the story of the fusion of races and blood-intermixture and India is no exception. The purity of blood or race-type claimed by the Hindus is, in fact, a myth. It was certainly out of the question during the period of the Guptas, which was preceded as well as followed by the military, political and economic settlements of Central Asian hordes in various parts of India.

Tartarisation of Aryanised Dravidians.

Taking a vertical view of history, the following important race-elements must have contributed to the web of Hindu physico-social life of the Vikramadityan era :

1. The Aborigines (pre-Aryans or so-called Dravidians) should be regarded as the basic factor in Indian humanity both in the North and in the South. The Maratha race is Scytho-Dravidian ethnologically, and Maratha scholars point out the non-Aryan or pre-Aryan strain in the Hindu characteristics of Western India. Mahamahopadhyay Haraprosad Sastri in his recent essays has been testifying to the predominance of primitive non-Aryan influences on Bengal's life and thought. As for South India, the following remarks of Prof. Pillai quoted in the *Tamilian Antiquary* (No 2, 1908) are eminently suggestive :

"The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilisation by a study of Sanskrit and the history of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India South of the Vindhyas—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people cotinue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here the process of Aryanisation has gone too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof."

The blending of aboriginal races with newcomers has to be recognised through all the ages of Indian history. It was not finished in the prehistoric epoch of Aryan Settlements, but is going on even now. The Himalayan tribes and the races inhabiting the forests and hills of the whole peninsula have always contributed their quota to the making of the Hindu population. Thus among the so-called Rajput clans some are descended from the foreign Sakas and Huns, while others have risen from the native pre-Aryan races. According to Vincent Smith,

"Various indigenous or aboriginal tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduised social promotion, in virtue of which Gonds, Bhars, Kharwars, and so forth, emerged as Chandels, Rathors, Gaharwars, and other well-known Rajput clans, duly equipped with pedigrees reaching back to the sun and the moon."

2. Aryanisation must be regarded as the second factor in this composite structure. It is this by which the Hindus become one with the Iranians of Persia and Græko-Romans and Teutons of Europe. Aryanisation has promoted in India a "fundamental unity" of cultural ideals, but must not be assumed to have effected any thoroughgoing transformation of race. The blending of the Aryan and non-Aryan has proceeded in varying degrees in different places ; and the civilisation bears marks of the different degrees of fusion. Scientifically speaking, the term 'Aryan' implies a certain culture of people speaking a certain language, it cannot refer to certain blood-strains or physical characteristics involved in the use of the word 'race.' The Aryanisation of India, as of other countries of the world, should, therefore, indicate the super-imposition of a new language, new relegious conceptions, new domestic and social institutions, and new polity upon those of the pre-Aryan settlers.

3. Persianisation or Iranisation, and, along with it, older Assyrian or Mesopotamian traces, need be noticed in the early civilisation of Aryanised India. Prof. Rapson in his primer, *Ancient India*, has dealt with the political relations between Persians and Indians in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. Here, again, the influence may be more cultural than racial. Prof. Fenollosa suggests Mesopotamian influence upon Chinese Art of the Han dynasty

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(B.C. 202—221 A. D.), especially in the animal-motifs. This may be suggested about India too, as has been done by Grunwedel in his *Buddhist Art*. Vincent Smith also remarks :

"The little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta ... ... are Persian ; ... ... and the Persian title of Satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages down to the close of the fourth century."

The Persian influence on Maurya India has been described in the *Indian Antiquary* (1905). Mr. Smith thinks that some features of Maurya administration "may have been borrowed from Persia" ; and hazards the conjecture that the Persianising of the Kushan coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion in the 3rd century A. D.

4. Yavanisation or Hellenisation was effected both in blood and culture. Chandragupta himself had set the example of Indo-Greek matrimonial relations. The Hellenistic Legation-quarter, at Pataliputra (modern Patna), under Megasthenes, Asoka's propagandism in the Hellenistic Kingdom of Western Asia and Egypt, Kushan patronage of Græko-Roman artists, the establishment of Roman colonies in parts of Southern India as well as the contact of the Hindus with Græko-Bactrians and Græko-Parthians as enemies on various occasions, suggest more or less inter-racial as well as inter-cultural fusion. It is difficult to prove, however, what the extent or character of the fusion could amount to. Vincent Smith does not think it was much.

5. Tartarisation of India seems to have been as deep and wide in blood as Aryanisation was in culture. It is this by which the Hindus of medieval India became one with the people of contemporary China. The Aryans had brought civilising influences into the land of the Dravidians; but the nomad hordes of Central Asia brought only vigorous and fresh blood, and accepted the civilisation of the new land in *toto*. Possibly some primitive folk-characteristics, traditions of pastoral and agricultural life in Mongolia, Turkestan and Bactria, the rude nature-deities and superstitions prevailing in the steppes and deserts of the wild homeland, were necessarily introduced as new factors into Indian social life. It is to this common ethnic element that the commonness of some of the folk-beliefs in different parts of Asia may have to be attributed. Howorth's *History of the Mongols* is a monumental English work on the Central Asian tribes.

Roughly speaking, Tartarisation or Scythianisation of the Aryanised Dravidians of India, was effected in three different, but not necessarily successive, waves. The first wave was that of the Sakas, that of the Kushans the second, and the third that of the Huns. The waves overwhelmed not only the Northwest, the Punjab, Sindh and Gujrat but the whole of Northern India, and crossed the Vindhyas also to fertilise the Deccan plateau and Konkan plains. The Central Asian migrations into the Indian sphere of influence can be traced to about the second century B. C. Since then for about half a millennium the stream of immigration seems to have been continuous. The Central Asians poured in either as peaceful settlers or as invaders, so that layer upon layer of Tartar humanity began to be deposited on the Indian soil.

The Saka settlements at Taxila in the Punjab and at Mathura on the Jumna probably as 'satrapies' of a Parthian (Persian) power, the independent Saka Kingdom in Saurashtra or Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Gupta Emperor in A. D. 390, the Kushan Empire which under Kanishka extended in India probably as far sonth as the Vindhyas, the Saka Satrapy at Ujjain probably tributary to Kanishka, the Kshaharata Satrapy of Maharashtra at Nasik which was annexed to the Andhra monarchy about A. D. 126, "the Abhiras, Gardabhilas, Sakas, Yavanas, Bahlikas, and other outlandish dynasties named as the successors of the Andhras" in the Puranas —all these are instances of Hinduisation of Tartar conquerors down to the time of the Gupta Emperors.

The Hun-element in the Tartarisation of India began towards the close of the Gupta era. It was the Huns who destroyed the brilliant Empire and occupied north-western Punjab. They invaded the heart of India also and left settlements in Rajputana, during the fifth and sixth centuries, but were finally defeated by the Vardhanas in A. D. 604.

Recent researches of archæologists have thrown a flood of light on the fusion of the Hunnic and the Indian races. The pres-

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tendency among scholars is to believe that almost all the important ruling dynasties in Northern India between Emperor Harshavardhana (*c* A. D. 647), the host of Hiuen Thsang, and Mohammedan invasions, were descendants of the mixed races, and may be regarded as more or less Tartarised or Scythianised.

Thus (1) most of the Rajput clans, some of which continue as Feudatories of the British Empire, should trace their pedigrees back to the Se (Sakas), Kushan (Yue-chi), and Hun (Hiung-nu) barbarians of Central Asia, rather than to the Sun, or the Moon, or the Fire-god.

(2) The Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj, whose dominions under Mihira Bhoja (A. D. 840-90), and Mahendrapala (190-905 ?), according to Vincent Smith, "may be called an empire without exaggeration," "were the descendants of barbarian foreign immigrants into Rajputana in the fifth or sixth century;" "closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to, the White Huns."

(3) Professor Jadunath Sarkar, in reviewing Banerji's *History of Bengal* written in Bengali language, suggests that the ancestors of the Pala Emperors (A. D. 730-1130), who, according to Smith, "succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India," and established "one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties," were the Rajbhats of Gorakhpur in U. P.; and that these were, like the Gurjaras, Guhilots, Rashtrakutas, Solankis, etc., descendants of the Tartar settlers.

It may be remarked, therefore, that the democratic blood of the modern Bengal bourgeoisie and the blue blood of the Rajput aristocracy are both derived from the common spring of the uncouth blood of the savage Central Asian Huns.

6. Lastly, must be mentioned the race-fusion within the limits of India herself. The constant shifting of the political centre of gravity from place to place, and military occupations of the territories of neighbouring princes by ambitious monarchs—both afforded ample scope for social amalgamation and necessarily brought about inter-provincial blood-mixture. The effects of dynastic revolutions and territorial re-adjustments on the social-status of tribes and castes should require a separate treatment.

It is not known what the Gupta Emperors were ethnologically; but that the people over whom they ruled were a composite product there is no doubt.

To bring the story of race-mixture and culture-fusion in India to a close, I need only mention the following three important stages :—

7. Islamite Invasions under the Pathans (A. D. 1300-1550). These commencing with the tenth century were of the nature of previous Tartar settlements or still earlier Aryan colonisings. The conflict of the Hindus with the new-comers was certainly very bitter like that described in the Vedic literature as having taken place between the Indo-Aryans and the aboriginal *Dasyus*. But the Indian capacity for assimilation led to happy compromises as soon as it was found that the Pathans meant to adopt Hindusthan as their motherland, and not exploit it in the interests of a far-off Transoxiana.

8. Saracenisation of the Indian population was the result of these new conditions. It may be conveniently described as having taken place under the powerful Moghul Monarchy (A. D. 1550-1700). This was the period of Mahometans Hinduising and Hindus Islamising in every department of life. The glorious civilisation of the age was neither exclusively Hindu, nor exclusively Mahometan, but an offspring of the holy wedlock between the two. It was Indo-Saracenic or Hindu-Islamic. The scars and wounds of the invasion-period had long been healed when the Imperial Head at Delhi was found to inherit the blood both of the Rajput and of the Mongol, when the *Taj Mahal*, that dream-verse in marble, raised its stately domes and minarets on the fair Jumna,—a visible symbol of the marriage between indigenous and foreign art-traditions, when language, literature, painting, music, religious preachings and philosophical teachings, folk-lore, fairs, processions, and even the commonplace superstitions testified to the eclectic spirit of the age.

Not only Chaitanya (1485-1533) and Nanak (1469-1538), Kabir (1440 ?-1518 ?) and Tukarama (1608-49), the Martin Luthers and Calvins of India, but the musician Tan Sen, the emperor Jahangir, the viceroy Man Singh, the statistician Abul Fazl and the financier Todar Mall are all embodiments of that Indo-Saracenic life-fusion. The Renaissance that characterised the 16th and 17th centuries was

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as brilliant as the Vikramadityan Renaissance of a thousand years ago, and must be evaluated as the result of naturalisation of Saracenic culture in India.

9. Deccanisation (or South-Indianisation) of Hindusthan under the Hindu Empire of the Marathas. This may be said to have been a powerful factor in Indian civilisation during the period from the rise of Sivaji the Great (*c* A. D. 1650) to the overthrow of the last Peshwa by the British (1818). During all previous ages, generally speaking, it was the North that had influenced the South* both culturally and politically. Since the middle of the 17th century it was the turn of the South to influence the North. It was not only the reaction of the Hindu against the Mahometan power, but also that of *Dåkshinatya* against *Aryavarta*. To understand the race, religion, customs, and culture of Northern India from Orissa to Gujrat or from Assam frontier on the east to the territory of the Amir of Kabul on the west during the 18th century it is absolutely necessary to analyse the social influence of the splendid Maratha conquests.

Caste-System and Military History.

In this connexion it may not be inappropiate to enter into a digression concerning the blood-intermixture within the limits of the Indian continent, and thus throw a side-light on the history of castes.

It has been the custom up till now to study the caste system of the Hindus from the socio-economic and socio-religious points of view. The fundamental fact about it, however, is physical. For all practical purposes the castes are groups of human beings designed for the regulation of marriages, *i.e.*, selection of mates. The Caste-system should thus form the subject matter not merely of Economics and Theology, but also, and primarily of Eugenics. In fact, the eugenic aspect of the castes is the basis of the socio-economic and socio-religious problems as treated by such classical Hindu law-givers as Manu.

A scientific treatment of the Caste System, therefore, is tantamount to the history of marriages or blood-relationship among the Hindus, and of the changes in their eugenic ideas. It thus becomes a part of the larger subject of Race-Intermixture, *i.e.*, Ethnology, or Physical Anthropology.

It has been shown above that the Physical Anthropology of Indian population has been powerfully influenced by the political and military history. The study of castes, therefore, has to be undertaken from a thoroughly new angle, viz., that of dynastic changes, military expeditions, subjugation of races, empire-building and political disruption. It ultimately resolves itself into a study of the influence of warfare on social and economic transformation. When the caste system is thus studied as a branch of the military history of the people of India, it would be found—

1. That the facts of the present day socio-economic and socio-religious system cannot be carried back beyond a certain age.

2. That the attempt to understand Vedic, post-Vedic, Sakyasimhan, Maurya, post-Maurya, Andhra-Kushan, Gupta, and even Vardhana, Pala, Gurjara-Pratihara and Chola societies according to the conventions of the Caste-system known to-day is thoroughly misleading.

3. That probably down to the 13th century, *i. e.*, the beginning of Islamite aggressions on India, the history of social classes supplies more data for the study of *races* than for *caste*-history.

4. That such terms as Brahman, Kshatriya, etc., have not meant the same thing in all the ages down to that period—the same term may have covered various races and tribes.

5. That it is an open question how far the four-fold division of society in authoritative works down to that time was, like Plato's classification, a "legal fiction," and to what extent and in what sense it was an actual institution.

6. Since the 13th century there may have been formed eugenic groups like those we see to-day—but not necessarily four—in fact, innumerable.

7. These groups could never have been stereotyped but must have remained very elastic—because of the changes in the fortunes of the rulers, generals, viceroys, etc., and the corresponding changes in in-

* It need be noted, however, that of the greatest thinkers of Mediæval India, Sankaracharyya (788-850), Ramanuja (12th century), Madhva (13th century), and Ramanananda (14th century were all Southerners; and the Northerners, *e.g.*, Chaitanya, Nanak and Kabir, were the disciples of their systems. Besides, the influence of the Tamil Napoleons on Orissa, the buffer between Bengalee and Chola Empires, (and ultimately on Bengal), during the 11th century, has to be recorded.

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portance of localities, tribes and families. [The kaleidoscopic boundary-changes in Europe during the last five hundred years have repeated themselves on a somewhat smaller scale in the Indian world].

8. Under conditions which must be regarded as more or less feudal, the customs were always local and were never codified into fixed cakes as in the 19th century; and hence silent intrusions of new influences through economic pressure, or violent modifications through political revolution, were matters of course. It need be recognised, therefore, that the vertical as well as horizontal mobility of the population was greater under feudal than modern conditions.

9. The rise into prominence of a certain caste through military prowess or political aggrandisement led to a certain system of social values, which was sure to have been transvalued with its overthrow by another. In this way the political and military history of *races* down to the 13th century must have repeated itself in that of *caste* since then.

10. The consequence of changes in political and military history has been what may be described as a regular "convection-current" throughout the socio-economic system, making the elevation and depression of castes exactly parallel to that of races—the leading classes of one age being the depressed classes of another, and so on. The race-history and class-history have been affected in the same way all the world over by the history of warfare.

11. In each case of socio-economic transformation brought about by military political revolutions the new orders have tried to preserve the old "legal fiction" by affiliating themselves to the traditional orders. The dynamic principle of 'progress' has thus been in operation in each synthesis, though the statical principle of 'order' has never been lost sight of. The student of Caste-history should recognise these successive syntheses as the milestones of Hindu social evolution.

12. The economic aspect of the castes as occupational grades, and the auxiliary religious aspect which ultimately implies only the guardianship of the Brahman caste in theological matters, must be regarded as an appendix, rather than as a prelude, to the political-cum-military treatment of the subject.

13. To understand the caste-system historically it has to be clearly realised that there was no *Pax Britannica* in ancient and mediæval times, and that warfare was a normal phenomenon with the Hindus as it has been with every race of human beings from the earliest times down to the present day. In India as in Europe there has been no generation without war.

14. Under these circumstances both the orthodox metaphysical Doctrine of *Adhikara* (*i. e.*, intellectual and moral 'fitness' as the regulative principle of caste-distinction), as well as the *doctrinaire* Social-Reform-theory of Equality of Rights (which is supposed to be infringed by the caste system) are equally irrelevant and unhistorical. They seem to have been started by those who were led to consider the social order under peace-conditions to be the same as that under conditions of normal progress through struggle for existence.

15. (*a*) That, after all, the classes in Hindu Social life have evolved on almost the same lines as those of other peoples, (*b*) that blood-intermixture has been no less potent in Indian society than in others, (*c*) that the abnormalities supposed to inhere in the system of social groups called castes have not really existed in history, but are the myths invented by the ignorant Portuguese settlers in the 16th century, who were struck by the superficial distinctions between their own life and that of the Hindus, and subsequently perpetuated by Orientalists who have not cared to compare the actual conditions and history of matrimonial relations among the Hindus with those among their own races, (*d*) that even at the present day the scope for intrusion of new blood into the Hindu castes is *actually* not less than that in the groups of other communities; and (*e*) that a historical study for the state of things obtaining in the past, and a statistical-comparative study for that in the present, would be the solvents for the erroneous theories regarding the origin as well as nature of the institution.

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SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D.

ONE gray morning last October I rode down in a luxurious train from Iowa City to West Liberty. I had in my pocket a letter of official greetings from the State University of Iowa to the greatest living poet-philosopher of the East. The world-renowned visitor was already on his way from Chicago to Iowa. I had never come into personal contact with him, and somehow I pictured him to be cold, and his ways distant. How little I knew the man!

When the Chicago train arrived at West Liberty, I found Rabindranath with his private secretary in a private compartment —a small, neatly furnished room. He was riding backward, and was reading that true Irish poet and artist A. E,'s (George Russell's) *Imagination and Reveries*, There was also on his table a copy of the *Modern Review*. As soon as he learned that I was there to welcome him to our University, he laid aside his book and greeted me with cordiality and simplicity after the Indian fashion. Contrary to my pre-conceived ideas, Tagore is gentle, courteous, and even sociable. He is infinitely kind. His personality is as clean-cut and vivid as lightning. The distinguished honor which has come to him as a world-famous genius has not in the least intoxicated him. It seemed to me that he is not a bit like any other great man I have known. He is entirely different; he is just Rabindranath Tagore.

Education is nearest to his heart. Naturally one of the first things we talked about was the education of the Indian students in Japan and America. "I believe," Tagore said with his slightly Anglified accent, "that some of our young men ought to go to Japan to study Japanese art, which is really very fine. But for scientific education they must come to the fountain-head, America."

A short time ago while he was in Japan he met with an enthusiastic reception everywhere. "I like the Japanese," he continued; "you can't help liking their charming ways. Their manners are very attractive. The Japanese at bottom are like us they are not Westerners. Oh, no! Inspite of all their claims, the Japanese are Orientals through and through."

All his comments are candid and sincere. Every word he speaks stands for something; every statement he makes is the product of reasoned conviction. But what struck me most forcibly was that behind his subtle personality there was a charming blend of simplicity and reserved dignity. In a way he is apart from the multitude. Indeed, he appears at times to shut himself up in impenetrable reserve, making it impossible for any one to catch a glimpse of the workings of his mind.

"The Chinese are a great people," averred Tagore as he slowly adjusted the nose-glasses that dangled on a narrow braid. "They are so dignified! They have ancient traditions which sit on them well. In many respects I like the Chinese better than the Japanese."

Then he sat back straight in the green plush upholstered seat and looked out of the car window. His eyes were the eyes of a man thinking of things far away—so far away. The landscape was superb. Everywhere were blazes of color. Indeed, the nature was clad in one mass of unspeakable magical, autumnal hues—red, brown, purple, violet. The branches were rustling drowsily in the gentle fall wind. Soft twilight was resting upon the river banks. And the western sky was a web of wonders over the passing fields.

Presently our train reached Iowa City, the seat of the State University of Iowa. Tagore was met at the station on behalf of the President of the University by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, head of the Department of Political Science and Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, of the Department of Philosophy. And a moment later, a we

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ing automobile whirled them over to the leading hotel of the city.

For days before the arrival of Tagore there had been a vigorous publicity campaign to arouse interest in him and in his work. The Senate Board on University Lectures, of which Dr. Shambaugh is the chairman, indicated the importance of Tagore's visit in the following official statement to the press :

"The coming of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Iowa City will be one of the notable events in the history of the State University. The writings of this Hindu poet and philosopher won for him the world's recognition in the award of the Nobel Prize in 1913. He comes from the Orient, but his message of unity and harmony in the life of humanity is for the whole world. The privilege of seeing and hearing this really great man comes to our students as an opportunity of a lifetime.

Dr. W. A. Jessup, as President of the University, gave the following interview to the reporters :

I regard the coming of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Iowa City as an event of so great importance that it ought to attract the interest of every student in the University. Tagore has been recognised as a master in the field of modern literature. He chooses to favor Iowa City with the only lecture he will give in Iowa. If only to show him respect, we ought to hear him. The more important reason why we should hear him is that we are likely to receive impressions of permanent worth. It is to be hoped that the University will be strongly represented in the audience which greets Tagore Thursday evening, October 26th.

In response to insistent demands to know more about Tagore, talks and addresses were given by a number of faculty men. The present writer was one of them. In his address on the "Personality of Tagore" before the University students he said in part :

"Tagore is not only a poet of India, but of China, Japan, Europe and America. He belongs to the whole world. He touches the very inner springs of emotion which are common to all humanity. In him there is no suggestion of anger or jealousy. He never soiled his pen by writing a hymn of hatred. He is a lover of world-wide humanity. He always sees fundamental unity in diversity.

"To be sure, his works suffer a great deal from the painful process of English translation; but even so they are not altogether robbed of the glowing poetic feeling, and the rich personality of the writer. In his lectures, essays, poems and dramas there is found the authentic voice of the deeper longings of the human heart; they lead us to the very edge of the infinite. He deals with eternal truth—truth which burns in our souls and transcends the limitations of race and time. In this respect he may be likened to other literary immortals. When we read *Hamlet* we forget that Shakespeare was only an Englishman, when we read the *Divine Comedy* we do not think that Dante was an Italian and when we study *Faust* we are not worried over the German nationality of Goethe. The same is true of *Gitanjali* and *Sadhana* and their author Tagore.

He comes as the bearer of a special message. He may be regarded as one who has consecrated his life in uniting the East with the West. In the Orient too much emphasis is laid upon meditation, while in the Occident there is too much emphasis upon action. Tagore preaches and lives a philosophy whose final goal is to harmonize the life of action with the life of thought. When these two aspects of life are wedded together, when there is a perfect blending of the material with the spiritual, then we shall witness the beginning of a new era, the dawn of a happier civilisation, and the ultimate realisation of life itself which is immense."

Rabindranath shuns publicity ; it hurts his finer instincts and sensibilities. He seems to feel the same toward newspaper men as he would toward mosquitos. Of the many onerous responsibilities of his private secretary, Mr. W. W. Pearson, M.A., B.Sc., none is more exacting than devising means to throw American reporters off the track of the author of *Gitanjali*. Being an Englishman, Pearson takes none too kindly to the newspapers of this country, and he frequently has a lively time with newspaper sleuths. Let one instance suffice as typically illuminating.

It happened at Salt Lake City in the State of Utah. Tagore's hotel was besieged by an army of reporters clamoring for interviews. They were all "turned down." There was one enterprising reporter, however, who had a bright idea. He telephoned over to the hotel and asked for Tagore.

"Hallo ! Hallo ! Is this Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ?"

"No ; but I am his secretary. What do you want ?"

"I wish to see Tagore right away."

"Sorry you can't see him now."

"I am the British vice-consul at Salt Lake City. I must see Tagore immediately on a very important business."

Pearson relaxed. He cleared his throat and said pleasantly, "Oh ! well, you can come and see Tagore."

The supposed vice-consul was taken into Tagore's room. "Your lordship," he began with suspicious politeness, "your lordship, I wish to ask——."

That was enough for wiseman Pearson. "Pardon me," broke in Pearson, "but being a British vice-consul you may know that a knight is not addressed as your lordship. Can I help you any ?" And he did. The masquerading reporter was promptly helped out of the room.

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It was the intention of the University to give a reception or a dinner in honor of Rabindranath. But when it was discovered that he preferred not to have such an entertainment, the plan was dropped. Tagore does not like to wear himself out socially. He has so much to do! He has such a strenuous schedule to go through every day! "A formal dinner or reception," he confided to me, "is the surest way to kill me. I can't stand the strain." He was pleased, however, to accept my invitation to a quiet dinner in his hotel room.

He is a vegetarian. He likes ice cream, and his only drink is water and milk. Tagore is a very small eater.

During the meal time we talked of Shantiniketan Asrama, the rush of American life, Indian students and Vedantic Swamis in the United States. What did he think of Americans? That is what I was curious about, and that is what I asked. "I think," he replied with engaging frankness, "your Americans live on the surface. They do not think deeply."

His comments on American universities showed keen, philosophical penetration; they indicated that he had already formed a sound judgment of the state of learning in this country. When he was told, however, that the State University of Iowa spends three million rupees a year he looked a shade incredulous. "Is that so?" he asked in an undertone.

Apparently, he cares precious little for his title of English knighthood and the degree of doctorate. Indeed, he seems to regard them with half amusement. Out of deference to his retiring habit I had ordered the dinner to be served in his living room, instead of in the usual dining hall. The hotel managemeat, fearing that he was sick, sent words of regret. "Oh, tell them not to worry over that!" Doctor Tagore directed his private secretary to reply. And then looking at me out of the corner of his eye he said laughingly, "We ourselves are two doctors. What are we good for, Doctor Bose, if we can't take care of the sick?"

All through the dinner his manner was quiet, modest, and utterly unconscious. Magnetic, tingling with genius, he dares to live and laugh. He is a thoroughly human person, a dearly loving man. It is a pleasure to hear him talk. He has no gestures, and speaks slowly and deliberately. In his conversation there is not any trace of the "Why, sir!" and the "Y Sir!" and the "You don't see your w through that question, sir!" and the "Y talk the language of ignorance, sir!" the dictionary of Samuel Johnson. Tago talks with you rather than at you. He not given over to sermonizing. His vo is low and musical; his smile gentle a sweet. And his eyes—they are sad a penetrating.

Tagore looks like a prophet, or, as t Americans would have it, he has a Mess nic appearance. Indeed, there are a fe orthodox Christians in this country wh even imagine that he received his inspir tion for *Gitanjali* from David's Psalms the Bible. To this he gave a decisive re at Chicago last week that will not be so forgotten. "The Bible I have never read remarked Tagore. "I tried to read The first two books I tried. They were —so—violent, I could not. I have hea that the Psalms are beautiful. I mu read them some day."

Tagore is now on a lecture tour in t United States for the purpose of raisi funds to carry on the work of his sch at Bolpur. The tour opened on the Paci coast in September and will terminate April first. He has sold his time to t Pond Lyceum Bureau, under who auspices he is booked to lecture. T subjects of his addresses are: "The Cult Nationalism," "Second Birth," "T World of Personality," "My School Shantiniketan," "What is Art?" He shot by the bureau from town to town, to city like a cannon ball. And the distan in America are greater than those of Afri Tagore has hardly any breathing sp At times he looks tired and worn-out, may even say "I am homesick for Shan niketan;" but he is getting along fine He has a working philosophy that com bines the rugged zeal of Luther, the in cible optimism of Napoleon, and unconquerable will of Bismarck.

Three years ago when he first came these shores some of his influential Am can friends volunteered to raise funds his school; but he declined the offer. was too patriotic, too proud to take outside of India. In a recent letter to Tagore said that he had outgrown patriotic pride. His words are wo appending: "In our country the man devotes himself to realize his spiri oneness with all does not shrink to

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his help from all men; because it amounts to a tacit avowal that he belongs to mankind at large. My institution at Bolpur will accept food from all men and thus renounce its caste for good."

Tagore's address at Iowa was one of radiant intelligence; it will easily be remembered as one of the very highest intellectual feats of the university year. His long wavy hair curling about his shoulders, his soft gray beard flowing over his breast, his benign face, and his dust-colored voluminous robe caught the imagination of the audience from the first. He made a superb figure of quiet dignity. And it seemed to me that as this Hindu stood there before his Christian audience with up-lifted hand he looked the veritable picture of one of their saints of old. A lady who had been to the Passion Play of Obermmergau told me that in his noble gentle dignity, in his generous outburst of righteous indignation, and in his consuming fire of religious ardor, Rabindranath Tagore came nearer resembling the spirit of Christ than did Anton Lang who thrice portrayed the role of Christus.

The subject of his discussion was the "Cult of Nationalism." To say that he treated it in a masterly manner is to say little. As nearly as I can remember his thoughts were these: Western nationalism is a perfected mechanical device for the promotion of material success and welfare of those persons composing the nation. It puts forth its tentacles into other people who are of "no nation," such as the Chinese and the Indian, and sucks their hearts dry. This nationalism is the process of turning a whole people to self-interest and selfishness. He characterized the Western nation as a creation of commerce and finance. Europe and America in their wild striving for commercial power and prestige have lost sight of the individual.

The West lives in an atmosphere of fear and greed and panic, owing to the preying of one nation upon another for material wealth. Its civilization is carnivorous and and cannibalistic, feeding upon the blood of weaker nations. Its one idea is to thwart all greatness outside its own boundaries. Never before was such a sight of the wholesale feeding of God's creature. Never before such terrible jealousies, betrayal of trusts, lies; and all this is called patriotism, whose creed is politics.

Tagore answered the argument that only the Western people, where nationality was strong, had progressed, by differentiating between two kinds of progress; that which seeks to attain a definite material end, and that which is a continual growth, without end. The former was Western progress; the latter the progress of the East.

The organized political and economic civilization of the West obliterates true humanity. It is aggressive; it is mechanical. It has no soul under its jacket. The cult of nationalism is keeping India under foreign domination, is taking her customs and her ancient wisdom, and is engulfing her in ocean of modern inhumanity, in which she must writhe and suffer, while no help is at hand.

He pleaded for an abandonment of materialistic aims and materialistic ideals, and a return to a mode of thinking in which the individual and his well-being should be the chief consideration.

He also spoke on the subject of simplicity, comparing the perpetual hurry and worry of Western life with that of India. The simple life, simple without fruitless and racking strife for material goods and the empty satisfaction of possession, he upheld as ideal. "Simplicity in everything has characterized India," he asserted. "We are not mere philosophical abstractions, we are men with certain sensibilities. There is much to be learned by the Western nations through a study of Indian life and ideals."

The people in Europe and America are in a state of continual strife. There is no place for rest or peace of mind, or that meditative relief which in India we feel to be needed for the health of our spirits.

The present war, he said, is the self-destruction of the machine of nationalism. The European war is a retribution, the inevitable conclusion of organized nationalism.

The cult of modern nationalism is also a cult of self-worship. "We may find it convenient to forget truth, but truth does not forget us. It is, however, well to remember that humanity consists of other people than ourselves." The principle of barbarism is isolation; but the principle of civilization is unity. The speaker looked forward to the time when there should be a federation of all nations, a universal

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brotherhood of man, and a true worship of God in men's hearts.

After the lecture, the poet read three of his verses in English prose which related to the subject of nationalism. Rabindranath, like Alfred Tennyson, has the rare gift of "interpreting by reading the deeper meanings of poetry." Under the spell of his melodious voice people fairly sat on the edge of their chairs.

The address was a literary jewel. It did not lose in force although he read it from manuscript. Tagore knew how to pull out the soft stops on the organ, but he did not. He evaded nothing, compromised nothing, softened nothing. He spoke straight from his shoulder, and his utterance at times fell like shrapnel. Yet he was warmly applauded. How could he inspire such a response? That is hard to say. Perhaps the soul-gripping quality of the message that he brought accounts for it.

Many were the comments that reached my ears on the Tagore lecture. "I thought that the Hindus were a bunch of people," a slangy undergraduate was overheard to remark, "who needed to be taught; but now comes a Hindu who can really te us Americans. For the love of Mi Doesn't that beat all!" I also heard distinguished professor of the Univers say that parts of Tagore's address w so elevated in moral tone as to make think of Emerson, so poetic in thou that they reminded him of Shakespe and so impressive in spiritual fervor as give him the uplift of the Bible.

When I helped him into the Pullman at the station that night I thought of as a personification of the Vedic spiri Hindustan. No sentiment seems to c mand his life so completely as loyalty Indian ideals. This loyalty is no mere a demic formula, no pose, but a reality. is with him something vivid, tangible; is something alive, practical, fit to and work for. "I shall be born in In again and again," remarked Tagore w a smile of pride lighting up his face. "W all her poverty, misery and wretchedne love India best."

November, 1916.
U. S. A.

GLEANINGS

Buildings Moved by Water.

Buildings have been moved from the Panama-Pacific Exposition site to permanent locations in surrounding countries by loading them on barges.

"A white-pine bungalow built by the Weed, Red River & McCloud Lumber Company at an approximate cost of $ 18,000 was one of the first to be moved in that way. It took a week to move the house from the south gardens of the Exposition to the yacht harbor—a distance of less than 1 mile—for transfer to the barge.

"Loading on the barge was difficult, owing to the rise and fall of the tide, which is about 9 feet at that point, and necessitated quick work on the part of the movers to prevent damage to the 160-ton structure as it left the shore. After it was loaded, the 15 mile journey across the bay to Santa Venetia, a suburb of San Rafael, was made in about six hours. The largest and heaviest structure moved was the Ohio Building, which is 132.5 feet long, 80 feet wide, and 43 feet high. Its estimated weight is approximately 1,000 tons. Two 600-ton barges were placed on ways so that they were entirely out of water at low tide and the building was moved onto them. They floated off at high tide. Owing to the choppy sea beyond the Marina, the barges were moored to the tran dock near by until the following morning and towed about thirty-two miles down the bay to Carlos. The building will be used as a home for Peninsula Country Club. The George Washing home and the Wisconsin Building are to be mov the same manner."—*The Literary Digest.*

To Detect Left-Handedness.

An Instrument to ascertain whether a child sh use the right or left hand has been devised by W. Franklin Jones, head of the Department of Ed tion in the University of South Dakota. The de a form of "brachiometer" (arm-meter), may be even with new-born infants. The child should taught to use the arm having the longer ulna seems, and in 96 cases out of 100 the ulna is lo in the right arm. Professor Jones has come conclusion that this knowledge is highly import and should be obtained as early as possible.

'The moment we contemplate the effect of t ference,' says Professor Jones, 'that is, teachi left-handed child to use the right hand—we must ascertain the effect upon the speech-connection, is greatly dependent upon the arms. The fact I have found a larger number of feeble-minded

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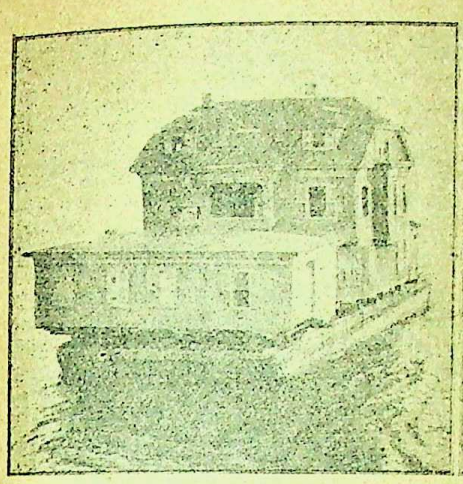
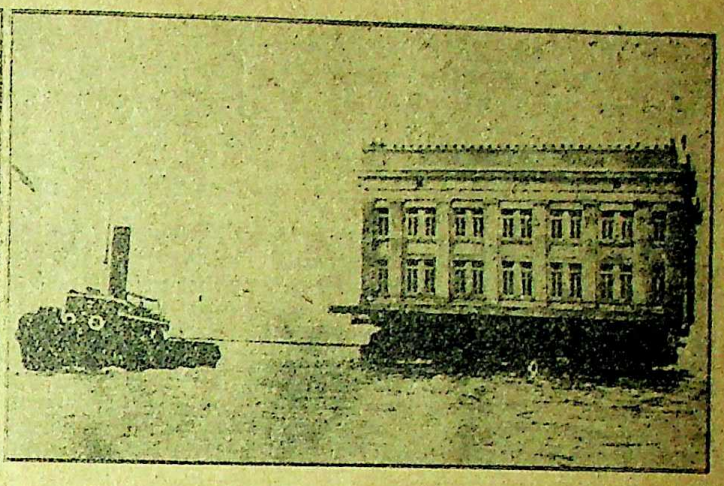


This house was moved from Winthrop to Point of Pines, Mass., 15 miles, in three hours.



One of the Panama-Pacific Exposition buildings being moved to a new setting, by water. A number of the Exposition structutes are being transplanted in this manner.

BUILDINGS THAT GO DOWN TO THE SEA ON SHIPS.

Measuring for right or left-handedness.

duals and stutterers than statistics would lead one to expect, among the thousands of children I have examined, causes me to fear any transfer from one arm to the other.' Out of 10,000 brachiometer-tests, Professor Jones discovered that 417 children were born left-handed, while 9,853 were born right-handed; 4 per cent, of the race are left-handed, while 96 per cent. are right-handed. Out of 417 born left-handers, four are shifted by accident—1 per cent. of all left-handers are shifted by deliberate interference. One person in twenty-five is using the minor arm. It is easy to return the individual to his birthright so far as the arms are concerned, he declares. A little practise will be amply sufficient to develop skill in the arm which Nature intended to be used, and what Nature intends, in the case of left- or right-handedness, should be followed to the letter. In making his determination, Professor Jones relies to a great extent upon his measurement of the 'ulna plus.' The arm for which this measurement is greatest is the arm which the child should be taught to use. The 'ulna plus' is the length of the ulna, one of the bones in the forearm—plus the length of the hand to the middle of the knuckle. This measure is used because it is more easily determined than the length of the ulna alone."—*The Literary Digest.*

The History of a Failure that was Great.

DR. BOSE'S REMINISCENCES.

At the invitation of the President and the Committee of the Industrial Exhibition Dr. Bose gave a lecture on the life of his father, the late Bhagaban Chunder Bose who founded the Exhibition at Faridpore, where he was the Sub-Divisional Officer fifty years ago. In the course of his address he said :

It is the obvious, the insistant, the blatant that often blinds us to the essential. And in solving the mystery that underlies life, the enlightenment will come not by the study of the complex man, but through the simpler plant. It is the unsuspected forces, hidden to the eyes of men,—the forces imprisoned in the soil and the stimuli of alternating flash of light and the gloomings of darkness,—these and many others will be found to maintain the ceaseless activity which we know as the fullness of throbbing life.

This is likewise true of the congeries of life which we call a society or a nation. The energy which moves this great mass in ceaseless effort to realise some common aspiration, often has its origin in the

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unknown solitudes of a village life. And thus the history of some efforts, now forgotten, which emanated from Faridpore, may be found not unconnected with others with which India is now meeting her problems to-day. How did these problems first dawn in the minds of some men who forecast themselves by half a century ? How fared their hopes, how did their dreams become buried in oblivion ? Where lies the secret of that potency which makes certain efforts apparently doomed to failure, rise renewed from beneath the smouldering ashes ? Are these dead failures, so utterly unrelated to some great success that we may acclaim to-day ? When we look deeper we shall find that this is not so, that as inevitable as is the sequence of cause and effect, so unrelenting must be the sequence of failure and success. We shall find that the failure must be the antecedent power to lie dormant for the long subsequent dynamic expression in what we call success. It is then and then only that we shall begin to question ourselves, which is the greater of the two, a noble failure or a vulgar success.

As a concrete example, I shall relate the history of a noble faliure which had its setting in this little corner of the earth. And if some of the audience thought that the speaker has been blessed with life that has been unusually fruitful, they will soon realise that the power and strength that nerved me to meet the shocks of life were in reality derived at this very place, where I witnessed the struggle which overpowered a far greater life.

Stimulus of Contact with Western Culture.

An impulse from the outside reacts on impressionable bodies in two different ways, depending on whether the recipient is inert or fully alive. The inert is fashioned after the pattern of the impression made on it, and this in infinite repetition of one mechanical stamp. But when an organism is fully alive, the answering reaction is often of an altogether different character to the impinging stimulus. The outside shocks stir up the organism to answer feebly or to the utmost in ways as multitudinous and varied as life itself. So the first impetus of Western education impressed itself on some in a dead monotony of imitation of things Western ; while in others it awakened all that was greatest in the national memory. It is the release of some giant force which lay for long time dormant. My father was one of the earliest to receive the impetus characteristic of the modern epoch as derived from the West. And in his case it came to pass that the stimulus evoked the latent potentialities of his race for evolving modes of expression demanded by the period of transition in which he was placed. They found expression in great constructive work, in the restoration of quiet amidst disorder, in the earliest effort to spread education both among men and women, in questions of social welfare, in industrial efforts, in the establishment of people's bank and in the foundation of industrial and technical schools. And behind all these efforts lay a burning love for his country and its nobler traditions.

Matters Educational.

In educational matters he had very definite ideas which is now becoming more fully appreciated. English schools were at that time not only regarded as the only efficient medium for instruction. While my father's subordinates sent their children to the English schools intended for gentle folks, I was sent to the vernacular school where my comrades were hardy sons of toilers and of others who, it is now the fashion to regard, were belonging to the depressed class. From these who tilled the ground and made the la blossom with green verdure and ripening corn, a the sons of the fisher folk, who told stories of strange creatures that frequented the unknown dep of mighty rivers and stagnant pools, I first deri the lesson of that which constitutes true manho From them too I drew my love of nature. When came home accompanied by my comrades I found mother waiting for us. She was an orthodox Hind yet the "untouchableness" of some of my sch fellows did not produce any misgivings in her. welcomed and fed all these as her own children ; for is only true of the mother heart to go out and enf in her protecting care all those who needed succo and a mother's affection. I now realise the object my being sent at the most plastic period of my life the vernacular school, where I was to learn my o language, to think my own thoughts and to rece the heritage of our national culture through medium of our own literature. I was thus to consi myself one with the people and never to place mys in an equivocal position of assumed superiority. T I realised more particularly when later I wished to to Europe and to compete for the Indian Civil Servi his refusal as regards that particular career w absolute. I was to rule nobody but myself, I was be a scholar not an administrator.

The History of a Failure that was Great.

There has been some complaint that the experime of meting out cut and dried moral texts as a part school routine has not proved to be so effective was expected by their promulgators. The moral ed cation which we received in our childhood was ve indirect and came from listening to stories recited the 'kathaks' on various incidents connected with great epics. Their effect on our minds was very grea this may be because our racial memory makes more prone to respond to certain ideals that ha been impressed on the consciousness of the natio These early appeals to our emotions have remain persistent ; the only difference is that what was th taken as a narrative of incidents more or le historical, is now realised as eternally true, being allegory of the unending struggle of the human so in its choice between what is material and that oth something which transcends it. The only pictur now in my study are a few frescoes done for me Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose. T first fresco represents Her, who is the Sustainer of t Universe. She stands pedestalled on the lotus of o heart. The world was at peace ; but a change h come. And She under whose Veil of Compassion we been protected so long, suddenly flings us to the wo of conflict. Our great epic, the Mahabharata, des with this great conflict, and the few frescoes delinea some of the fundamental incidents. The coming of t discord is signalled by the rattle of dice, thrown Yudhisthira, the pawn at stake being the crow Two hostile arrays are set in motion, the migh Kaurava armaments meeting in shock of battle Pandava host with Arjuna as the leader, and Krish as his Divine Charioteer. At the supreme mome Arjuna had flung down his earthly weapon, Gandiv It was then that the eternal conflict between matt and spirit was decided. The next panel sho the outward or the material aspect of victo Behind a foreground of waving flags is seen battle-field of Kurukshetra with procession of whi clad mourning women seen by fitful lights of funer pyres. In the last panel is seen Yudhisthira renou

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ing the fruits of his victory setting out on his last Journey. In front of him lies the vast and sombre plain and mountain peaks, faintly visible by gleams of unearthly light, unlocalised but playing here and there. His wife and his brothers had fallen behind and dropped one by one. There is to be no human companion in his last journey. The only thing that stood by him and from which he had never been really separated is Dharma or the Spirit of Righteousness.

Life of Action.

Faridpur at that time enjoyed a notoriety of being the stronghold of desperate characters, docoits by land and water. My father had captured singlehanded one of the principal leaders, whom he sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. After release he came to my father and demanded some new occupation, since the particular vocation in which he had specialised was now rendered impossible. My father took the unusual course to employ him as my special attendant to carry me, a child of four, on his back to the distant village school. No nurse could be tenderer than this ex-leader of lawless men, whose profession had been to deal out wounds and deaths. He had accepted a life of peace but he could not altogether wipe out his old memories. He used to fill my infant mind with the stories of his bold adventures, the numerous fights in which he had taken part, the death of his companions and his hair-breadth escapes. Nemerous were the decorations he bore. The most conspicuous was an ugly mark on his breast left by an arrow and a hole on the thigh caused by a spear thrust. The trust imposed on this marauder proved to be not altogether ill placed for once in a river journey we were pursued by several long boats filled with armed dacoits. When these boats came too near for us to effect an escape the erstwhile dacoit leader, my attendant, stood up and gave a peculiar cry, which was evidently understood. For the pursuing boats vanished at the signal.

Industrial Efforts.

I come now to another period of his life fifty years from now, when he foresaw the economic danger that threatened his country. This Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was one of the first means he thought of to aver the threatened danger. Here also he attempted to bring together other activities. Evening entertainments were given by the performance of "Jatras," which have been the expression of our national drama and which have constantly enriched our Bengali literature by the contributions of village bards and composers. There were athletic tournaments also and display of physical strength and endurance. He also established here the people's bank, which is now in a most flourishing condition. He established industrial and technical schools, and it was there that the inventive bent of my mind received its first impetus. I remember the deep impression made on my mind by the form of worship rendered by the artisans to Viswakarma God in his aspect as the Great Artificer: His hand it was that was moulding the whole creation; and it seemed that we were the instruments in his hand, through whom he intended to fashion some Great Design.

In practical agriculture my father was among Indians one of the first to start a tea industry in Assam, now regarded as one of the most flourishing. He gave practically everything in the starting of some Weaving Mills. He stood by this and many other efforts in industrial developments. The success of which I spoke did not come till long after—too late for him to see it. He had come before the country was ready, and it happened to him as it must happen to all pioneers. Every one of his efforts failed and the crash came. And a great burden fell on us which was only lifted by our united efforts just before his work here was over.

A failure? Yes but not ignoble or altogether futile. Since it was through the witnessing of this struggle that the son learned to look on success or failure as one, to realise that some defeat was greater than victory. And if my life in any way proved to be fruitful, then that came through the realisation of this lesson.

To me his life had been one of blessing and daily thanksgiving. Nevertheless every one had said that he had wrecked his life which was meant for far greater things. Few realise that out of the skeletons of myriad lives have been built vast continents. And it is on the wreck of a life like his and of many such lives that will be built the Greater India yet to be. We do not know why it should be so, but we do know that the Earth Mother is hungry for sacrifice.

History of Caste in India and Varnasram-Dharma.

By Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Ph. D., LL. D.

During the early portion of the period occupied by the composition of the Rig-Veda Samhita, two *Varnas*, which word afterwards came to signify a caste, are alluded to, (1) The Arya Varna, *i. e.*, Arya colour or group of men; (2) The Dasyu Varna, *i.e.*, Dasyu colour or group of men. Later on, there appears a mention of Brahma, Kshatram and Visas which indicate three occupations, *viz.*:—that of priests, rulers and politicians and the ordinary people. These occupations have not yet become hereditary and anyone could assume them in accordance with his own circumstances. Devapi, who is represented by Yaska as belonging to the Kuru race, is mentioned in X, 98, 5 as having assumed the function of a sacrificial priest and brought down rain. The person for whom he acted as priest was his brother Santanu and since, according to Yaska, they belonged to the Kuru race, they must both be considered to have followed the occupation of rulers or politicians. This is an instance in which a Kshatriya may be considered for a time to have become a Brahmana. There is a story related in the Aitareya Brahmana that the old Rishis held a sacrificial session on the banks of the Sarasvati. There was among the sacrificers a man of the name of Kavasha Ailusha and being a non-Brahmana of a disrespectful character and thus not authorised to be a sacrificer was driven out to the dry sands that he might not drink the water of the Sarasvati. There he became a seer or a Rishi and composed a hymn in consequence of which the Sarasvati ran up to him and enabled him to quench his thirst. Having thus composed a hymn, he became, non-Brahmana as he was, a Brahmana. And there are stories of Visvamitra's having been originally a Kshatriya current in the Epic period. Visvamitra and his descendants were the authors of the Third Book of the Rik-Samhita and consequently Brahmanas pre-eminently. There are no plain indications in the Samhita itself of his having been once Kshatriya but according to a very old tradition, current in the time of Aitareya Brahmana, and of Yaska, he was. The latter in explaining the expression कुशिकस्य सूनुः or the son of

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Kusika, occurring in one of Visvamitra's hymns, tells us that Kusika was a king. In the Aitareya Brahmana, Sunah-sepa is represented to have addressed him as Rajaputra or the son of a king and Bharatarshabha or the great Bharata. Thus the epic story seems to have been confirmed by a very old tradition and Visvamitra having been born as a Kshatriya, became a Brahmana and a Rishi. Thus originally, there were these three orders and as anybody was at liberty to take up any of them that suited his circumstances, the orders were in no sense castes. In time, however, they became hereditary and no one could assume that order into which he was not born. In one of the latest hymns of the Samhita, that known as the Purushasukta, the four castes Brahmana, Rajanya, Vaisya and Sudra are distinctly mentioned. The first three belong to the Aryan stock and the last is clearly distinguished from it. It has already been mentioned that when the Aryans invaded India, they met with hordes of indigenous tribes to whom they gave the general name of Dasyus. In the course of time one or more of these tribes became incorporated with the Aryan society and to them was assigned the function of menial service. Probably one of the main tribes was called by the name of Sudra and that term acquired a comprehensive sense so as to render it applicable to all non-Aryan tribes.

But though these orders had become hereditary and acquired to that extent the nature of castes, still commensality and connubium between the members of a certain group which are the essential characteristics of a caste at the present day, did not exist for a long time. The epics are full of instances in which Brahmanas dined with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and in some cases with Sudras also. And the members of a caste were allowed to marry wives from the lower ones in addition to one from their own. Such marriages are called Anuloma marriages, *i. e.*, marriages in conformity with the establlshed gradation of castes. Marriages in the reverse order, *i. e.*, of a woman of a superior caste with a man of an inferior one, were prohibited by law but still were in practice. The authors of Dharmasutras and the metrical Smritis give the names of the mixed castes formed by these two kinds of marriages. Among the names mentioned by them are such ones as Vaidehika and Magadha which are clearly names derived from the locality in which the people belonging to the castes originally lived, *i. e.*, these were considered as separate castes only because they lived in the provinces of Videha and Magadha and were thus isolated from the rest just as the Vadnagars and Visnagars have become separate castes in consequence of the locality to which they belonged. Chandalas and Nishadas are also mentioned among the mixed castes and were evidently aboriginal tribes. The authors of the Dharmasutras finding a number of castes prevalent in Hindu Society endeavoured to account for them by the theory of the mixed marriages we have mentioned. Probably a few castes were formed by such marriages; but it has been our mental practice to form a theory based upon the instances falling within our ordinary observation and extending that theory to other instances also, in which the origin is unknown. But the enumeration of these mixed castes shows us this at least that there were some which owed their origin to mixed marriages; that there were others due to the difference of locality and still others which properly were original races. Difference of race has been a very fruitful cause of the difference of castes. Not only did the aborginal races form so many independent castes, but there were other races also who made incursions into the country in historic times and swelled the number. The Yavanas or Bacterian Greeks made their appearance in the country, a few centuries before Christ and were followed later on by Sakas. Though these had large portions of the country, they entered it as conquerors and remained there as rulers. When they lost power they were probably absorbed in the existing castes. I may here mention a colony of Persian priests called Magi who brought the worship of Mihira or the sun into the country about 200-300 A. D. These are known to Sanskrit literature as Magas and are considered as Brahmanas. The Maga Brahmans exist as an independent caste in Rajputana and elsewhere in Northern India to this day. But from about the first century after Christ to about the sixth large hordes of tribes of the name of Abhiras and Gurjaras poured into the country and settled in it. The Abhiras occupied the country from the east of the Punjab to about Mathura and southwards to Kathiawad and Konkan. The Gurjaras followed afterwards. They came by way of the Punjab to a province of which they gave the name now known as Gujrat. Then they entered Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Kanoj which subsisted for a few centuries. Subsequently they turned to south and established a kingdom in northern Gujrat at Anahilpattana and gave the name of Gujrat to the old province of Lata which it still holds. The Abhiras and Gurjaras formed separate castes and we have at present Abhira and Gurjara goldsmiths, Abhira and Gurjara carpenters and even Abhira and Gurjara Brahmanas. Later on came also a small horde of Huns called in Sanskrit Hunas. These Hunas seem to have formed a caste and there are some people in the Punjab whose Gotra is known by the name of Huna. In addition to these three causes there were others also which contributed to the multiplication of castes. We have epigraphic evidence that there were in the early centuries of the Christian era a number of trade guilds such as Tailikasreni or the guild of oil men, Malikasreni or the guild of gardeners which had their own constitution. This enabled them to receive in permanent deposit sums of money the interest of which was to be devoted for the benefit of Buddhist mendicants. Guilds such as these became exclusive castes in the course of time. There arose a number of religious sects which too hardened into castes eventually. But the most fruitful source for the multiplication of castes was the number of persons who were called Vratyas. Those who the Upanayana ceremony was not performed at the time prescribed or not at all were called Vratyas and all communication with them was prohibited. In general terms it may be stated that those who violated the Brahmanic ordinances were excommunicated and formed separate castes. This principle of excommunication went on, being largely resorted to in later times even when there was a slight departure from the ordinary usages of castes. From the operation of all these causes the number of castes has now swollen to more than about 3,000 and the Hindu population of India is now divided into so many distinct communities differing in manners and customs and often hostile to each other.

The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the west. There were no inter-marriages between the Patricians and the Plebians of ancient Rome for a long time and there were traces of it amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together.

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these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India, and what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, a French scholar who has written an essay on 'caste' says on the subject: 'The growth of strong political and national feelings constantly tended in the west to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions.' He suggests that absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. Softened away, indeed! There is no talk here of caste restrictions softening away; they have instead hardened into a rock in a manner to challenge the skill and power of the greatest athlete among us to break it. Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha have on the contrary softened away and now there is no trace of them. But we have received an English education, and European ideas have been grafted on our minds and they are filled with new national aspirations. As a result of the terrible war that is now being waged in Europe there is a hope that some of these aspirations will be realized and the aim of the British Government will be to make India a friend of the Empire and not a trusted dependent. To become the friend of the Empire, India must be one and one-hearted and this can only be effected by the obliteration of caste distinctions among the Hindus and a good understanding between them and the Mahomedans. Our efforts therefore must now be directed towards achieving such a result.

[Part of the address delivered by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar as President of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference.]

Post-war Reforms.

Demand of United India.

The following is the scheme of Post-War Reforms prepared and adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League.

I.—Provincial Legislative Council.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—Provincial Governments.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—Imperial Legislative Council.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the

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lines of the present electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation is so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military changes for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

(g) A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council; provided however that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(h) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

13. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the d on which the fact of such veto is made known to Legislative Council concerned.

14. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have power to interfere with the Government of Ind direction of the military affairs and the foreign p tical relations of India, including the declaration war, the making of peace and the entering treaties.

IV.—The Government of India.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the h of the Government of India.

2. He will have an executive Council, half of wh shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by elected members of the Imperial Legislative Counci

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Governme India, due regard being paid to existing interes subject to any laws that may be made by the Im rial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordina interfere in the local affairs of a province, and pow not specifically given to a Provincial Governme shall be deemed to be vested in the former. authority of the Government of India will ordina be limited to general supervision and superintend over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters Government of India shall, as far as possible, b dependent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the acco of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—The Secretary of State in Council.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for In should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State shoul placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far possi occupy the same position in relation to the Gov ment of India, as the Secretary of State for the C nies in relation to the Governments of the self-gov ing dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be sisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, on whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—Other Matters.

1. The military and naval services of his Majes both in their commissioned and non-commissio ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and quate provision should be made for their selec training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as vo teers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of eq ity in respect of status and rights of citizenship other subjects of his Majesty the King throughout Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall hav judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary every Province shall be placed under the highest C of that Province.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Mr. S. H. Freemantle in a thoughtful and ably-written article discusses

The True Aim of Education

in the pages of the *Educational Review* for December, 1916. He begins by pointing out correctly that "schooling is not the whole of education, and that the science of economics is very closely concerned with the study of education."

There are boys who have been many years at good schools but have got little good from it, and are incapable of any real work. There are men who can manage, say, a large staff, and are intimately acquainted with not only the names, but the habits and treatment of a large variety of plants and yet have had little or no schooling. Or take the village potter. Is he not wonderfully skilful and efficient in his own sphere? It may be said that a good education has been of little real service to the one nor has a defective education been a serious obstacle to the other. This does not mean, however, that education is a failure. Education is not a matter only for schools and Universities. It includes all conscious human influence brought to bear on the young and no view of education is complete which does not lay stress on the responsibility of parents and older relations for doing their part towards the training of youth. In India many students come from homes where there is little enlightenment and this places a special responsibility on the schools and colleges for doing what they can to supplement the deficiencies of the home.

What is it that we should wish to give our children through education?

The answer of some will be the power to earn their own living and of others, the power to be useful to the community. This is the economic view plain and unadorned. But I was greatly struck by a newspaper article I recently saw on the aims of education. 'If we are wise,' it said, 'we should wish our children to be happy first of all, since by real happiness they find their greatest success and their greatest usefulness.' And I think there is a great truth in this. And the author goes on to tell us at length what it is that makes people happy. 'We need,' he says, 'a faith in the very nature of the universe, a belief that the universe is itself interesting and that it will not betray any one or any nation that is interested in it. Therefore, what we should wish in the education of our sons is that they should be made happy through incessant interest in it. The universe should not be regarded as a place where men labour to grow rich or to make their country the greatest in the world.' But the business of education is to give to the boy through right experience of life and nature the will to act rightly in any position in which he may be placed. Then through his awakened intelligence he will be able to hold his own in the competition of life and the nation also.'

It may be noted here that in Sir Rabindranath Tagore's opinion one of the most distinctive features of his school at Bolpur is that the boys are happy there.

How are we to apply these principles to the conditions of Indian students?

It is obvious that some subjects in the curriculum are naturally more interesting than others. History and Geography and physical science when taught as they should be in relation to each other and to the world around us, Economics too when applied to local conditions, literature also both Indian and English. These are the chief subjects of study in the college. They contribute directly and obviously to utility and culture, and they fulfil the test applied. But what of the subjects in the schools, reading and writing of vernacular, reading and writing of English, and arithmetic. These are the mere mechanism of education, the keys to unlock wide realms of knowledge. Lord Avebury puts it in a homely way when he says, 'Reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar do not constitute education any more than a knife, fork and spoon constitute a dinner.' It is then as means and not as ends in themselves that we should regard them.

To the question—should elementary education be restricted to the literary classes whose aim is to proceed to the secondary school?—the writer gives the following answer:

I think that we should make an effort to devise a system of education adopted to rural conditions and that there is no insuperable difficulty in doing so. For even the 3 R's can be made interesting and therefore educative if the methods in use are carefully considered and revised in order to interest the class and if the lessons are brought into close touch with each other and with rural life.

Children like nothing better than acting as grown up people. They are constantly seen in the villages playing at marking out field boundaries in the sand and even constructing miniature terraced fields in uneven land. Nature study and the establishment of school gardens will teach them to interest themselves in flowers and vegetables and crops and trees and make them more adaptable—more open to new ideas, and more ready when grown up to adopt any new crops and processes recommended by the Agricultural Department. Then boys who have acquired a competent acquaintance with the 3 R's, the keys that open the realms of knowledge, should be given all possible opportunity of using those keys and not letting them rust. Village libraries should be established, occasional lantern lectures on popular subjects might be instituted and periodical readings of religious and popular books should be organized

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in the school. Village panchayats, co-operative credit societies, school committees, all of which have great educative value would meet in the school and it might and should be the centre of culture for the neighbourhood.

Courses should also, as time goes on, be established for upper primary passed boys by itinerant agricultural teachers who would visit central schools once a week and give instruction in rudimentary agricultural science.

The writer concludes by saying:

Neither the individual nor the nation is benefited by a large increase in the facilities for Anglo-Vernacular (mis-called secondary) education and that charitable and benevolent people who now contribute largely to such institutions, would be better advised if they devoted their available resources to commercial enterprises which not only add directly to the wealth of the country but provide careers for educated men and employment for the semi-educated, where by congenial work they can keep up and expand their interests and lead lives that are both happy and useful to themselves and to the community. If on the other hand they prefer to devote their spare resources to the encouragement of education there is ample scope for their generosity in founding scholarships for the poor yet brilliant boys who would otherwise have been unable to reach the secondary school and college. Such boys will soon pass through the introductory stage and their higher education will be a joy to themselves and an economic asset to the nation.

The *Mysore Social Review* for January contains an interesting

History of the Blotting Paper

from which we cull the following:

Blotting paper, a necessity of modern life was unknown a century ago. Our ancestors when they wrote a letter sprinkled sand over it to dry the ink,—a cumbrous process typical of times when deliberation was the keynote of business, but altogether impossible in these days of hustle and hurry. Many years ago there was a Mill at Hagbourne, not far from Wallingford in Berkshire, where paper was made by hand under the proprietorship of Mr. John Slade, a direct ancestor of the present proprietor of Snakely Mills—High Wycombe, England,—which are the largest mills in the world solely employed in the manufacture of Blotting Paper. One day some workmen omitted the essential ingredients of size, during their manipulations, and the result was the output of what was regarded as a quantity of waste. This mistake proved a fortunate one, for it led to the most important consequences. Some one used a piece of the "waste" to write a note, and found the ink spreading so rapidly as to render the writing illegible. Such an incident would in nine cases out of ten have passed without special attention, but there was evidently at Hagbourne Mill a quick brain ready to grasp industrial possibilities. It was realised that here was an opportunity to produce something of value to the commercial world and to all who used the pen. The result was 'Slade's Original Hand-made Blotting.' Hagbourne Mill ceased to produce ordinary paper, and its resources were turned into the new channel. The novel article took the public fancy at once, and the business increased so rapidly that another Mill in Hampshire was adapted for its product. Hagbourne Mill came eventually into the proprietorship of Thomas Burch Ford, under whose supervision the out-put was further extended. In 1859 Mr. Ford came to the conclusion that there was an opening for machine-made blotting paper. He purchased Snakely Mills, and ceasing to make hand-made blotting, put the machine-made article on the market. It was of course cheaper, but all the best characteristics of the old hand-produced article were retained. Success was speedy. As the paper became known to the stationery trade the demand rose. Its high quality never varied, and "Ford's Blottings" acquired—and have never lost—the reputation of being the very best articles of their kind in the world. The beautiful blotting paper now produced at these Mills is the result of generations of ingenuity and skill solely devoted to the perfecting of blotting paper. Blottings were originally made uniformly of one shade of pink and the sheets were thin. The prevalent colour arose from the fact that rags, from which ordinary paper could not be produced, from the impossibility of eliminating the fast colour, were utilised in this way. The very latest addition is a black blotting that will absorb inkmarks without showing them.

Jean Roberts writes interestingly about

Poetry and Poets of Today

in *East and West* for December.

"In early youth," says the writer, "our ardent affection glows for the poems and pulse with their creator's breath, fresh from the poet's lips."

We have lost the first fresh rapturous enthusiasm for poetic flavours; but it may be that Time, in blunting the edge of the growing mind's appetite, has given us a discrimination of palate that can only be developed by experience and force of comparison. We contrast the freshly-gathered fruits with the stored delicacies. We have lost the keenness of anticipation; we have gained a retrospect.

The writer goes on to say and quite correctly too, that not Genius alone dominates us. She is helped by Art.

There are many minds that would never be reached by Genius unaccompanied by Art. For it is not only the thought—the inspiration of the poet—that strikes our minds and sways our emotions, it is the manner also in which those thoughts take shape, the quality of the words that clothe them. Some judges maintain that the true test of poetic value is the effect of verse on the emotions, and that the sphere of poetry's dominion is that of the heart and feelings, not of the head; the realm of sentiment, not of intellect. If they are right, much depends on art than on inspiration; on the way an idea is put forth than on the idea itself. But if this were the only test, the veriest ditty expressed as to touch and move popular sensibilities would be of higher value than the finest thought clothed in the austere dignity of a sonnet, or other poetic form, uncaptivating to the multitude. It is however, indubitable that a noble thought, wrapped in a cumbrous or ill-fitting word garment, excites more attention or interest than a page of heavy prose would arouse; while clothed in suitable

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language, it will pierce the attention of a world of readers with the force of an electric current.

The *thought* embodied in a poem gives that poem *rank*, the *expression* of it gives it *distinction*. Genius, in other words, gives it immortality, Art gives it the body by which immortality is recognised and proved.

Poetry, to be a true claimant of the name, must reveal something of the realities that life holds for man, and must help to make him conscious of his powers by exciting him to use them. All true poetry has a vein of mysticism in it. Poetry is also prophecy, not necessarily foreseeing but giving insight into those things which remain sealed to the uninspired and to those out of Inspiration's reach. A true poet is a prophet, a revealer of secrets.

The following verses of Robert Louis Stevenson are powerful because of their simplicity.

"A naked house, a naked moor,
A shivering pool before the door,
A garden bare of flowers and fruit
And poplars at the garden foot :
Such is the place that I live in,
Bleak without and bare within."

Surely, here we have the artist's power of "making a picture." Let us go on to the prophet's vision :—

"Yet shall your ragged moor receive
The incomparable pomp of eve,
And the cold glories of the dawn
Behind your shivering trees be drawn ;
And when the wind from place to place
Doth the unmoored cloud-galleons chase,
Your garden gloom and gleam again
With leaping sun, with glancing rain."

The poet's eyes see over the rim of actuality that bounds the artist's horizon. Both visions are real, but only the poet-prophet can make plain men see the glory suffusing the commonplace.

Here is one of Masefield's picture called *Twilight* :

"Twilight it is, and the far woods are dim, and the rooks cry and call.
Down in the valley the lamps and the mist, and a star above all,
There by the rick, where they thresh, is the drone at an end,
Twilight it is, and I travel the road with my friend.
I think of the friends who are dead, who were dear long ago in the past,
Beautiful friends who are dead, though I know that death cannot last ;
Friends with the beautiful eyes that the dust has defiled,
Beautiful souls that were gentle when I was a child."

The following poem by Alice Meynell called *To the Beloved* has the ring of that intense love which "fears to lose the least note, or vibration of the music quivering from the heart-strings" of the beloved.

"Oh, not more subtly silence strays
Among the winds, between the voices,
Mingling alike with pensive lays
And with the music that rejoices
Than thou art present in my days.

My silence, life returns to thee
In all the pauses of her breath
Hush back to rest the melody
That out of thee awakeneth ;
And thou, wake ever, wake for me !
Thou art like silence all unvexed,
Though wild words part my soul from thee.

. . . .

Most dear pause in a mellow lay !
Thou art inwoven with every air

. . . .

Darkness and solitude shine, for me.

. . . .

It is the very soul of life
Listens for thee, listens for thee.

O pause between the sobs of cares;
O thought within all thought that is ;
Trance between laughters unawares ;
Thou art the shape of melodies,
And thou the ecstasy of prayers!

Indian readers will hardly fail to be wooed and won by Robert Bridges' *Asian Birds* from which we cull the following :

"What have I seen or heard ?
It was the yellow bird
Sang in the tree : he flew
A flame against the blue.

Another ! Hush ! Behold
Many like boats of gold,
From waving branch to branch
Their airy bodies launch
What music is like this,
Where each note is a kiss ?"

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The day of my death will be the great romance of my life," so said

Stopf rd Augustus Brooke

the eminent Irish poet and critic who passed away on March 18, 1916, leaving a lasting name in the annals of English literature. Some reminiscences of his literary work have been brought together in the course of a lengthy article appearing in the *Fortnightly Review* from the pen of Eleanor Hull.

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The writer tells us that the personality of Stopford Brooke appeared more valuable than his books to those who knew him.

He loved humanity and sympathetically understood many sides of it; but he himself seemed always to stand a little aloof from it; his presence had something about it of the mountain top, uplifted, breezy, unapproachable, in a sort of Olympian calm that the worries and troubles of life should not disturb. His splendid mental healthfulness and his Irish sense of humor kept him free from the attitude of weak sympathy, that often overtakes men sought by his fellowmen, a certain touch of autocratic hauteur that was half-assumed and half-playful would not allow too close a pressure on his personality. But the friends who gathered round him and remained faithful to him at a crisis of his life revered him not only as a teacher always fresh, individual and inspiring, but as a constant and wise companion, certain to be accessible to help them in their need. His optimism, which in his writings sometimes influenced his critical judgments was, in personal contact with him, infectious; it passed through his hearers like a tonic. It made the difficult seem possible, and the laborious, delightful. And, indeed, to him things seemed impossible only because men would go about them in the wrong way. "Make people happy, don't trouble so much about making them good," he would say, and he acted up to this axiom, for happiness seemed to be in the atmosphere where he came and involuntarily men and women were at their best. He was that rare thing, even among the intellectual, a stimulating conversationalist; one had not been long in his company before being launched on some literary or artistic theme, entered upon with verve and imagination, and made splendid by the touch of romance which he always imparted to any matter in which he was interested. There was nothing academic in his view; it was alive with his warm appreciation and pleasure in it.

He preached and ministered in many places, but

His healthy view of life was not in accord with the mediæval conception of man's position and destiny taught in the formularies of the Church of England and still professed by it in its corporate capacity, however much individuals may privately modify that conception; his Irish nature felt the constant drag of a fixed system of belief and thought and longed for liberation. So when in 1880 his secession from the Church of England took place he again and again rejoices in his freedom. He could not conceive of life without religion, or of a religion that did not harmonize with daily experience, and the spirit of the song that Pippa flung into the troubled world as she passed by—

The year's at the spring
And day's at the morn;
Morning's at seven;
The hill-side's dew-pearled;
The lark's on the wing;
The snail's on the thorn;
God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world!"—

was to him no poetic romance, but the sturdy conviction of his soul.

Regarding his literary work the writer says:

We read him for those lovely images he conjures like the sudden glimpse of a sunshine-flooded landscape seen through a dark windowframe; and those exquisite passages of musical wording which haunt our memories like the sound of a silver bell.

Speaking of the *Songs of Innocence* Blake, Stopford Brooke wrote:

There are songs of many passions, of sorrow of earthly rapture, of mirth, of the fine spirit of youth and age, of patriot fervor, of the beauty of the world in our soul—of a hundred things but the song of the child's heart has never been written by a child. It is only sung within. To write it needed a man with the heart of a child; and to find him is one of the rarest things in the world. The best explanation of Blake's songs is that he was always a child at heart; and it would not have mattered where he lived, he would always have been at home. The child, if he be loved, knows neither time nor space. Were he placed suddenly in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, or on the steps of the Parthenon when Phidias was working, he would play, were those he loved with him, with as much unconsciousness and joy as in his own garden in Surrey. All his life long Blake was like that."

Stopford Brooke did not see literature isolated from the conditions amid which it grew up.

The literary and political and social development of the country were to him, part of one connected and interwoven story. The causes which produced our literature, and the surroundings in which it was nourished, were to him as important to grasp as the poetry and prose itself. It is this grasp and realization of the intellectual life of England as a connected whole, that give its special character to Mr. Brooke's two contributions to the history of English literature, viz., *Primer of English Literature* and *Early English Literature*. Especially is this the case with his study of Anglo-Saxon prose and poetry, a study which vibrates with the joy of its author in his subject.

As an Irishman born in wild Donegal, Stopford Brooke always loved to trace the bearing of Celtic thought and character on English poetry. He finds in it one of the most powerful moulding influences which caused the rise of English poetry in Northumbria, rather than in the South of England. Some of his most interesting chapters are those devoted to this subject.

Among the places that made the deepest impression on Mr. Brooke's mind and literary work, and that he loved the best, Italy and the Lake district perhaps held for him the strongest ties. His *Spell of Venice* (1907) is a graceful memorial of his visits to the Lady of the Seas, and, in addition to *Dove Cottage*, his studies on Wordsworth and Coleridge in his *Theology in the English Poets* (1874), as well as some of his poems, bear witness to his admiration for the latter. But as an Irishman who had drawn his first breath in the wild air of Donegal, and gained his first literary distinctions in Trinity College, Dublin, where he was educated, Stopford Brooke retained all his life the warmest affection for his native country. In every way he could be helpful to forward its literary progress. His inaugural address delivered before the Irish Literary Society of London on his acceptance of the Presidency in 1893, gave real impetus to the translation of Irish literature into the English tongue, and did much to draw the attention of the English people to it; and his partnership with

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Mr. T. W. Rolleston in editing a *Treasury of Irish Poetry* (1900) resulted in one of the best collections of Anglo-Irish verse ever got together. It was, too, through his recognition of the beauty and pathos of the Hon. Emily Lawless' poems that she was led to publish her book called *The Wild Geese*, to which he wrote an historical and critical introduction.

On Spoken English

is the theme of an article contributed to the *New Statesman* by S. K. Ratcliffe in which he states that in America the question of preserving or restoring the language is much more generally discussed in the magazines and elsewhere than it is amongst Englishmen. Professer Brander Matthews of Columbia University states some points in the case for a standard of spoken English.

He is a firm believer in it, although at the outset he admits that there exists no authority to declare what and where the standard is. Sainte-Beuve affirmed, and many have said it before and after him, that it is universal suffrage which rules a language. We all agree, within limits. But when logically carried out this principle leads us to the method which was applied without flinching by that thorough-going phonetician, the late Henry Sweet. He saw no reason for offering resistance to the unresting process of phonetic decay. His concern was simply to register, by means of a scientific alphabet, the slipshod vocables of the Home Counties. If the common practice of the more or less educated Southerner was to elide the *r*, to sound the short *a* as *e* is sounded in the North, or to slip a syllable, or several syllables, in a word, then that was standard English, and there was nothing to be done but to record and accept it.

Professor Brander Matthews does not belong to this school. Although, *ex hypothesi*, there is no dictator of language outside and above the multitude, no authority save ordinary usage, we all, he says, recognize that a normal pronunciation exists and seek to conform to it. We may fall short of the standard; even cultivated folk are far from blameless: but a large part of our offending is unconscious, "and would be denied indignantly by a majority of those who are guilty of it." What, then, is to be done? Mr. Shaw, concentrating into *Pygmalion* and its preface the advocacy of many years, proclaims that the reformer England needs today is an energetic phonetic enthusiast. Professor Brander Matthews offers a different suggestion. France and Germany, Italy and Spain, he reminds us, have established a standard speech, and the first two nations have accepted the stage as exponent and criterion. So, he argues:

A majority of those interested may be quite willing to abide by the decisions of a dictator-committee composed of disinterested experts; and there might be profit for us who have English for our mother-tongue, if we were to follow this German example and to constitute an American-British commission of actors and linguistic experts to suggest a preference in all those cases where the pronunciation is in dispute.

Now there are several things to be said about this piece of advice. If we were to concede that actors and actresses had a claim to sit upon such a commission (and a few of them speak English almost perfectly), we should doubtless discover that the stage could not be treated as a homogeneous region. Between the noble English of Forbes-Robertson and the speech which passes muster in such theatres as the St. James's or the Criterion, there is a very wide gulf. As a matter of fact, educated England has been influenced much more by the pulpit than by the stage. I do not know whether any phonetician has devoted himself to the study of modern academic English—a subject out of which a fascinating monograph might be made.

The writer goes on to say

Spoken English could not be reformed, nor standard English attained, by settling pronunciation, though to every word now in dispute its single sound were attached. All speakers have preferences and idiosyncrasies, but they do not materially affect the quality of the English. Lord Curzon, for instance, is the only public man in this country who gives an almost Transatlantic flatness to the *a* in *past*, but he is as near to standard English as most of his contemporaries. The essential matter is not pronunciation, but enunciation, articulation: and that is a subtle and complex union of values, in which pitch and stress and cadence may be almost as important as the vowel sounds.

Of course, if it were merely or mainly a question of pronunciation in the narrow sense, the problem would be simple enough. A Government decree could impose the standard. Nothing could be easier than for English and Americans to remove those curious little differences which, apart from accent, serve to reveal the country of origin. Hawthorne was of opinion that the pronunciation of *been* was an unfailing taste, the Briton rhyming it to *seen* and the American to *sin*. He did not know of the millions of English people who habitually say *bin*, although, of course, it remains true that the test holds for the great majority of educated folk on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Lounsbury, a useful champion of good English, was disposed to regard *schedule* as an almost perfect shibboleth between British and Americans, and perhaps he was right. At any rate, I should say that no Englishman used to public speaking in America would have the hardihood to refrain from saying *skedyule*. Few things bother an audience more than the recurring shocks which come from hearing a speaker giving an unaccustomed sound to words in constant use. Hence, one finds it natural in America to shorten the final syllable in words like *hostile* and *fertile*, and, it may be, to avoid any tendency to excessive indulgence in the broad *a*.

Professor Matthews, takes it for granted that the greater regional variations must persist. The educated classes in a small area such as Great Britain tend inevitably to a uniform accent. It is even conceivable that the country, as a whole, may be gradually subjugated by London. Schools, and national armies, and the movement of the population may bring that about; although at present there is not a grain of evidence to show that the tremendous barrier of accent between the classes is giving way—except perhaps in the drift of smart society towards the use of the cockney *a* and *o*.

Geography and climate are factors so decisive that the Scotch can never speak like the Nova Scotians or the people of New York like those of New South Wales. But all the same Professor Matthews is persuaded that, given an accepted standard, it should be possible to get rid entirely of local variations.

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That eminent and wide-hearted English Socialist H. M. Hyndman contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* a trenchant and outspoken article entitled

The Awakening of Asia

which we have read with deep interest and genuine pleasure.

The writer compares the present arrogant attitude of several prominent European nations towards Asiatic peoples with the attitude of the English, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese three centuries ago towards the Indian and Chinese rulers of their day.

Certainly, the present scarcely-veiled contempt and rudeness of our own contemporaries in India itself to Indians is the growth of little more than two generations. Earlier records bear witness to a much better tone than that which prevails today. Even during this great war, when Indians of high rank and long descent are fighting side by side with English officers, for the same cause, they have been treated with considerable rudeness. Color prejudice has become the rule, and is growing stronger as Englishmen reside less and less in India and more and more lose touch with Indians.

The Chinese were approached by Europeans, in the earlier stages of their intercourse, as a race in many respects more capable and more powerful than themselves. Though the Jesuits obtained for a time great influence over the Manchu Emperors of Pekin, their teaching scarcely touched the surface of the huge Chinese population below. Their simple family life, their material religions and their queer superstitions, their competitive bureaucratic system, and universal education went on as they had gone on for generations.

Not until we English discovered that the whole of these intelligent 400,000,000 of Chinamen were organized soley for industry and peace, possessing no armies in the least capable of resisting aggression, did we force the sale of opium upon the country in the face of the protests of its Government; a policy fitly illustrated by the seizure of Hongkong and the sacking of the Winter Palace.

Thereafter, for many years, the Chinese, who, by their honesty in trade, social courtesy, and general culture, had good grounds for regarding us as Western barbarians, were likewise considered an inferior people.

Our missionaries even did not disguise their low opinion of the Chinese cults, nor did they, like the Catholics, adapt themselves in dress and daily life to the customs of the people. Even the late Lord Salisbury, a devotee of Christianity, complained of their inconvenient ardor and uncongenial methods of proselytism. Western peoples seldom look at matters concerning the East except from their own point of view. In the same way, having discovered that Li Hung Chang, the real author of the ruinous Japanese war, was as unscrupulous in diplomacy as he was dishonest in finance, we assume that all mandarins are of similar character. Yet the great majority of the *literati* who govern China are beyond reproach in money matters, and the integrity of Chinese men of business and campradors has long been the admiration of the East.

All this time the kidnapping of Chi men was going on in the great cities being shipped off as hopeless slaves the Guano islands off the coast of Peru. writer saw "the first evidence of the lat power of Asia's hundreds of millions inhabitants" in the industrial Chinamen Australia nearly fifty years ago. T same evidence was manifest in the Sa wich Islands and in California too.

Referring to the Anglo-Japanese Agr ments of 1905 and 1911 the writer sa

It is quite clear that these serious diplom instruments place Japan on at least an equal foo with England in the Far East. They also give impression that, should we be unable for any rea to maintain our Emplre in Hindostan, then we entitled to look to Japan until 1921, and proba for a longer period, to assist us in keeping up alien rule in India.

China is awakening.

She has undergone a complete political tra formation. The Mongols have gone. Pigtails, sign of subservience to the Tartars, have disappe ed. The Chinese race proper is in control of own territory. Western knowledge, largely ow to the influence of Yuan Shi Kai and his oppone Sun Yat Sen, is being substituted for the old int minable literary studies at which the Universi of Oxford and Cambridge, with their devotion Latin and Greek, can scarcely afford to smile. R ways, chiefly constructed with foreign capital, for the time under foreign control, now connect ma of the great cities and their ports. But Chine engineers and managers are steadily replacing outsiders, and projected lines, deprived by the of their skilled superintendents from Belgium other European countries, are now being carr forward by Chinese engineers. Mines and oth industries are being developed. Armies, also, being raised and armed and trained according European systems. The movement is slow as co pared with what has been witnessed in Japan, all capable observers are of one mind as to its be very sure. Even what we call anarchy, the stir the various Provinces against the domination Yuan Shi Kai from Pekin, is evidence of new life proof of fresh vigor. Left alone, they can se their own affairs far better than we Europeans the Japanese can arrange them for their benefit.

And what about India? Says Mr Hyndman:

We ourselves must not imagine that India is asleep because perfect peace reigns throughout Hin tan, and—as they tell us—Indians are eager British rule should endure forever—so eager they voluntarily supply fighting forces in the to the extent of tens of thousands of men. This is so. India is stirring too. India demands self-gov ment, and requires that the drain of £30,000, yearly to England from the poorest population the planet, without any commercial return, sh be stanched. An empire which declares that fighting a world-war for the maintenance of natio rights and national freedoms cannot in decency one-fifth of the human race in subjugation to for

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despotism and liable to the exaction of a foreign economic tribute on a huge scale.

The following is the conclusion the writer arrives at :

When the war is at an end and peace is at last proclaimed, all the leading European nations will be well-nigh bled to death, alike in men and in money. Asia will not have suffered ; Japan will have actually gained in means and influence. The lessons of the terrific struggle will not have been lost upon the East. The relative positions of the two continents will have been modified still farther in favor of the yellow races against the white.

NOTES

Prophets and Statesmen, and World-peace.

Peace is desired,—a lasting peace embracing all countries and peoples, civilised and uncivilised. How is this to be had? Prophets of love have said that if there be good will to man, there will be peace on earth. The *Ishopanisat* says :—"Enjoy what *He* has given : do not covet any one's wealth." There can be no question that the root-cause of many wars and of the present war is greed. Monarchs and nations wish to conquer in order to be able to take possession of the wealth of others, either by means of administration or of exploitation or both. The seeking of markets is often an euphemism for the desire to plunder. Many wars have also been caused by tribal, national or racial hatred. The prophets, then, have been true promoters of peace when they have laid stress on *maitri* or friendliness to all, and denounced greed and hatred. They have also tried to convince mankind that mere outward possessions cannot make one truly happy : true happiness is an inward possession.

Statesmen who are lovers of progress and humanity have sought to promote international peace by treaties and alliances, and also by *preparedness*. It is believed that if a nation be prepared and in a position to fight to resist aggression, or if several allied nations be ready to prevent aggression upon themselves or others, there is likely to be lasting peace. There is some truth in this. But national alliances are not lasting. The friend of to-day may become a foe to-morrow. Moreover, there being mutual distrust among allied nations, there is rivalry in the increase of armaments. And whenever nations are equipped to fight, there is often a cause for fighting easily found. In this respect nations are somewhat like children who, when they get a stick, cannot resist the temptation of laying about themselves, or when they get a knife, cannot refrain from trying its edge upon something or somebody.

Even the best alliances and the utmost armed preparations for enforcing peace may be of no use in the direction desired and may even be the cause of war, if there be not mutual trust and good will and the absence of greed. Hence statesmen with all their devices can only be the auxiliaries of the prophets of love, who really lay the foundations of peace on earth.

Nationalism and Internationalism.

Nationalism is a necessary stage on the way to internationalism. If a people have not found themselves, have not awakened into a consciousness of their being a unit, if they have not organised themselves for civic welfare, how can they give to the world what they are specially fitted to give, how can they hold intercourse with other groups of peoples ? It is only militant, aggressive nationalism, the nationalism of hate, which is incompatible with cosmopolitanism. Hitherto nationalism has been mostly of this type. That is why patriotism or nationalism was in bad odour with a lover of man like Tolstoi, and why Rabindranath Tagore is preaching against nationalism in the West.

That true nationalism, that nationalism of love, leads to internationalism or cosmopolitanism is evidenced by the history of the growth of some of the most remarkable personalities. Take Rabindranath

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Tagore. Some of his poetical and prose writings exhibit a most intense, a most deeply thoughtful and a most passionately loving nationalism. Most of these have not yet been translated into English. They represent a stage in the development of his personality; and there is no fundamental inconsistency between them and what he has been writing and saying since their publication.

Before and After Home Rule.

We must make the most strenuous endeavour for obtaining Home Rule. We must be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices for it. But we must not for a moment forget that character is the most essential means to achieve our object, and that without character we cannot obtain the best results from Home Rule, when we have won it. Character goes before Home Rule, and must accompany it in order that it may be beneficial in the highest degree.

All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference.

The Hon. Mr. Mian Muhammad Shafi, in his address as president of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, began by drawing attention to what the Moslem community has done to help the British Empire, and said that His Majesty's Musalman subjects in this country have, "in circumstances absoulutely unparalleled in the history of the world and under conditions which no one of the other Indian communities can conceivably have to face," given proof of their loyalty. The educational condition of the Musalmans was thus described.

> What are the existing conditions obtaining in this country in the three stages of education and what are the problems arising therefrom which the Government and ourselves have to face? On the 31st March 1915, there were 50,579 scholars on the rolls of the various Colleges in this country of whom only 5,426 were Muhammadans. The total number of students in Secondary Schools on the same date was 1,097,922 of which 203,298 belonged to the Muslim Community. And of 5,447,850 scholars reading in Primary Schools, our co-religionists numbered 1,136,100. It may here be noted that these figures include both boys and girls and "do not include scholars reading in special schools or private institutions." It will, thus, be seen that while Muslim scholars constitute less than 1-9th of the entire body of students receiving University education, their number in Secondary and Primary Departments is approximately 1-5th of the total school-going portion of our population. Bearing in mind the fact that the Muslim community constitutes roughly speaking a little over 1-5th of the entire population of India, these figures obviously disclose, so far as Muslim education is concerned, a highly unsatisfactory state of things in the higher rungs of our educational ladder.

He spoke of Urdu as unquestionably the lingua franca of India, and expressed the opinion that "any movement designed to displace it from its predominant position is bound to lead to disintegration and would be fatal to the cause of intercommunal co-operation." He held the view that the Moslem community ought to have accepted from Government the charter for the Aligarh University on conditions similar to those imposed on the Hindu University. He also drew attention to the industrial and commercial backwardness of the community, and urged them to make a well-organized effort in the direction of industrial and commercial advancement.

The "Indian" Science Congress.

The name of the "Indian" Science Congress seems to have been as happily chosen as that of the "Indian" Educational Service. Last month Bangalore witnessed the fourth meeting of this congress. Evidently this institution, like the Indian Educational Service, is meant to be boss by other than Indians. There have hitherto been four sessions of this congress, and over not one of these has an Indian been thought worthy to preside. It would be interesting to enquire what original contributions to science the four European presidents have made in recent years or even in the remote past, and whether their standing in the world of science is immeasurably higher than that of any Indian man of science who has done original work. Over the next session also a European is to preside. Like the "republic of letters," there is a "republic of science." Is the "Indian" Science Congress meant to overthrow this republic, and establish in its place an Anglo-Indian bureaucracy of men whose names may be connected with science somehow or other?

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore opened the congress. His speech, as reported, does not contain any reference to any scientific research made by Indians. About the President of the Congress, *The Karnataka* has made the following apposite remarks :—

> And he who, like Sir Alfred Bourne himself, is impelled from within either towards the discovery of Truth or towards the invention of things for human comfort,—or whose primary impulse towards science is later on overcome by other impulses, will be con-

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to admire science from a respectful distance,—and I—mind his business.

The President, too, did not pass in review the year's scientific work in India. As the *Hindu* observes :—

Those who are familiar with the addresses of Presidents of the various sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, will know that, unlike those informing utterances which bring together in a convenient form, the results of researches and developments in particular branches of science, Dr. Bourne's address as President is almost entirely confined to the enumeration of different research institutes in India and the meaning and scope of research work. The reason why the President is unable to give what he calls an 'intellectual treat' is, to quote his own words, because "it is now fifteen years since I was caught up by the great wheels of administration and had during that time very little leisure or energy to devote to scientific work."

A very happy selection for the president of a science congress !

"Chemistry in India".

In opening the chemistry section of the Science Congress, Dr. I. L. Simonsen, who presided, referred to the condition of chemistry teaching and research work in India. In the course of his address he referred to the small amount of original work which is being done in the educational institutions and to the fewness of research workers. "Only in Bengal," he said, "does there appear to be more than one college in the University in which research is done." According to him the four main causes of the paucity of research are :—

(1) That in many colleges the staff are insufficiently trained. I do not intend to throw any aspersions on the hard working, worthy body of men. It was not their fault that when at college they received a training which did not fit them for higher teaching or research, and for reasons which I shall mention in a moment they have had no subsequent opportunity to improve their knowledge. (2) That the majority of colleges are very much understaffed. This, in my opinion, is the most serious defect and the main cause of the present state of affairs. (3) The low rate of pay in academic posts. (4) The present method of promotion by seniority and not by merit, and other causes to which the lack of research from time to time had been ascribed. I may perhaps mention two others facts, namely, the want of library facilities and the want of a scientific atmosphere. I cannot bring myself to believe that these are really serious factors.

"The Bent of the Indian Mind."

Western people generally hold and express the view that the bent of the Hindu mind is mainly towards abstract and metaphysical speculation and unbridled imagination. The address of Dr. Mackichan, president of the Mathematics and Physics section of the "Indian" Science Congress, contains an opposite view. He observed :—

"It would rather seem to be true that the bent of the Indian mind was towards the practical and not towards the merely speculative. He had sometimes wondered whether they might not discern even in the strictly philosophical efforts of thought of India something of the practical purpose which ran through its mathematical achievements. Indian philosophy was no mere speculative exercise. It was not pursued simply to satisfy intellectual craving. It was something pursued with a view to the practical ends of religious life."

There is much evidence in favour of the view that our ancestors had a practical as well as a speculative bent of mind.

India's "Representation" in the Imperial War Council.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, will "represent" India in the Imperial War Council, Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha will "assist" him, and the Maharaja of Bikaner will "accompany" him, whatever that may mean. Mr. Chamberlain is a representative, not of India, but of the Government of India, two different things. Therefore, it cannot be said that India will be represented at the conference. And this not merely formally but in reality also. For, Mr. Chamberlain is ignorant of India and is not at all in sympathy with Indian opinions and aspirations. The worst of it is that India will thus go not only not truly represented, but there is the greatest risk of her being *mis*represented. The two gentlemen who will "assist" him have not been elected by Indians. Whatever may be said against the representative character of the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, they are the only persons who can at present speak officially and formally for All-India. So India's representatives or rather India's assistants-to-the-"Representative" ought to have been elected by them. As that has not been done, whatever advice they may give or whatever suggestions they may make, may or may not be good, but they will not have the formal right to speak on behalf of India. And Mr. Chamberlain will not be bound to accept their advice. Moreover, Sir James Meston is an official, and Sir S. P. Sinha is an ex-official and official-elect. Sir James

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Meston has on some occasions professed sympathy with Indian aspirations. But as his participation in the Round Table conspiracy to subject India to the ignominy and danger of the rule of the Dominions, divulged by the publication of Mr. Curtis's notorious "private" circular, has not been denied by Sir James, it has become extremely difficult, nay, impossible to believe that his professed sympathy can mean much.

Personally, no doubt Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha is a worthy man. No one can question his ability. We believe also that his patriotism is sincere, though we do not endorse all his views. It is a pity that he has not been, generally speaking, in close touch with public opinion in India, and his faith in India's present capacity and in her capability in the immediate future is not as robust as we should like it to be. In spite of all these drawbacks, we believe he will be able to voice Indian opinions and aspirations to a very great extent. His presidential address at the last Bombay session of the Indian National Congress was unsatisfactory, as far as we can now recollect, only on two important points. One was the pace of our advance towards entirely responsible self-government. The other was his unfortunate borrowing from an English writer on India the untrue and insulting comparison of India to a man with fractured limbs which required to be kept, under surgical advice, in a steel frame. But we hope Sir Satyendra will now be able to see that Indian's limbs are really all right, though there is room for their gaining in additional strength. And as for our pace of advance, does he not see that circumstances are in some directions proving too strong even for the antagonism of the bureaucracy? We can move fast enough if allowed to.

India's demand is for *direct* representation in the War Council by *Indian* representatives *elected* by our representatives in the legislative councils. As we have not got what we want, the two Indians, Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, should have seats in the council, with equal voice and votes with the representatives of the colonies. India is the most important part of the Empire. Hence, the demand which we make is really the most moderate possible. Let Sir James Meston only advise Mr. Chamberlain. For him we do not demand a seat in the council. Mr. Chamberlain alone is enough of an undesirable element.

As India consists of *Indian* India and *British* India, and Indian India has been giving material help to the Empire during the war, the hereditary rulers of the Indian States have been rightly thought of in connection with India's representation in the Imperial War Council. There was sufficient time for calling a chiefs' conference for the purpose of asking them to elect their representative; it was by that means alone that a representative character could have been formally given to a potentate chosen for voicing the opinion of Indian India. This course should have been adopted. Apart from this consideration, however, the choice of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is unexceptionable.

The Maharaja of Bikaner.

The Maharaja of Bikaner is, to adopt the phraseology of Mr. St. Nihal Singh, a "constitutional Raja," who has conceded "privileges of self-government to his subjects without being compelled to do so by popular agitation." The Bikaner People's Representative Assembly was inaugurated in 1914. It is partly composed of members elected by the people, and partly of officials and non-officials nominated by the Administration. Its functions are to discuss the budget and legislative measures, to submit bills, to move resolutions, and to interpellate the heads of the State Government on matters of public interest.

In announcing the scheme for the constitution of this body His Highness made a speech in 1912, from which Mr. Sardar Nihal Singh has given extracts in his book on "The King's Indian Allies." We select two paragraphs.

"The aim and end of all Governments is, and ought to be, the good of the people, and that Government justifies itself best which secures the greatest possible good of the greatest possible number of people entrusted to its care.

"It is my firm conviction that the possibilities of achieving such a result are vastly greater under a system of government which is carried on in consonance with the wishes and opinions of the people and, where possible, with the advice and consent of its subjects, or their chosen representatives."

The Maharaja is a brave soldier and has seen active service. "He has mastered the tactics of modern warfare as few men, Eastern or Western, have done." He commands his own army. He possesses great administrative genius.

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Subjects to be discussed at the Imperial War Council.

We do not know exactly what subjects are going to be discussed at the council. If one of the subjects be, how to carry on the war more effectively, the answer would be found to a great extent in the article on *Preparedness* written by "A Japanese Friend of India" and published in this number. The suggestions made therein would require time to give effect to. But certainly Indians can be given the right to form a national militia immediately and the commissioned ranks of the army may be thrown open to them without delay. Lasting peace can also be secured indirectly by thus making effective the full manpower of India.

Perhaps peace terms will be discussed at the conference. Of course, England and her allies cannot accept any peace terms which do not restore and guarantee independence and territorial integrity to Belgium, Servia, Montenegro and Rumania. They will also demand the restoration to France of all her territory occupied by Germany in the present war and also perhaps of Alsace and Lorraine. Autonomy and independence have been promised to Poland by both the belligerent parties.

As the Allies have declared again and again that they are fighting for safeguarding the political rights and liberties of *small* nationalities, it may not be irrelevant to suggest in this connection that England can best prove the sincerity of her professions by granting to the *great* nationality of India the political and civic rights demanded by its accredited official representatives, the elected nineteen, and by the representatives of the people assembled in the unofficial parliaments styled the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. Stress ought to be laid on this point by those who have been chosen to speak for India.

Regarding pecuniary contributions from the revenues of India, our firm opinion is that we cannot contribute more than we have done: the country is phenomenally poor. We have proved it more than once. It would be cruelty to put pressure on India to pay more than she has been doing.

Most probably the future of Turkey, including the fate of Constantinople, will come up for consideration. The question will require to be handled in a very statesmanlike manner. Sir James Meston declared great and special friendship for the Musalmans at the Lucknow session of the All-India Moslem League. On his attention particularly, on that of the others who will speak for India and of all the members of the Council generally, we press the following paragraph from Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the last session of the Moslem League :—

> I should be failing in my duty towards my own people and the Government if I did not at this crisis make it clear that of the many delicate questions, there is none that requires a closer attention and study than the question of the Caliphate by the Government and the Ministers of Great Britain. The sentiments and feelings and the religious convictions not only of the Musalmans of India but of the Musalmans of the world are not to be lightly treated. The loyalty of the Musalmans of India to the Government is no small asset. From the very commencement of the great crisis through which the British Empire has been passing, the allegiance of the Musalmans to the Crown and their loyalty to the Government has remained whole-hearted and unshaken. May I, therefore, urge that the Government should have regard for their dearest and most sacred religious feelings and under no circumstances interfere with the question of the future of the Caliphate? It should be left entirely to the Musalmans to acknowledge and accept their own Caliph. I do not desire to dilate on this grave and delicate subject; but much deeper currents underly this exceptional exhortation of mine, which I have ventured to make both in the interests of the Musalmans and the Government of Great Britain, than it would be expedient at present to discuss on a public platform. But the Musalmans may well claim that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive consideration in the general policy of the Empire, particularly when they coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations.

More is meant here than meets the ear.

Premier on Imperial War Council.

Following the latest fashion of confiding information and opinion on important matters of state to newspaper or Cable Company correspondents, Mr. Lloyd George has, in an interview, given some important information to the London Correspondent of the Australian United Cable Service, on the subject of the forthcoming Imperial War Council. In course of it he said :—

> The war has changed us, Heaven knows, it has taught us more than we yet understand. It has opened a new age for us and we want to go into that age together with our fellows overseas just as we have come through darkness together and shed our blood and treasure together.

It is obvious that by "our fellows" he meant only the colonies, not India also.

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For the only reference to India in the interview was in the following passage :

You do not suppose that we think that the overseas nations can raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood and not want to have a say and a real say in determining the use to which they are to be put. That seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition and that is why one of the first acts of the new Government was to ask the overseas Premiers to come over to a formal Imperial Conference but to sit in the Executive Cabinet of the Empire and that is why we have arranged for a representative of India which has rendered invaluable service to our common cause to be present also.

That by "our fellows" Mr. Lloyd George meant only the Dominions will be quite clear from the following passage :

"What about after the war ?"

Mr. Lloyd George: If you mean by that constitutional reconstruction, I can only say it is too soon to talk about after the war, but I can say this that things can never be the same after the war as they were before it. Five democracies, all parts of one Empire, cannot shed their blood and treasure with a heroism and disregard of cost which has been beyond all praise, without leaving memories of comradeship and great accomplishment which will never die. Of this I am certain. The peoples of the Empire will have found a unity in the war such as never existed before—a unity not only in history but of purpose. What practical change in the Imperial organisation that will mean, I will not venture to predict. That it will involve some change is certain. I believe that all the statesmen of the old country and the Dominions, who have spoken about it, are unanimous on that point. The forthcoming War Council, however, cannot deal with these fundamental post-war problems, but it may afford some insight into the form they may take.

Mr. Lloyd George speaks only of "Five democracies shedding their blood and treasure." What of India, the greatest part and greatest asset of the Empire ? Mr. Lloyd George should know that we are determined to have self-government, and still more firmly resolved not to submit to be ruled by the colonies. Our "representatives" ought to tell this to the Council and the English people.

Mr. Lloyd George gave out that "the first duty of the Council would be to consider the immediate task of winning the war." Other important questions will also be discussed.

Nothing affecting the Dominions, the conduct of the war or negotiations for peace will be excluded from the purview. There will, of course, be domestic questions, which each part of the Empire must settle for itself, questions such as recruiting in the United Kingdom or home legislation. Such domestic matters will be our only reservation, but we propose that everything else shall be, so to speak, on the table.

"Will the discussions include such matters as the fate of the German colonies ?"

Mr. Lloyd George replied that is the one obvi question, but there are many questions of eq moment. All difficult problems connected with ma peace, as was stated in the Government's invitati will be threshed out, the war policy of the Empire be clearly defined and of great importance is wha may call the preparation for peace. That involve the question not only of demobilisation such after-war questions as the migration of people to other parts of the Empire, settlemen soldiers on land and the commerce and indus question.

We are told "nothing affecting t Dominions will be excluded from the pu view" of the Council. But will questio vitally affecting India be excluded included ?

What is meant exactly by "the mig tion of our people to other parts of t Empire" ? Who are exactly meant "our people" ? The white citizens of t Empire are even now quite free to migra to and settle in any part of the Empi they like. It is the people of India wh are prevented from migrating even tem porarily to the colonies as free men. the question of our migration comes u the Council ought to be told that we fe it to be a great injustice and a great insult not to be able to go anywhere like ; and should the colonies not agree treat us as fellow citizens, we want to allowed to do unto them as we a done by.

"The Commerce and Industry Question."

"The commerce and industry question referred to, probably covers the suggestio that after the war there should be "Economic War." We commented on th topic in our last number in the note "Economic War after the War." invite the attention of our representati to that note, which we reproduce another page for convenience of referenc To what we have said there we desire add that the very idea of an "econom war after the war" militates against th idea of a lasting peace. Peace to be lasti requires that all causes of irritation a resentment should, as far as possible, removed, and, if that be not possible, th should at least be minimised. Any p meditated arrangement to place any co try at a disadvantage commercially a industrially would be a perpetual source resentment and would be sure to lead another war at no distant date.

Our "representatives" should decl against an economic war against

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both on economic and political grounds. In the past and up to the present the free trade policy of Enland has been detrimental to India's interests. In the future also the inclusion of England and India in a common custom system would be disastrous to India.

Apart from other considerations, if we look at the figures of our exports to and imports from the chief enemy countries for some years before the war, we shall see that India has nothing to gain by cessation of commercial intercourse with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Let us take the figures for three years.

Import into India from	1911-12 Rs.	1912-13 Rs.	1913-14 Rs.
Germany	8,95,32,660	10,30,33,995	12,66,57,930
Austria-Hungary	2,65,61,385	3,52,75,320	4,29,04,185
Exports from India to			
Germany	22,58,71,785	24,86,33,145	26,35,57,710
Austria-Hungary	7,57,03,860	7,25,21,520	9,97,48,290

These figures show that as both the enemy empires buy very much more from us than they sell to us, we are not losers by commercial transactions with them. We cannot afford to lose their custom.

After the commencement of the war our exports to enemy countries have dwindled very much, and are now probably non-existent. The figures for 1914-15 show that the United Kingdom, France and Russia, far from buying from us all the produce which Germany and Austria-Hungary used to buy from us before the war, have purchased from us even less of our produce than they did before the war. India has thus been a loser during the war. We cannot afford to bear this loss even when the war is over and peace is concluded with the enemy countries. *India must be free to buy and free to sell wherever she thinks it most advantageous for her to do so.*

"Friendship," "Liberation," "unity on an equal basis," and "ordered freedom and fraternity."

The interview with Mr. Lloyd George concludes thus :—

Question :—Then you are sanguine about the future of the Empire ?

Reply :—If we see the war through, I certainly am. You do not suppose the great combination of peoples who make up the Empire can have stood steadfastly together with their Allies in order to discredit and overthrow the most brutal and inhuman machine for the destrutcion of human liberties ever seen, and not have discovered new ground for friendship. We stand at this moment on the verge of the greatest liberation the world has seen since the French revolution. Do you tell me that peoples who have stood together and staked literally everything in order to bring about that liberation are not going to find some way of perpetuating that unity afterwards on an equal basis ? I am certain that they will. Further there will be much for them to do. The peace terms will be only a beginning. After they are satisfactorily arranged we shall have to set to work to build up that ordered freedom and fraternity which is the only security for human peace and progress and which militarism has destroyed. And is it not certain that the nations which have borne the heat and burden of the day in overthrowing that militarism will take a leading share in building that new earth which they have made possible by their sacrifice ? No ! If we endure to the end I have small fears for the future and not the least important of the foundations for the work we shall have to do together in that future will be this War Council of the British peoples.

Mr. Lloyd George thinks that the combination of peoples who make up the Empire have discovered new ground for friendship. But it should be borne in mind that there cannot be genuine *friendship* between subjects and citizens, between those who exclude and those who are excluded, &c. Friendship requires reciprocity. The premier uses the expression "the greatest liberation the world has seen since the French revolution." Yes, we want to make his words perfectly and truly significant, and in order that they may not be mere hollow sounds empty of meaning we want that India also should be liberated and her sons also should have self-government. "The greatest liberation" will not be a liberation at all within the British Empire itself, if the most numerous nationality forming a component part of it be not given an effective control over their own affairs. "The unity on an equal basis" spoken of does not at present exist in the British Empire. But it can be easily brought about by making India a partner in the Empire instead of a mere dependent, —by giving us self-rule, so that instead of being mere subjects we may be citizens. "Ordered freedom and fraternity," too, require that freedom should exist in all parts of the Empire. There cannot be any fraternity between those who rule and those who are merely governed.

No doubt, it is not always quite easy to practise what one preaches. But in the matter upon which we are writing, it is not difficult to do so. If it be necessary to stand on a high pedestal and sermonise, as it certainly is at present, good care ought

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to be taken to see that there is not *cheragh ke niche andhera*, "darkness beneath the lamp", and if there be, it is not at all impossible to dispel that darkness. Many British statesmen have already declared that in course of time India will be a sister nation in the perpetual Empire. That is good so far as it goes. What we object to is the plea of "*not yet.*" This phrase is not being uttered by the Allies in the case of the European peoples whom it is their declared object to enfranchise. They are going to make these peoples independent. Our demand is much less; we simply want internal autonomy. And a mere glance at the Joint Note of the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress will show that the immediate demand is not even *complete* internal autonomy. We trust this Joint Note will be considered in the Council, in order that, to use Mr. Lloyd George's words, "it may afford some insight into the form" which post-war problems like "the constitutional reconstruction" of the Empire may take.

Presidential Address at the "Indian" Science Congress.

The President of this gathering with questionable taste chose to have a fling at a "Professor in this country who, as I have been told, expects and helps each of his students to turn out a research, to use a now common expression, every month. This may or may not be true. If true, it bespeaks considerable energy. How far it makes for progress, authorities in the subject alone can say—at any rate it may serve as an example of how things have changed." Orientals are often credited or rather *discredited* with proneness to exaggeration. Evidently Sir H. Bourne by his long stay in this land of regrets has imbibed this imputed amiable vice or he would not have charged the Professor in question with the guilt of helping his students to turn out a research *every month*. A counsel who has taken up a bad case and who has no sound arguments to use abuses his plaintiff's attorney or gives his opponents a bad name before condemning him to be hanged. But surely such tactics are unworthy of a man of science, occupying the presidential chair of a Science Congress.

Now, to take up the question at issue. It does not necessarily mean that mere *quantity* is secured at the expense of *quality*. There are researchers who devote themselves whole-heartedly to their work heedless of the smiles or the frowns of the outside world. There are students of science to whom its pursuit is their *whole existence*, there are others, again, to whom it is *a thing apart*. Even in England it is by no means a rare thing to come across men of science who, as soon as they have secured a comfortable berth or a prize in life, almost give up the pursuit of it or at least pursue it perfunctorily. It thus often happens that certain laboratories suffer from break in the continuity of work and turn out research only spasmodically, while others enrich the world with original investigations. Another important factor has to be borne in mind. Some laboratories have the knack of attracting brilliant pupils who gather from far and near round their teacher, whose inspiration they easily catch and as a consequence a *school is gradually built up*, and, no wonder, the outturn of such laboratories is very satisfactory. It is curious to note that the complaints about the overproduction in the laboratory of the "Professor in this country" has been anticipated by Dr. P. C. Ray by at least two months. At the annual meeting of the Indian Association for the cultivation of Science, as President of the Chemical Section, Dr. Ray observed:

> I owe, I think, something like a personal explanation to this gathering of chemists. Some of my brilliant pupils have been charged with the guilt of publishing too many papers; if they had confined their attention to a few instead of too many papers they would have done better, it is said. Well, it is a very difficult question. There are chemists who can do full and adequate justice to a respectable number of papers. I shall quote a few typical examples. Take the case of some of the greatest of our living chemists. The number of papers contributed by E. Fischer, Werner, and Willstalter is simply legion—they have all done epoch-making researches and are Nobel Prize men; I hope no one will have the hardihood to say that because the output of their work is numerous, it is therefore of inferior merit. I shall take the liberty for a moment to refer to my humble self. When I was working alone and by myself I could barely publish one or two papers a year. When, however, the research scholarships were founded by the Government of Bengal, a new chapter was opened in the progress of Chemistry. As some of you may remember, the first scholar, Mr. Jatindranath Sen who is now Imperial Chemist at Pusa, joined me in the year 1902. He was followed by my friend Panchanon Neogi and several others. Some scholars notably Messrs. Anukulchandra Sarkar, Kumudbandhu Sen and others, have also worked under my friend Prof. Watson at Dacca. If any one will take the trouble to go through the indexes of Scientific Journals, he will find that from 1902 onwards the number of papers contributed by Indian Chemists has gone

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increasing by leaps and bounds. When a researcher has the benefit of working in collaboration with zealous and indefatigable students, the production is bound to be bulky. Two of my brilliant pupils, Messrs. Rasiklal Datta and Nilratan Dhar, who have been exceptionally fortunate in attracting co-workers, have also got a large number of papers to their credit, and it would be unfair to discount the importance of their work simply because within a short period they have been authors of several communications,—in fact, Datta's paper on the halogenation of organic compounds has been pronounced by several independent competent authorities as of a high order. Then again Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbihari Ghosh endowments have secured for us several research scholars, and I am glad to be able to say that each of them has been able to give a good account of himself. The institution of these scholarships is destined, I hope, to mark a new era in the history of scientific progress in Bengal.

A prodigious output of work does not necessarily detract from the merit of its author. In illustration of this statement I may be permitted to cite the case of the eminent physiologist Ludwig. He worked and taught in Marburg, Zurich, Vienna and Leipzig. Prof. Stirling writes of him: "From each and all of these centres, his numerous pupils published under his directions and guidance an amonnt of work the extent and originality of which is probably unsurpassed. His own papers are epochmaking and he founded the largest school of physiologists of modern times." What I have said above holds equally good for literature. Shakespeare is credited with the authorship of some 37 plays and Beaumont and Fletcher of 50 or more, Sir Walter Scott wrote more than a score of novels; nay, Lopes de Vega, the real Founder of The Spanish drama, wrote 1800 plays and 400 sacred dramas, and our own Rabindranath has been also a prolific and voluminous writer and I hope he will not be condemned for his superabundant productivity."

"I had at first hoped it would be possible for me to attempt some review of the history of science in India.... and I have been compelled to give up the idea as impracticable." The ignorance betrayed by Sir A. Bourne is as pitiable as it is colossal. Here is an Anglo-Indian man of science who has spent the best years of his career in India, but who has never heard of Dr. Ray's work on the *History of Hindu Chemistry* or of Dr. B. N. Seals' *Positive Knowledge of the ancient Hindus*—a work which has been most appreciatively noticed in the columns of *Nature* only a few months ago. The fact is, the President has allowed himself to be converted into a *fossil*, and no wonder he should betray such crass ignorance of the knowledge of the Hindus on the Physical Sciences.

Advocates Admission of Hindus to Canada.

"Immigration After the War" was the subject of a lecture delivered before the Canada-India League by Mr. S. T. Wood, who made a strong plea for the admission of the Sikhs and the Hindus into Canada without restriction. Mr. Wood said that the chief problem of immigration was the settlement of the land, and that no policy had yet been adopted for this work, but that it was to be hoped that the land will be first for Canadians. He advocated the admission of Sikhs and Hindus on the grounds that they are primarily agriculturists, and that they are industrious. They are also British subjects and should, he thought, be permitted to have their wives and children with them. They are, he said, the victims of prejudice. The men of these races settled here are Canadian citizens, and should receive justice. Miss Mary Clarke, of the Central Neighbourhood House, presided. These fraternal feelings, entertained and expressed by some Canadians, are welcome.

The Directors' Conference.

The deliberations and discussions at the Directors' Conference have been interesting and useful, though why this particular time of financial stringency should have been chosen for incurring expenditure on this sort of conference is not clear. Lord Chelmsford's very first pronouncement in the legislative council did not give us any hope of any considerable grants for educational improvement and expansion; nor does his opening address at this conference do so. Even when there is no financial stringency the recommendations of many committees and commissions somehow or other get shelved. So we cannot quite confidently hope that the information brought together and conclusions arrived at in this conference will be garnered for future use, though undoubtedly they will be kept in some pigeon-hole. But the past is never an unerring guide to the future. May it be hoped then that under Lord Chelmsford things will be done in a way different from previous ways.

His Excellency said:—

> Owing to the War, it is now necessary for us to select what we can afford to adhere to, and to decide what we can with the least disadvantage postpone. This is largely a matter in which expert advice is necessary.

This shows that whatever the real objects of the conference may be, we are afraid it may lead to further retrenchment in educational expenditure. Just as in the case of a family, so in that of a state, education and health

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are the two things which ought to have priority of consideration. No good and wise father does or safely can put off the education of his children or the seeking of medical advice when they are ill. All other expenditure is curtailed or put off in order to promote their bodily and mental and moral welfare.

His Excellency wishes to awaken an intelligent interest in education and an active co-operation on the part of the general public. That is a worthy object. The public certainly requires to be made still more keenly conscious of the paramount need of education. But *co-operation* also requires that Government should meet the public half way. Educational wisdom and educational enthusiasm are not a monopoly of the education department. We also know something, and may perhaps without vanity claim to be eager for the improvement and spread of education. But we have not found a *general* desire on the part of the executive and educational officers of the Government to co-operate with the public.

Like His Excellency we want efficient education, and for that reason would increase the pay of the teachers as far as that is practicable. But we cannot make a fetish of Efficiency. Efficiency is a relative term. None of our schools and colleges are as efficient as the best schools and colleges in Great Britain, and even there educational reformers are trying to make them still more efficient. But nobody can assert that because our institutions are comparatively inefficient, according to the British standard, therefore money is being thrown away on them. For this reason we cannot accept the dictum, "inefficient schools represent so much good money thrown away," in an unqualified form. For what is the standard of efficiency? It is not and cannot be the same in all countries. It depends on the state of educational progress of the country, its wealth, and many other factors. We want efficiency, but always with due regard to the circumstances of the country and specially to the claims of educational expansion. For, if very efficient education for a limited number can be had only by depriving the rest of any education, it would not be just to go in for it. It should never be forgotten that even inefficient education, which does not necessarily mean bad education, is better than no education.

We are aware of the value of trainin for teachers. But we cannot say that ed cation should keep pace only with the su ply of trained teachers. Even in so high advanced a country as England and Wale in 1913-14 there were in 21,006 ordinar public elementary schools, 108,732 certi cated teachers, 41,404 'uncertificate teachers, 13,367 supplementary and 1,9 student teachers. 'Rather less than on third of the certificated teachers in Englan are men, and of these nearly 74 per cen were also trained; of the women certifica ed teachers 53 per cent. were trained which means that, not to speak of uncer tificated and other teachers, more than on fourth of the certificated men teachers we untrained, and nearly half of the certifica ed women teachers were untrained. Co sidering the educationally backward co dition of India and the scantiness of h resources, the policy which ought to gui us here is to go on providing more trai ing schools and colleges and also to empl as teachers as many of the passed studen of our ordinary schools and colleges as m be necessary for the expansion and improv ment of education. Training is good f the teaching profession as for other profe sions; but it is not as absolutely necessar as it is, say, for the medical profession. is not true that men cannot become goo teachers unless they are "trained," nor it true that trained teachers are invariabl better than untrained teachers. In Beng the most respected among teachers, Ra tanu Lahiri, Rajnarain Bose, Peary Char Sircar, and many others, never receiv any "training." We write all this not disparage training; but simply to say th while training ought to receive due att tion, the expansion of education ought n to wait upon the supply of trained m United men, if educationally and morall qualified, should continue to be employ as largely as, and if need be, more large than, now, without the least misgiving hesitation.

While we agree with what the Vice says on technical and commercial trainin we have read with special satisfaction observations on agricultural educati His Excellency said:—

> There are some who say we have nothing to t the men on the land in this country. I cannot c to talk with authority on such a question, having seen something of the work of scientific culture in other parts of the world, I take leav

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doubt such a statement. The great advance made by scientific agriculture during the last half a century justifies us in pressing forward with a policy of agricultural education.

We hope His Excellency has made a convert of Mr. Sharp, his Education Commissioner, who has written in "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912," Vol. I, p. 15, that "...where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily shorter than under more complicated conditions and the amount of education required is less."

Regarding the education of women, the Viceroy rightly remarked :—

> I view with apprehension the growing inequality between men and women arising out of difference in education. It cannot be good for a country that its women should lag so far behind the men in the matter of education. I believe that this apprehension is shared by many Indians, and I think it behoves us to do all in our power to improve the women's education so far as we can do so, within the limits laid down for us by social customs. In the meantime, we must look to, and hope for a gradual change in the public opinion and in this we can count, I hope, on the support and co-operation of all educated Indians. I trust, however, that in the consideration of this most important matter we shall enlist the co-operation of women. It is they who know where the shoe pinches, and any purely man-made scheme is foredoomed to failure.

Equally thoughtful were his remarks on the relative claims of English and vernacular teaching.

Mr. Curtis's "Private" Letter.

The reader knows how it came about that a "Round Table" circular marked 'private' was published in the papers. Mr. Curtis says it was a private letter of his "written to intimate friends." English is to us a foreign tongue ; so we may not be able to ascertain the exact meaning of "intimate." Mr. Curtis says, however, "I am printing this letter for circulation amongst friends to whom I cannot write, including the secretaries of local groups. I will ask each secretary to read it to his group." These are all his *intimate* friends ! However, as we consider Mr. Curtis's attempt to subject India to the Dominions nothing less than a conspiracy against Indians, the marking of his letter to his fellow conspirators or would-be conspirators as "private", does not in the least entitle it to be treated as really private and confidential. This conspiracy is as bad as conspiracy against a state, and if India had independent political existence, certainly legal action would have been taken against Mr. Curtis and his friends. How would Canada treat a group of men who might be considering in secret a plan for handing over the government of that colony to the U. S. A.? How would Holland treat any such men who proposed to place her under France or Russia ? That India is a dependency does not at all matter. A person's estates may be under the Court of Wards; but still it would be a crime to conspire to pilfer what small personal effects he might possess, and then to send him to a Home for Imbeciles. India is a ward of Great Britain's, and possesses only a few rights ; but still the men who would propose to deprive her of even these are no better than would-be robbers of political rights, their noble professions of philanthropy notwithstanding.

The participation of some high officials in the Round Table conspiracy has not surprised us. What we wish to tell them is to look at the matter from our point of view, as they are paid to look after *our* interests, not those of the colonists. Officials are supposed not to take part in politics ; but the rules are meant to be obeyed by Indian officials alone. European officials have all along written anonymous political editorials in newspapers and taken part in politics in other ways. But even in their case the line ought to be drawn firmly somewhere.

In the *Canadian Law Times*, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith has written a very well-informed and closely reasoned article on "The Ideal of an Imperial Constitution." *New India* has rendered good service to India by reprinting the whole of it. Dr. Keith has dealt very ably with the *Round Table* scheme of Imperial Federation and shown how impracticable it is. But Mr. Curtis seems to be a fanatic of federation. He would be prepared, for the sake of realising his scheme, to face "the fact that we cannot effect the changes advocated in the volumes already published without provoking in India an agitation, which, as I judge, might lead to bloodshed"! He is so very philanthropic that, in order to do good to us or to our disembodied spirits, he would be prepared even for the death of some of us ! And yet he poses as an injured innocent, as witness the following sentence : "We must do our best to convince them [Indians] of the mischief to their own cause wrought by the deliberate campaign which is on foot here to embitter feeling against the Dominions,"

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If the lamb tries to tell the world how it has been treated or may be treated by a certain other animal, why, it is the lamb who must be held to be guilty of singing the Hun's Hymn of Hate!

Enough has been written in our last December number by Mr. Polak and by ourselves in the January number to expose Mr. Curtis's fallacies and philanthropy. His letter does not really contain any new argument. He thinks Indian opinion is not as sound and disinterested "as our own now is." Not to speak of the glaring self-seeking and corruption to be found in the public life of England and the colonies in some past years and ages, the *disinterested* colonists of South Africa, of whom Mr. Curtis is one, have grabbed fourteen-fifteenths of the land there, though there are about six black men to every white man there. As for the political rights enjoyed there, *vide* our note on "political philanthropy" in the last number. We shall not, it is said, be able to exact "regular, willing and continuous obedience" from our fellow countrymen. We suppose educated white men in their country have been able to exact regular, willing and continuous obedience from labour strikers, suffragettes, Sein Feinners, the Ulstermen led by Carson, the Boer rebels, etc., etc. In his paper on "The Rationale of Autonomy" contributed to the first Universal Races Congress, Mr. John M. Robertson, M.P., says in reply to an argument practically identical with that of Mr. Curtis :—

> "Now, within the English-speaking world, the mother country had civil wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there was civil war between the mother country and colonies towards the end of the eighteenth; and again within the independent United States and Canada in the nineteenth—all this in a "race" that makes specially high claims to self-governing faculty. On the imperialist principle, a Planetary Angel with plenary powers would have intervened to stop the "premature experiment" of Anglo-Saxon self-government at any one of the stages specified—if indeed he had ever allowed it to begin."

Mr. Curtis intends to ascertain "how many of the 315,000,000 inhabitants of India have any voice, direct and indirect, in choosing these so-called elective bodies [legislative councils, &c.], and also how far election is as yet a reality at all." There is no harm in his doing all this. But let him not think that *what is* is all that *can be*. Elections can be made a reality in the immediate future, if Government chooses to make them so. India can provide a sufficiently large electorate any day, as we have shown in our last number.

"The Danger in India."

The Nineteenth Century and After contains an article on "The Danger in India" by Lord Sydenham, a former governor of Bombay. In it he repeats all the usual misrepresentations and quarter-truths which we are accustomed to hear from the lips of the opponents of self-government in India. "The Danger in India" exists, but not where his lordship locates it. The real seat of the danger lies in the race-arrogance, race-prejudice, self-seeking and pig-headedness of men like himself. The arguments and objections of men like him have been refuted again and again, but to no effect. None are so blind as those who will not see.

Carrying on her father's tradition.

Miss E. W. Stead, writing in an editorial note in the December issue of the *Review of Reviews* very pithily sums up our demand for post-war reforms as India's desire "to be made mistress of her own household," and her insistence "that her position in the Empire be made equal to that of the daughter-Dominions." She is evidently very much struck by the suggestion put forward to eliminate what she aptly calls "the Indian civil service element from the Viceroy and Governor-General's Cabinet, and giving of portfolios to Indians and Britons prominent in public life."

Mr. St. Nihal Singh deals with "India During and After The war." The writer points to the failure of all plots against the British Government. He very frankly points out the anomalies existing in a Government conducted by foreigners, deplores the fact that Indians are denied the privilege of managing their own affairs, debarred from carrying arms, and kept out of self-governing Dominions. The same writer in another part of the *Review of Reviews* brings out the point that Indians show great genius as military leaders whenever they are given the chance to show their ability.

The progressive rule of His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar forms the subject of a leading article. The details of the mammoth artificial lake constructed some time ago in Mysore, taken from the *Modern Review*, given on another page, also show how an Indian State is forging ahead under an enlightened Maharaja.

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Miss Stead's note on Japanese education should be taken to heart by all Indians. She points out that agitation is going on for increasing teachers' pay, and strengthening primary and secondary education. This cry is being raised in a country which has a school in nearly every village, and where almost cent per cent of boys and girls of school-going age are receiving education. What of our own India? The article on the Japanese press, compiled from Mr. Lajpat Rai's article in our Review, is also very interesting.

Apart from these oriental subjects treated in the Review, it is full of attractive features. A brief account is given of the visit to the Stead Hostel by Her Majesty the Queen-Mother in London, which has been raised in memory of the great man who courageously championed the cause of women, Indians and other subject people, a tradition that Miss Stead is now carrying on. Persons interested in spiritual phenomena, will find Miss Scatchard's article suggestive. The notes, leading articles, and book reviews, cover the whole world, and a great variety of topics. Many powerful cartoons are also included in the December issue.

"The Thin Line."

According to Anglo-Indian papers like the *Pioneer*, only a thin line divides constitutional agitation and anarchism. That paper has, therefore, enthusiastically acclaimed the following sapient observation of the Special Tribunal that was recently engaged in the second supplementary trial of the Lahore conspiracy case: "Constitutional agitation may easily drift into intemperate agitation, intemperate agitation into sedition and sedition into active revolutionary methods." The obvious suggestion is that, therefore, constitutional agitation should be suppressed. But as the suppression of constitutional agitation also leads to the adoption of revolutionary methods, there is a sort of dilemma, from which the escape lies in listening to the constitutional agitator, as he is a very reasonable person. People are apt to become unreasonable only when what is reasonable is treated with scorn.

The Hindu School Centenary.

The Hindu School in Calcutta links the present with the past of English education in Bengal. It is associated with some of the most honoured names in Bengal and all India. The words with which the Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon concluded his address at the Centenary of the School deserve to be quoted for their wisdom, and the spirit which animated them. He said:

> We have very great problems before us in education in Bengal. We have to guide the enormous demand for more education and we have to help that spirit, which is wholly good in itself and which calls for the satisfaction of its intellectual and moral aims. In all humility I say this, that we who have the direction of educational forces, cannot do better than go back to the mind, spirit and aims that actuated men like your founders—David Hare and Ram Mohun Roy. We feel that however great the difficulties may be, they are not invincible, if we can emulate that spirit of culture, sympathy with the pupils, desire for advance, and that broad-minded appreciation of the current needs of the country that animated those celebrated men."

Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address.

As president of the ninth annual sessions of the All-India Moslem League held in Lucknow in December last year, Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivered a thoughtful and able address, in course of which he referred to "the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to the interest of the governed." He was right in holding that "it was the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent interest that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard and desperate political maxims which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation." The following samples are given from Mr. Jinnah's address:—

> (1) Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East. Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindus and Mahomedans in the past? What was the village Panchayet? What are the history, the tradition, the literature and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic even in their religion then the Musalmans.
>
> (2) The only form of Government suitable for India is autocracy tempered by English (European) efficiency and character. All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago, France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional Governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?
>
> (3) (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses and
>
> (b) The former would oppress the latter if the

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strong protecting hand of the British official were withdrawn,

This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred ; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common and that our intertests are opposed to those of the masses—in what respect, it is never pointed out, and that therefore the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the All-India Moslem League to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.

Mr. Jinnah observed :—

Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that *India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians.* Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence.

He thought that

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest, is that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that self-government is not only a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time but that self-government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms, towards that end in view, both by the Government and the people.

What the Conferences Want.

If one could tabulate the opinions and sentiments, the desires, demands, and aspirations, which have found expression in the presidential addresses and resolutions of the various conferences which met during the latter part of the month of December last, one could in that way afford a glimpse into the workings of the Indian mind and show towards what future developments India was tending. We have neither the time, nor the space, nor the materials before us, to be able to do this useful and interesting piece of work ; but we shall pick out at random some points from some presidential addresses and resolutions of some of the gatherings. The aims and objects of a gathering like the Indian National Social Conference are well known. It wants to promote the education of girls and women, the re-marriage of widows and the amelioration of their condition in other ways, the fusion of sub-castes, and the elevation of the depressed classes. It wants to abolish child marriage and introduce the marriage of adults in their place ; it wishes to abolish the evils of the extortion of dowries ; it is against polygamy, and the social evils born of entertainments like nautches ; &c.

The president of the Vaisya Conference "was most emphatic on the point of education, both male and female, and conclusively showed that our backward condition was due to our illiteracy. Connected with this he emphasized the need for a serious and well-directed reform in the marriageable age of boys and girls together with an observance of the wholesome rule of Brahmacharya." The conference recorded the opinion that it was desirable to have compulsory primary education.

The Bhatia Conference resolved that provision should be made for the relief of widows and the keeping of a register of boys and girls of marriageable age and for such education of girls as might fit them to do the duties of mothers aud mistresses of households. One resolution "advocates shastric ideal of marriages working towards 25 and 18 years as the marriageable ages for boys and girls, respectably, to be with 18 and 14 years, respectively, for the present."

At the Orissa students' conference some resolutions were passed, mainly of a social and educational character, such as starting a Students' Magazine, Libraries and Reading rooms in different educational centres in Orissa, discouraging child marriage and extortion of dowry and a fund to encourage students to go abroad for technical and industrial education.

The following more important resolutions were passed at the Kayastha Conference. "That in order to encourage commerce and industry among members of the community this conference urges the establishment of tachnical classes in the Kayashta Pathsala to impart instruction in those subjects." "That this conference urges upon the community the import-

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and necessity of female education and the abolition of the purdah system as the foundation of all social reforms."

At the tenth Mahratha (non-Brahmin) provincial educational conference, the president exhorted his fellow castemen to avail themselves of the facilities within their reach, to educate their backward brethren and to try to ameliorate their present depressed condition by doing away with many evil customs such as the Dowry system, the Pardah (Gosha) system, drink and so forth. Mr. Bhaskerrao Jadhav, a Kolhapur State Officer, alluded with satisfaction to the changed angle of vision of their Brahmin brethren towards their endeavours, unlike their forefathers in the times of the Peshwas. But he exhorted his brother bearers to stand on their own legs in the matter of improving their status.

Some of the more important subjects dealt with at the Goan Congress were :

Means for the moral, social and intellectual up-lift of Goans, the improvement and strengthening of the Goan Union, female education, female immigration, need for a young women's home, co-operative society, co-operative housing, need for a maternity home, improvement in the conditions of and housing of the humbler classes in cities, publication of biographies of eminent Goans, education of the masses.

At the All-India Arya Kumar Conference resolutions were passed expressing high admiration of the heroism of the Indian soldiers, exhorting young men to take up social service work, to promote the Vedic Dharma, to maintain social purity, to open "Desi Akharas" and gymnasiums, and to develop the commercial and industrial interests of the country.

At the first Home Rule Conference, in an eloquent speech Mrs. Besant surveyed the situation and appealed to the Hindus and Mahomedans to work in harmony and hearty co-operation for Home Rule for India. In a humorous and closely reasoned speech Mr. B. G. Tilak asked every one to agitate bravely and lawfully for Home Rule. He said that Home Rule would not fall as a gift from heaven. The people of India must be prepared to make necessary sacrifices.

At the Utkal conference, resolutions praying for the revival of salt manufacture on the sea coasts of Orissa, establishment of an Engineering College at Cuttack, amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking people, an Oriya member on the Imperial council, amendment of Patna University Bill, and advancement of Ayurvedic instruction in Orissa were adopted.

The following resolution was passed at the last Aligarh session of the All-India Moslem Education Conference:

"This conference accepts the principle of free and compulsory education and respectfully requests the Government of India to take practical steps accordingly at the earliest opportunity." Several speakers spoke on the subject and the resolution was carried unanimously.

At the Humanitarian conference, its aims and objects were declared to be as follows:—

(1) To educate public opinion regarding the advantages of vegetarian diet from the health, economy, temperance and mercy points of view; (2) to take up strictly non-political questions of human welfare such as treatment of widows, murder of children for ornaments, etc.; (3) to appeal to the authorities as well as to the people to discontinue cruel fashions and ceremonies; (4) to try to protect animals as well as birds from all kinds of cruelty; (5) to carry on our Mission in such a way as not to wound the feelings of any community.

At the All-India Christian Conference, with reference to certain suggested amendments of the law relating to Indian Christian marriages, the president, Hon. Babu Madhusudan Das, said that

Whatever rules might be formulated by the Law Committee, they should bear in mind one principle. They (Indians) had peculiarly sacred ideas of matrimony. To his mind, the sacred nature of the matrimonial alliances was to be learned from the practice of the "*Sati*". Europeans, of course, had looked at marriage from a different point of vew. He believed that one woman ascending the funeral pyre of a husband left many thousands of sermons. They might have things not revolting to the Indian mind. Nothing contributed so much as the sacred nature of wedlock as it was observed in an Indian's life.

At the same conference one Indian Christian named Mr. H. David said that

Indian Christians should not bear Indian names, but should adopt purely Biblical names. The charge that the Indian Christian aped Eurasian manners was puerile. There was nothing wrong in thrir adopting modern habit of dressing.

The Hon. Mr. Das said the matter of Nationality was one in which discussion would avail nothing. Nations grew according to certain lines. Man was a creature of his environments. The outward manifestation of Nationality was Nationalism, and Nationalism was very often the result of the circumstances in which the majority of the people belonging to a Nation were situated or placed. But a Nation should have its life, and in order to have a National life, they must have an origin, a past and a future. Looking on the past of India, he saw the glorious achievements of his ancestors, and looking before, he saw the glorious future. He felt he was but a drop in the ocean. He, as a Christian, thought

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it was his duty that he should not do anything which would give him the appearance of being outlandish in his own land.

Then came Mr. Chakkra Chetti who said that the Hon. Mr. Das had echoed the real sentiments of all those present.

Professor S. C. Mukerji wanted to know the opinion of the Conference whether the paper read by Mr. David should be printed in the report of the Conference. If it was printed, it might give a wrong idea of the sentiments of the Indian Christians. If it was to be printed, they must mention that the majority of the Conference did not entertain the sentiments of Mr. David.

The President wanted to know the opinion of the Conference whether Mr. David's paper should be printed in the report or not.

Mr. David complained that the President was unfair to him in not allowing discussion on his paper.

The President said that his object in not allowing discussion on the subject was only to preserve order in the Conference. From the restlessness which was visible at the Conference when the paper was read, it seemed to him Mr. David would be subjected to bitter criticism.

The Conference unanimously (with the exception of Mr. David) decided that the paper should not be printed in the report.

At the Student's Convention held at Madras under the presidentship of Sir Subramania Iyer a resolution to the effect that "in addition to the usual sectarian hostels, cosmopolitan hostels in which the distinction shall be one of vegetarian or mixed diet and not of caste or creed should be established," was carried by an overwhelming majority. At the same convention some of the other resolutions passed were :

That the Convention, while regretting the recent strikes which were breaches of discipline baneful to the true spirit of education, thought that the results were to be traced to the lack of mutual sympathy and understanding between teachers and taught, and suggested that facilities of intercourse between them should be periodically arranged by constituent associations. The resolution also appealed to the principals and professors of colleges to look with sympathy and tolerance both upon students' individual and national aspirations and also to institute in their colleges a representative council consisting of elected reprtsentatives of students to consider student grievances.

Mr. Chinasamy Ramanujam moved a resolution vigorously appealing for higher education for women on national ideals and vernaculars as the media of instruction.

Mr. L. Panigrahi moved the resolution commending to all students the principle of Swadeshi, and appealed to their patriotism to give preference to home-made articles over foreign goods in a telling speech.

Another resolution appealed to the students to abstain from the use of tobacco and form leagues for putting down the evil practice.

"This Convention expresses its emphatic protest against the disgraceful system of demanding dowries, as also against the ruinous custom of early marriage prevalent among students."

At the All-India Khatri Conference, president, Diwan Bahadur Amar Na Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, served :—

At regards the customs of early marriage, polygamy, I would add that it is now admitted all hands that they are sapping the physical and health of the Hindu nation as a whole. Strin social measures should be adopted to stop evils : the minimum age of marriage should be r to sixteen in the case of girls and twenty-on that of boys, so as to allow sufficient time for normal development and proper education—co tions essential alike to the production of hea issue and to the prevention of polygamy.

At the All-India Hindu Conference t of the resolutions were :—

Resolved that this Conference urges upon Hindu Sabhas and Punchayats the necessity of m taining schools for the free elementary and relig education of Hindu boys and girls and prays Government to make elementary education free compulsory in the country.

Resolved that this Conference urges upon Hindu community the great necessity of :

(*a*) improving the condition of and meting better treatment to their submerged classes, making provision for reclaiming converts to o religions, (*c*) taking proper care of Hindu wi and orphans, and, (*d*) abolishing child marriage.

The Hindu Conference also passed resolution exhorting all Hindus to perfo joint family and social worship. Chri ians, Musalmans, Brahmos, etc., do it.

In her first Theosophical Convent lecture Mrs. Besant said in part :—

Unity of Religion.

The special work they had to do was to proc the unity of religions and the realisation of on with God. There was nothing in all their activ which could be separated from religion.

Politics and Religion.

It was said that Mrs. Besant was a relig teacher and must have nothing to do with poli Her answer was that, because Mrs. Besant w religious teacher, she had everything to do w questions relating to the welfare of the com They must be religious not only in temples, ques, and churches, but in market places, in C as Vakil pleading, Judge giving judgment, as Do healing, as soldier fighting, as merchant tra They must be religious all through, or else they no true religion. Only when they were thoro religious, religion permeating every activity, thought and work, would Theosophists do duty to religion.

In the course of her third and convention lecture she said :—

What Politics Mean.

To her politics meant the organised life of Nation ; on the liberty of a Nation depended its respect its dignity and its life to her mind. One

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reason why a Nation should be free and self-governing was that without those conditions man was not a man but only half. They all knew how Mr. Asquith spoke of the possibility of German domination in England, and he said that it would be inconceivable and intolerable if all the highest offices in England were filled by Germans. Was it not an intolerable thing that an Indian if he had to rise to a high place in his own country had to go to a foreign country to acquire the qualification? An Indian in India must have everything that an Englishman had in England, he must have pride of race, pride of country.

The Liberation of India.

Patriotism must not be labelled sedition and desire for liberty must not be branded as rebellion. The duty of the Theosophist was to help in the liberation of India. It was a human duty, a national duty which came from service to the Motherland which none had right to forbid.

The Duty to Humanity.

Speaking of the Theosophist's duty to humanity, Mrs. Besant said that there was nothing contrary or antagonistic between nationality and humanity, if nationalism be based on love and not on hatred. A Theosophist must be a peace-maker outside his Nation and also within his Nation, drawing communities together into one, and outside his Nation trying to draw Nations into brotherhood so that there might be no more war and none of the misery through which the world was passing to-day. In their life outside the Nation they must do nothing to increase the spirit of hatred even to those who were their enemies in the physical world to-day, remembering that they also were their human brothers, separated now by a gulf of blood and misery, but love could build bridges across gulf and look forward to a future when Nations shall once more be at one. She prayed that no Theosophist would cast fresh fuel into the fire of hate. In the Germans they saw that the evil of hating dulled the intellect and hardened the heart in the terrible strife now going on; and also in the struggle in their own Nation for constitutional liberty they must take care that they work by love and not by hatred and that they raise all and not push away any one. Only thus would the Will of God be done and the Brotherhood of Humanity be founded in the world.

At the Kshatriya Upakarini Mahasabha, the President, H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, asked in the course of his address:—

> Will it be hoping too much to expect of Rajas, Maharajas and other leaders to encourage education and introduce social reforms, as their personal example is better than precept? I have learnt with much gratification that at the instance of some of the leading members of the Maha Sabha and in conformity with the pledge they took at Agra in 1913 they have abjured the entertainment of Nautch girls at ceremonial occasions and have thus established good examples for others to follow. I would wish that similarly many would come forward and make a vow that they would neither give nor receive negotiated and bartered dowries. It is the most harmful and shameful custom prevailing amongst the Rajputs

Nationalism among Indian Christians.

From some paragraphs in the foregoing note, it must have become clear to the reader that Indian Christians can no longer be characterised as denationalised. The Hon. Babu Madhusudan Das, C.I.E., of Orissa, president of the last session of the Indian Christian Conference, said in the course of his address that "the charge that their community had not shown any sympathy with those who were working for improving the political status of India was unjustifiable.

> The community, he said, had done much to organize the national movement. Since the days of the community's birth from its very infancy, it had been struggling amidst powerful opposition to form a nucleus of the Indian nation. He believed that so long as a portion of the population remained untouchable their attempts to raise India to the position of a nation would be received with much discount, and asked whether they had not done much to remove the pernicious caste system. They were Indians and would continue to work as they had done in the past. He would afford every facility for intermarriage between the several portions of the Indian population and thus fuse different races into one powerful nation. He assured their non-Christian brethren their services would always be at their command in any movement which sought the political progress of India within the British Empire.

His thoughtful, earnest and intense nationalism found expression in passages like the following:—

> When I read the two great national epics—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* (with the aid of the light which the Cross sheds on them), I am inspired with an earnest desire to improve the position of our women and the depressed classes in the social economy of India. I learn that in ancient India the aboriginal tribes, who represent the monkeys of the *Ramayana*, were honoured by kings and monarchs who were worshipped as Gods. The writer of the *Ramayana* knew no depressed classes in the population. Take away Draupadi from the *Mahabharata* and Sita from the *Ramayana*, and the two great National epics have no existence. Where could I find more convincing proof of the influential position which women occupied in ancient India? Where can I get more forcible illustrations of the unflinching martyrdom to conviction, than I find in the life of my revered ancestor who cheerfully ascended the funeral pyre of her husband to keep inviolate the sacred bond of matrimony? Her blood, which I proudly hold in my veins, constantly impels me to act up to my conviction. I repudiate with indignation the assertion that I do not belong to the Indian Nation. I have spoken in the first person. I have done so because these are the unanimous sentiments of the community; and the sentiments of many, when expressed by one, lend emphasis to the unanimity. We are Indians. Indian blood runs in our veins; Indian history, Indian traditions, are the springs from which we draw our inspirations; our hopes for the future greatness of India are built on the glorious achievements of ancient India.

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The Urgent Need for Immediate Abolition of Indentured Labour.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, to whom along with his and our friend Mr. W. W. Pearson, Indians owe a deep debt of gratitude for unveiling to the world the truly horrible picture of indentured labour in South Africa and Fiji, has written the following letter to the dailies :—

Sir,—I have received definite news from many quarters in Fiji, that an assurance has been given by the Home authorities in London, that the system of indenture will be allowed to go on for five more years before it is abolished.

Yet the Government of India despatch of October 15, 1915, has written about it as follows :—

"It is firmly believed in this country and it would appear not without grave reason, that the women emigrants are too often living a life of immorality in which their persons are, by reason of pecuniary temptation or official pressure, at the free disposition of their fellow recruits and even of the subordinate managing staff."

That these grave fears, which the Government of India regards as well founded, are not imaginary has been proved, if any proof were needed, by the facts given in the report which Mr. Pearson and I circulated and published nearly a year ago. These facts have never been challenged. They amount to nothing more or less than a clear evidence that the system itself leads up to a kind of legalised prostitution.

May I ask for your valuable help in urging publicly that a system which involves such immoral conditions be abolished immediately? It is now nearly a year since the late Viceroy promised its abolition, and there should be no longer any delay.

We had the privilege of publishing the entire report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson on indentured labour in Fiji. Those who have read it know that the system under which such labour is recruited is akin to slavery, horribly inhuman and degrading and is the greatest insult that can be offered to a nation. It is outrageous that a suggestion should be made for its continuance even for a day, not to speak of five years. If we had Home Rule, it would have been abolished long ago; nay, it would never have been allowed to be introduced at all. We are under no obligation, legal or moral, to supply human cattle to any British Colony. Moreover, we are convinced that indentured labour does no good to Fiji itself; it only enables a company to earn very large dividends.

The honour of all women, be they black or brown or white or red or yellow, be they peasants or princesses, be they rich or poor, is equally dear and equally precious. No system which makes it difficult for any woman to preserve her honour ought to be tolerated for a day. And this accursed system of indentured labour leads, by the Government's own admission, to a kind of organised and legalised prostitution. For no other reason, for this reason alone it should be immediately abolished, though there is plenty of other reasons.

The mere raising of the proportion of women to men will not do. The very idea of so many women to so many men is disgusting and bestial. Men and women are not brute beasts that even an equality in the numbers of male and female emigrants under indenture can satisfy men who have any regard for the sanctity of conjugal relations and for high ideals of home life.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. Polak and Andrews are making noble efforts to rouse the country to the evils, the shame and the ignominy of this most accursed system. Mr. M. K. Gandhi is also now labouring in the cause of deceived and outraged humanity. Let all who can help in any way do so with all the earnestness that he possesses. One of the ways is to hold meetings of protest against the system all over the country.

Some Indian member or other of the Imperial Legislative Council may be depended upon to introduce a bill or move a resolution, if permitted to do so, for the immediate abolition of the system of indentured labour. And the hope may safely be expressed that among the Indian members, whether elected or nominated, there will not be found any one to brand himself as a moral leper by not supporting such a bill or resolution, which must have the whole-hearted support of the whole country.

Sarat Chandra Das, Explorer, Traveller and Scholar.

India is the poorer by the death of Sarat Chandra Das, Tibetan explorer, traveller and scholar. He was born in Chittagong in Bengal in 1849 and had completed 68 years of his life at the time of his death. We learn from the Encyclopædia Britannica that

"Lama Ugyen Gyatso, a semi-Tibetan, who was originally a teacher of Tibetan in a Darjeeling school, was trained by the Indian Survey Department as a surveyor, and being deputed to take tribute from a monastery to Tashilhunpo, he secured permission in 1879 from the Tashilhunpo authorities for Sarat Chandra Das, a Bengali school master at Darjeeling, to visit that monastery, where his name was entered as a student. This was the opportunity for a series of valuable exploratory journeys through the Tibetan provinces adjoining the Indian and Nepalese frontiers, which added greatly to our stock of in-

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tion about Lhasa and the districts surrounding that city. In their first journey the travellers set out from Jongri in Sikkim, and traversing the north-east corner of Nepal, crossed into Tibet by the Chatang la, and travelled northwards to Shigatse and Tashilhunpo. They returned by much the same way to near Khamba jong, and re-entered Sikkim by the Donkya pass. The journey was fruitful of information and valuable for mapping.....Chandra Das made a second journey in 1881, with the intention of reaching Lhasa. He travelled by way of Tashilhunpo, lay dangerously ill for some time at Samding monastery, duly reached Lhasa, where he visited the Dalai Lama, but owing to smallpox in the city could remain there only a fortnight, though he made full use of this time. During a journey home occupying nearly half a year he collected much further valuable information. Sarat Chandra Das's reports of his two journeys were published by the Indian government, but for political reasons were until 1890 kept strictly confidential. In 1899 they were edited by the Royal Geographical Society and in 1902 published. They contain valuable information on the superstitions, ethnology and religion of Tibet. Chandra Das also brought back from his journeys a large number of interesting books in Tibetan and Sanskrit, the most valuable of which have been edited and published by him, some with the assistance of Ugyen Gyatso and other lamas."

He gave an account of one of his journeys to Tibet in the pages of this review in a series of articles, about which *The Leader* says, "readers must have been deeply impressed by them." The same paper has extracted from "Who's Who in India" the following facts about the life of the explorer:—

In 1884 he accompanied the late Mr. Mecaulay, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on his mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier during which he was able to induce the Jongpon of Khambajong to enter into friendly relations with Mr. Macaulay and was instrumental in saving the lives of the British envoy, and Sir Griffith Evans, Major Evans Gordon and Mr. Paul, who were in danger of being frozen to death near the enemy's camp. In 1885 Sarat Chandra Das again accompanied Mr. Macaulay, this time to Pekin, when the latter went to seek permission from the Chinese Government for a mission to enter Tibet, and his services in that connection were recognized by the grant of C. I. E. Two years later Mr. Das visited Siam where he studied the Buddhist religion with Prince Vajra Juana Varorasa and was decorated by the King of Siam with the Tushita Mata medal. In 1893 he inaugurated the Buddhist Text Society of India with the object of publishing valuable Buddhist manuscripts brought by him from Tibet and in recognition of his contributions to the literature on Tibet the Government gave him the title of Rai Bahadur and a jagir of the value of Rs. 500 a year; and the Royal Geographical Society awarded the 'Back' premium for his geographical researches. Among his publications were 'Journey to Lhassa and Central Tibet' and 'Tibetan-English Dictionary.'

Mr. Das was a man of indefatigable energy, buoyant temper and genial disposition. Last year he visited Japan and received a warm welcome there. Returning from that country he wrote about the women of Japan in this Review.

"Varnasrama-Dharma" Meetings.

Recently there have been some *Varnasrama-Dharma* meetings in the country, the latest perhaps being that held in the Sobhabazar Rajbati and presided over by the Maharaja of Durbhanga. Not being a follower of this cult, we do not know whether a sense of humour is one of the qualifications which its adherents are required to possess. For, men who have a sense of humour do not make themselves ridiculous by preaching what they do not practise. Be not alarmed, gentle reader. We are not going to be inquisitorial about the spiritual qualifications or even the mere mundane characters of any persons. We speak only from a sense of puzzlement, which arises thus. We had an idea that one of the four *Asramas* was called *Vanaprastha*, or the stage of retirement to a forest for meditation and cultivation of the spiritual life, and that a Brahmin at any rate should retire to the forest on completing the fiftieth year of his age. Among the speakers at the Sobhabazar meeting there were several Brahmins past fifty, but Thacker's Indian Directory does not say that the residence of any of them is in a forest; nor does any of them dwell in a thatched hut, after renouncing all earthly possessions, as the forest-dwelling *Vanaprasthasramins* of old did. There was indeed rich unconscious humour in the richest *Brahmin* landholder in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, preaching *Varnasrama-Dharma*.

Varnasrama-Dharma does not exist in this *Kali-Yuga*. Whether it existed, not in theory, but in actual life, in any previous age, historians alone can say, not *pseudo*-historians. Whether it ought to be or can be revived, sociologists and biologists, or earnest students of sociology and biology may discuss; and it would be fruitful to engage in a discussion with such men. But it would be waste of time and energy to examine what mere dabblers in *pseudo*-sociology and *pseudo*-biology may say, in moments of diversion from their absorbing worldy avocations and pleasures.

The four stages of life constitute a beautiful ideal, and may be adopted in their spirit with modifications suited to these

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modern times. But they should have nothing to do with the caste system.

It is reported in the papers that Sir Gurudas Banerji referred to the attempt to legalise intercaste marriages in terms which implied condemnation. As such marriages were contracted in ancient times and are still held to be legitimate in the independent Hindu kingdom of Nepal, we do not think the attempt was un-Hindu. But that is not what we were going to say. Babu Bhupendranath Basu, who made the attempt, wanted, among other things, to make such marriages honorable and legal *Hindu* marriages. Such marriages are contracted even now ; only they are considered *un*-Hindu marriages. Thus Hindu society is a loser. While honorable marriages between parties of excellent character and intentions are thus looked at askance and discouraged, illicit, vicious, and wicked connections go on unchecked. As Sir Gurudas is himself a man of spotless purity of life and unquestionable orthodoxy, and is universally respected for that reason, we feel no hesitation in appealing to him to show by word and deed, that, opposed as he is to even honorable and legal marriages between persons of different *Hindu* castes, he condemns *at least in equal measure* illicit and vicious connections between Christian or Moslem women and Hindu men. For surely such connections cannot be consistent with *Varnasrama-Dharma*.

The Poet Grey and Calcutta Graduates.

The majority of the registered graduates of Calcutta University have shown that the poet Grey of *Elegy* fame, is an old fossil. He wrote of "full many a flower" "born to blush unseen and waste its fragrance in the desert air." He wrote of gems of purest ray serene, too, which the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear. But in their recent election of two Fellow they have not allowed two such flowers to blush unseen and waste their fragrance in the desert air; they have dived and brought up from the dark ocean-caves two such gems. Every one can vote for a worthy and a Bengal celebrity like Principal Trivedi ; but it requires rarer powers of appreciation, and of thought-reading in addition, to falsify a classic like Grey.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

We are not yet in possession of a copy of the Report of the Public Services Commission. We shall comment on it in detail when it is procurable for money in the local book market. The Government of India favours us with very few of their publications and those that are sent to us are generally received when they have become old stories. Many of the reports of the Bengal Government are similarly delayed in their despatch to us. We find, for instance, that Mr. Hornell's latest annual report on public instruction in Bengal was discussed some weeks ago in the Calcutta dailies, but we have not seen it yet. One must not, we may be told, look a gift horse in the mouth. Whether these official publications are gift horses at all need not be discussed in this connection. The question that matters is why these gift horses should come earlier to some editors, and very late to others, and why some of these beasts should not at all be at the disposal of some editors to receive their caresses and castigations. In spite of all our attempts to cultivate a due sense of humility, we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that our comments on matters of public importance are inferior to those appearing in *each and every one* of the dailies which promptly receive Government publications *gratis*.

The Public Services Commission.

The Indian papers which have seen and commented upon the report of the Public Services Commission are disappointed with it. Some of them have compared the commission to the mountain in labour which produced a pitiful mouse. Some of the Anglo-Indian papers, too, are disappointed with the report.

At the time when the appointment of the commission was announced, we did not profess to be very sanguine about its probable results. We wrote in July, 1915 (p. 105) :—

> "We shall be glad if this new Commission does not further narrow the sphere of the higher appointments open to Indians, and saddle the country with higher salaries to be paid to European officials."

We note that in paragraph 32 of the majority report the public services are divided into three main groups. "In the first place the Indian Civil Service and the pro-

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department, in both of which the nature of British resposibility for the good governance of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a preponderating proportion of British officers." In paragraph 26 it is observed that "in the civil service which with the police department we have placed separately in our first group as likely to require for many years to come a preponderating proportion of British officers, we have proposed that roughly three-quarters of the superior posts be recruited for in England and one-quarter in India." Now, both according to the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, we are entitled to *all* posts for which we may be qualified by our ability; neither created a ruling caste or set up a racial bar. The majority report distinctly does so, and shuts us out from three-fourths of the civil service and higher police appointments. Hence the commission *does* "further narrow the sphere of the higher appointments open to Indians," as we apprehended it would, in July, 1912. We note, too, that the proposals of the majority of the Commissioners would involve an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 62,25,760.

We also wrote in the 1912 July number :

> But if anybody asks what we wish this Commission to do, we will say, "Let ability, merit, to be tested by means equally applicable to all candidates for office, be the sole qualification, not race or creed; let the line of demarcation between the provincial and imperial services, drawn along racial lines, be wiped out once for all; and let all Government servants, whether Indian or European, doing the same work, be paid the same salaries." Let the value attach to the man's work, not to the colour of his skin.

Again, the November (1912) number of this Review(p.527) contained the following lines :—

> Justice demands that all posts in the higher grades of public services in this country should be *recruited by competitive examinations held in India only*, at which Indians should be allowed to appear and those domiciled persons whose parents have settled in India. One of the compulsory subjects for examination should be a vernacular of the country, in which a proficient knowledge of the candidate is to be tested. If this be done, much of the present discontent and unrest in this country will disappear.

Needless to say, this has not been done in the Report.

In the same number from which we have quoted above appeared the following :—

> The very fact that the appointment of the Public Service Commission has not been hailed with delight by the general public of India, goes to show its unpopularity. They know that none of the previous commissions, whether Royal or Indian, did much good to the people of this country. Many recommendations of the last Public Service Commission have yet to be given effect to! India was groaning under the weight of heavy public expenditure and asked for some relief. A Royal Commission was appointed to devise some remedy. But the remedy which that Commission, known as Welby's, proposed was worse than the disease. The nomination of members of Commissions depends on the sweet will of the leaders of the political party that happens to in power. Like packed juries such persons alone are made Commissioners as would carry out the intentions, if not the behests, of the party which appoints them. Of course to prevent adverse criticism one or two persons are selected whose judgments are not to be swayed by considerations of so-called political expediency. They are always in a minority.

In the case of the present commission, such men were the never-to-be-forgotten Mr. G. K. Gokhale, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who has nobly done his part in his able and courageous solitary minute of dissent and of whom all India, and particularly his native district of Midnapur, is justly proud.

We may be excused for mentioning in this connection that when some years ago it was proposed to elect Mr. James Ramsay Macdonald to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress, ours was the solitary voice opposed to this proposal. Mr. Macdonald, it will be noted, has signed the majority report of the commission. Had he filled the presidential chair of the Congress, his acceptance of the majority report, *as an ex-President of the Congress*, would certainly have done our cause some additional injury. The lesson is, do not shout "A deliverer has come," until and unless you thoroughly know your man.

The report of the Commission ought to stimulate our efforts to obtain Home Rule.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on Commissions.

The following is the opinion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on Commissions, which was quoted in this Review, November, 1912 (p. 503) :—

> "In India when the authorities are decided upon certain views which are not likely to be readily accepted by the public, a commission or committee comes into existence. The members are mostly officials or ex-officials—English or Indian. Some non-officials, English or Indian or both, are sometimes thrown in, selected by the Government itself. It is a well understood thing that in all matters officials are bound always to take and support the Government

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views. The ex-officials are understood to be bound by gratitude to do the same. If any one takes an independent line, either in a commission or committee, or in his own official capacity, and displeases the Government, I cannot undertake to say with instances what happens."

European Officials and the Round Table Propaganda.

We learn from the *Leader* of January 31, that Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris made statements regarding their connection with the Round Table propaganda, at a meeting of the U. P. Legislative Council held at Lucknow on the 29th January last. Both gave very good certificates to Mr. Curtis and the propaganda, which is said to be non-political in character. Sir James assured the council that "There was no case of any conspiracy against Indian interests, as has been alleged." About this opinions will differ. What is satisfactory to learn is that "in view of the misunderstanding which has arisen over this matter, the Government of India consider, an opinion which I [Sir James] accept, that officials should not in future be members of Round Table groups in India."

The Late Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji.

By the death of Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji, India loses one of her oldest patriotic sons. He breathed his last at Bandra at the age of about 80. He was a Congress veteran. *The Message* says, "he was one of the first Indian Musalmans to realise that the welfare of India lay in the co-operation and union of the two great Indian communities—Hindus and Musalmans. He had travelled extensively—almost over the whole world. He had gone on several missions to England, the last of which was to preach against cow-killing. He was a peace-loving man, and had his own ideas as to how to maintain world-peace. He had lately been in political retirement. In his days of vigour he was a well-known figure on the Congress platform and among the Khoja Mahomedans. He was an effective and popular platform speaker. He leaves behind him a large family of children, grand-children and great-grand-children to bemoan his loss."

Fiji-born Indians for the War.

From a brief article contributed to the *Western Pacific Herald* by Mr. D. M. Manilal, we are interested to learn that so Indian young men, born in Fiji, have vol teered for the war at their own expe and risk. Mr. Manilal wrote the article the eve of their departure for the front.

Volunteering for Indians.

It is pleasant to find the *English* writing thus about Indian Volunteer re ments, led to do so by the steps wh Government have taken to raise do companies in Bengal, Burma, and t Punjab :—

We do not know whether it is likely that the Go ment of India will ever consider seriously the ra of Indian Volunteer regiments, not merely for purposes of war, but also for peace time. If ever it there could be no more suitable nucleus for regiments than the double companies recruited service in the war and possessing the prestige tradition of active service under the Raj.

Mr. Datar's Record Run.

Mr. Sachindra Mazumdar writes us from Allahabad :—

"My friend Mr. K. N. Dikshit infor me that Mr. Datar made an unique atte at 25 miles in December last at Sangli. ran 25 miles in 2 hrs. 40 secs., thus con tuting an Asiatic record. He is only mts. behind the great McArthur, Marathon Champion. This was only test that we had arranged for Mr. Dat We wanted to see whether he was proper condition to run for the wor record. Needless to say we are thorou satisfied and I now entertain hopes Datar will beat McArthur in his attempt.

"Mr. Datar will put himself u training early this year and we arranging that the final run should place, just at the end of this cold sea let us hope, by the middle of March, 1 As we have received no encourage from the Calcutta public, the run necessarily be arranged in Allahabad.

"We have received a handsome don from the Maharajah of Pithapuram (M ras) and are receiving small donati from all directions of India, excepting B gal, from which province not a copper has been forthcoming in this great affai

"I appeal again to the innate lov sport of every individual in India to us in this affair. I have given you an of Datar's condition and I again you know, Datar would not be able to

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on unless he is helped by money in lieu of his run.

"All donations will be thankfully received by the Treasurers, The Students' Sporting Club, Allahabad, and the Allahabad Sporting Club, Allahabad."

Economic War after the War.

Among the after-war problems one of the most important is the trade policy to be followed by the British Empire and its Allies. The policy which suits an industrially advanced country is sure to be injurious to one which is backward as regards manufactures. Hence a policy decided upon with an eye solely or chiefly to British interests cannot but prejudicially affect India. That India has reason to be alarmed will appear from the comments of some important organs of public opinion in three Allied countries, Russia, France and Italy. We shall quote only a few opinions, and only those portions of them which relate to the economic aspects of the proposed "Economic war after the war."

Russkia Viedomosti (important Russian Liberal daily), March 2, 1916 :—

There has been much talk, in Russia and abroad, of a customs union between the Allies on the lines of the German Zollverein. Only nations who are in the same economic situation can profit by such a scheme. The German States were, more or less, in the same situation. It is perfectly Utopian to try to introduce a customs union between countries whose economic structures are as widely different as those of England, France, and Russia. The first two have a highly developed industry, and great abundance of capital; the third is characterised by the importance of agriculture, the backward state of industry and the lack of capital. To include these countries in a common custom system would mean ruin for Russian industry. . . .

Russia must in no case bind herself to participate in a general commercial agreement between the Allies before coming to terms with Germany, for she would be the one country whose interests would be entirely sacrificed.

Populaire du Centre (France, Socialist), June 1, 1916 :—

France's future does not lie in an economic war, which might often prove harmful to herself. It is useless and foolish to imagine that once the military war over, the present grouping of Powers will hold good over questions of buying and selling. . . . .

Corriere della Sera (leading Italian daily), April 16, 1916 :—

In the course of a speech in the Italian Chamber, I. Bonino expressed the hope that economic changes will not be such as are desired by those who dream of commercial reprisals and ruinous tariffs. "It must be remembered that commercial fights to the death between two large groups of peoples mean the destruction of wealth, general impoverishment, and the weakening of Europe in opposition to the strength and organisation of America, and would consequently be a misfortune for all consumers as well as producers. . . . ."

De Viti De Marco (Radical), speaking after Bonino, declared he could not associate himself with those who invoke, as a corollary of the military war, a commercial war against Germany, in order that a new Protectionist policy should be instituted. He trusted, therefore, that in the coming Economic Conference of Paris there would be an open mind on the question, for Italy cannot renounce the natural sources of her exchange with foreign countries without compensating advantages.

These quotations are taken from a selection made mostly from "Foreign Opinion" which appears weekly in the *Cambridge Magazine*, England. Space does not allow us to quote more.

Indians should particularly bear in mind the remarks of the Russian paper quoted first. Like Russia, India is characterised by the importance of agriculture, the backward state of industry and the lack of capital. To include England, France and India in a common custom system would mean ruin for India. But owing to her not having Home Rule, she cannot make her voice heard effectively.

Effects of Export of Wheat from India.

The Review of Reviews writes :—

Over 6,000,000 quarters of surplus wheat are available in India, and every effort should be made to secure it for Britain. We wish to urge the Government of India to revive the scheme of exporting wheat solely on its own account, and to prohibit, once again, the export of wheat by private agency. The profit made by that Administration during last year, when over 500,000 tons of wheat were exported largely to Britain, amounted to a little over £132,000. This is not exactly the "windfall" that was anticipated from that source. India, however, has this consolation. She was able to render the United Kingdom a great Imperial service. Shortly after the first consignment of Indian wheat had been thrown into the British market, the price of bread in London fell a penny per 4-lb. loaf. Moreover, State regulation of wheat kept its price in India far below the world-quotation. That, in itself, was a gain. Our view is that if the Government of India handles the present surplus in the right way it can make a fair profit, besides rendering a great service to us by insuring the continuation of our wheat supply.

We are glad the *Review of Reviews* is not like those ungrateful persons who bite the hand that feeds them by falsely saying that India has rendered little or no service to the Empire.

According to *Indiaman*, the highest exports of wheat and wheat flour from India during the past decade were in 1912-13, when the value exported was £12,500,000.

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Since the outbreak of the war up to June last India exported wheat to the United Kingdom to the value of £7,891,100.

The effects of export of wheat on the constitution of the people of India will be understood from the following extracts from *The Dietetic Treatment of Diabetes* by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (retired) :—

"As regards wheat, we have the high authority of Sir William Crookes, who, in his Presidential Address at the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1898, said that no other grain can take the place of wheat in the preparation of bread—the staff of life for man.* But with the export of wheat, the people of India, for the most part, have to depend on inferior food-grains for their bread. Regarding Indian wheat, Messrs. McDougall Brothers, at the request of the Government of India, in 1880, prepared a report, from which the following passages are taken :—

"Glancing at all the facts here elaborated, it is evident that these wheats afford a larger margin of profit, both to the miller and baker than any other.

"We venture to record a conviction that we have long held, strongly emphasized by the results of these experimental workings, of the measureless importance of the great resources of the Indian Empire being developed to the utmost in producing wheat for this country. Farmers here are finding that to live they must produce beef and mutton rather than grain, hence the greater need of resources of supply under our own control ;..... there is, no doubt, an outlet in this country and the Continent for unlimited quantities [of Indian wheats]".

"Accordingly, Indian wheats are being exported in larger and larger quantities year after year. As a consequence, the Indian population, for the most part, have to live on inferior food-grains. Sir George Watt, the compiler of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India, does not try to traverse this statement, but thinks that he has proved his case, by writing in the following strain :—

"Indian wheat has for some years continued to undersell the produce of the old and established supplies, and is gradually assuming a recognised position in the grain markets of Europe. The outcry has, accordingly, in certain quarters, been raised against the objections to this new traffic. Philanthropy, that much abused ally of a weak cause, has been called to the rescue. The natural food and surplus stocks of the people, we have been told, were being drained away from them. For greed of the means to satisfy exotic desires of modern civilization the people were being induced to part with their ordinary food, and were, in consequence, taking to the use of inferior and unwholesome grains."

"The injurious effects due to the export of wheat, obliging people to maintain themselves on inferior and unwholesome food-grains, cannot be disproved by sophisticated arguments. Steps should, therefore, be taken to reduce, if not actually to stop, the export of wheat."*

In 1914-15 the yield of wheat in India was ten million tons in round numbers. Supposing that to be also the yield of the latest crop to which the *Review of Reviews* refers, and of which it is said 1,500,000 tons are ready for export, the quantity exported would form more than 15 per cent. of the total produce. According to the authority quoted by Sir William Crookes, in 1891 or thereabouts less than 9 per cent. of the total yield was exported. So that the proportion of the total produce exported appears to have increased.

* Sir William Crookes said :—

"We are born wheat-eaters. Other races, vastly superior to us in numbers, but differing widely in material and intellectual progress, are eaters of Indian corn, rice, millet, and other grains ; but none of these grains have the food value, the concentrated health-sustaining power of wheat, and it is on this account that the accumulated experience of civilized mankind has set wheat apart as the fit and proper food for the development of muscle and brains."

* Sir William Crookes gave the following as appendix to the address above referred to :—

"So long ago as April 16, 1891, the following statement by a leading Indian economist appeared in the 'Daily Englishman' of Calcutta.

"People do not realise the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption, and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs, and that even now less than 9 per cent is exported. It is a self-evident fact that a slight expansion of consumption, or a partial failure of crops of other food grains will be sufficient to absorb the small proportion now exported. Besides, we have a steady increase of consumption, in consequence of the natural growth of the population, as well as of the gradual improvement of the condition of a considerable part of the people in the cities. I believe that, comparatively speaking, India will in a few years cease to export wheat, and soon thereafter become an importing country."

Even after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century the above still holds true, and it shows the inexpediency, of exporting wheat from India.

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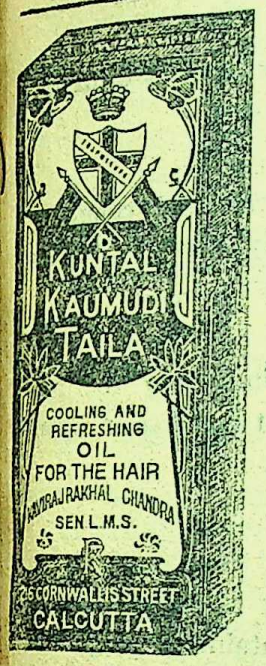

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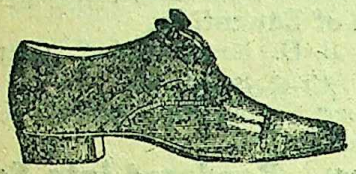

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New Opinions.

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Mr. Lajpatrai, in the first chapter, has given an outline of the history of that land of Democracy where freedom plays and frolics like a child and can be seen in its nativity. .....

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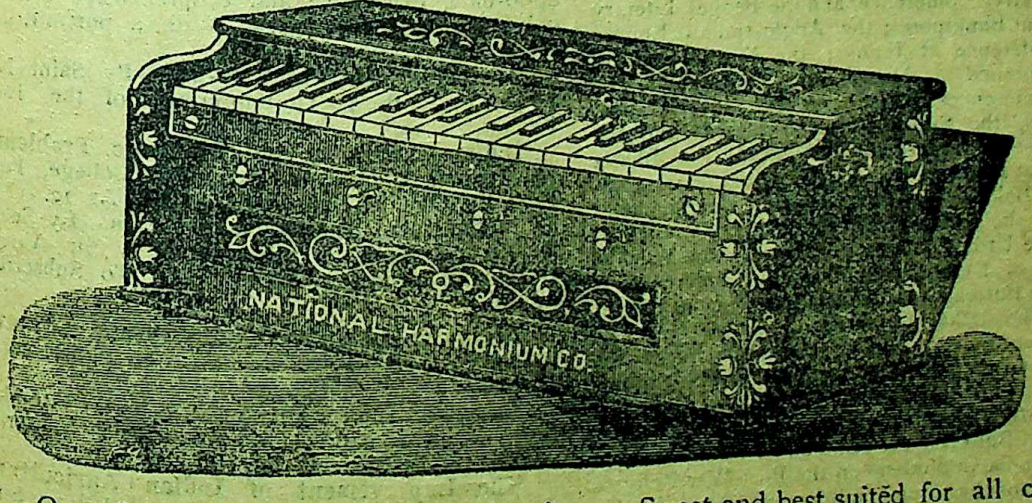

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NOTES

Primitive Democracies

We have shown in a note in the March number of this Review that the ancient and medieval forms of democracy in the West and the East were different from its modern forms. Ancient democracies may be considered primitive and crude. But that is no reason why we should look down upon them, as being inferior in every respect to well-organised autocracies. We should never forget that

> "the tendencies in the direction of democratic government do mark progress in social integration, however feeble may be the telic power displayed. Crude and imperfect as such governments may be, they are better than the wisest of autocracies. Stupidity joined with benevolence is better than brilliancy joined with rapacity, and not only is autocracy always rapacious, but democracy is always benevolent." P. 279, *Outlines of Sociology*, by Lester F. Ward: New York, The Macmillan Company.

It has to be observed in this connection that though democracies *as democracies* are undoubtedly benevolent, they may under certain circumstances cease to be so in their treatment of dependent peoples; and then they become more dehumanising than the tyranny of individual despots.

Personal Freedom and Slavery in Ancient Greece and Ancient India.

Democracy in ancient Greece took the form of "city-states," the characteristic of which was that all the citizens could assemble together in the city at regular intervals for legislative and other purposes. But the qualification for citizenship was rigorous; thus Pericles restricted citizenship to those who were the sons of an Athenian father, himself a citizen, and an Athenian mother. "This system excluded not only all the slaves, *who were more numerous than the free population*, but also resident aliens, subject allies, and those Athenians whose descent did not satisfy this criterion."

In ancient India the slaves formed an insignificant fraction of the population. But it was not merely in the small number of slaves that ancient Indian society was superior to ancient Greek society. The status of slaves here was higher and their treatment better than in ancient Greece and Rome and in the plantations of Christian slave-owners.

In his "Buddhist India" Prof. Rhys Davids divides the people into the four social grades of Kshatriyas, Brahmanas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Below all four, that is below the Sudras, we have mention of other "low tribes" and "low trades"—*hinajatiyo* and *hina-sippani*. "Finally we hear in both Jain and Buddhist books of aboriginal tribes, Chandalas and Pukkusas, who were more despised even than these low tribes and trades." Besides the above, says the author, "*who were all freemen*," there were also slaves: "individuals had been captured in predatory raids and reduced to slavery, or had been deprived of their freedom as a judicial punishment; or had submitted to slavery of their own accord. Children born to such slaves were also slaves; and the emancipation of slaves is often referred to. But we hear nothing of such later developments of slavery as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman *lati-fundia*, or the plantations of Christian slave-owners, scenes of misery and oppression. For the most part the slaves were household servants, and not badly treated; and their numbers seem to have been insignificant." According to the report of Megasthenes "all the Indians are free," and "not one of them is a slave." On this Prof. Rhys Davids observes that the evidence of Megasthenes "only shows how very little the sort of slavery then existing in India would strike a foreigner accustomed to the sort of slavery then existing in Greece."

In the development of political theory and the practice of citizenship, according to modern ideas, ancient Greece and Rome surpassed ancient India. But a far larger proportion of the people enjoyed natural human freedom in ancient India than in ancient Greece or Rome. The Sanskrit word *Dasa* means a slave and also refers to Sudras in general. This has led many

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to suppose that the Sudras were an enslaved population. This is far from the fact. Not only Sudras, but the "low tribes" and the followers of "low trades" below them, and the aboriginal tribes, Chandalas and Pukkusas, were all freemen. Whatever the amount of *political* freedom enjoyed by the people of ancient India,—and that was in many ages not inconsiderable, a far greater proportion of them enjoyed *personal* and *economic* freedom than was the case with the people of ancient Greece and Rome.

That our ancestors were free men, proud of their freedom, will also appear from the condition of the village folk in "Buddhist India."

Villagers in Ancient India.

In modern India the rural population is far larger than the urban population. In ancient India the rural character of the population was still more marked. Rhys Davids says that "the peoples of India, then much more even than now, were, first and foremost, village folk. In the whole vast territory, from Kandahar nearly to Calcutta, and from the Himalayas southwards to the Run of Kach, we find mentioned barely a score of towns of any considerable size." He goes on to observe that "the mass of the people, the villagers, occupied a social grade quite different from, and far above, our [*i. e.* British] village folk. They held it degradation, to which only dire misfortune would drive them, to work for hire. They were proud of their standing, their family, and their village. And they were governed by headmen of their own class and village, very probably selected by themselves, in accordance with their own customs and ideals." But the superiority of our ancestors in some respects should not blind us to their inferiority in certain other respects. They seem never to have attained civic equality. Caste stood in the way of their attainment of social equality.

India and the Imperial Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received the following telegram from the Secretary of State for India which is published for general information :—

"I have great pleasure in transmitting to Your Excellency the following resolution unanimously passed by the Imperial War Conference on the motion of Sir R. Borden seconded by Mr. Massey : "The Imperial War Council desire to place on record its view that the resolution of the Imperial Conference of April 20th, 1907, should be modified to permit India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences and that necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly."

As explained by Lord Hardinge in the Legislative Council on September 22nd, 1915, the constitution of the Imperial Conference was fixed by the Conference itself and can only be altered by the consent of all the Governments concerned. The present Conference being summoned exceptionally and for a special purpose did not feel competent to alter the constitution of the ordinary Conferences, but Your Excellency will be gratified by their ready acceptance of the claim to representation preferred by your Government and by the recommendation made by them to the Governments concerned. His Majesty's Government will take necessary steps to carry out this resolution.

In order to ascertain the value of this resolution of the Imperial War Conference it is necessary to know who will represent India, and how he is to be elected or selected. If it be taken for granted that only the Secretary of State for India or some other official can represent India, this concession will not mean a proper representation of India. It may even lead to the *mis*representation of India. India should be represented by an Indian or Indians elected by the representatives of India.

Political Evolution and Political Revolution.

Some eighteen years ago the Philippine Islands were ceded by Spain to the United States of America by a treaty signed December 10, 1898. The archipelago has now obtained complete autonomy under American protection and suzeranity. Both the upper and lower houses of the legislature are now elective. On the 12th of January of this year the nomination of the members of the cabinet under the Jones Act was submitted by the Governor-General to the Senate, and immediately confirmed by that body. The members took the oath of office three days later. Commenting on the event, the *Philippine Review* observes :—

We regret that not enough public solemnity has given the installation of the Cabinet. After the victory of Japan over Russia nothing has taken place in the Far East that in significance as to the recognition and advancement of the rights of dependent peoples can compare favourably with the installation of the Cabinet. Indeed, nothing can be found in the pages of history more inspiring to the Filipino people, to the other people of the East, and to the whole West than said installation.

Guns may conquer, through ruthless destruction and the vanquishment of the weaker by the strong

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Guns may look supreme in spelling death, misery and what not to the unwilling and unsubmissive. But that conquest is external—weakness' submission to power—and its grandeur, the grandeur of the stronger, that can only be maintained by the *annihilation* of the weaker.

On this occasion, however, with the exception of such reservation as is required by responsibility, almost all self-government rights were, *not surrendered*, but in *manly and honorable fashion vested, returned rather*, to the weaker by the stronger; to the Filipino people by the United States, without guns, but to carry out a noble purpose—the purpose of granting a people what is due them and what they need to be happy in the enjoyment of their national liberty.

Such was the grandeur of the occasion.

Such is the meaning of the installation of the Cabinet, which we hope will be a source of lasting inspiration to other dependent countries in the Far East, and yet *only a step towards full vindication of the rights of the whole East*, which vindication we trust at last will come to a sound materialization ere long. [The italics are as in the original.]

Governor-General Harrison, in addressing the Cabinet said :—

"It gives me supreme satisfaction to attend an occasion like this. Two of you are among my old friends with whom I worked for three years in the Philippine Commission, while the rest of you are well known throughout the Philippine Islands. The Filipino people are confident in the success of your administration.

"I have the utmost confidence in your motives and purposes, and hence I look forward with confidence to the successful performance of your duties. With this end in view I shall give you my very best support and co-operation, and hope to receive the same from you.

"There are certain axioms in any government which need to be remembered always to attain success. Each one of you should attend carefully to the affairs pertaining to your departments and bureaus, and if there is any bureau chief who has done and is doing excellent work, let the public know it. The backbone of any government or administration is complete confidence and harmony. There is not a single legislative body in the world comparable to the Commission, where perfect harmony prevailed during the last three years of its existence. There was no acrimonious debate. Perfect harmony characterized it.

"I congratulate you upon the excellent opportunities you have to serve your country. The Filipino people will always watch you and your work, and I hope that when you have completed your term, they will say : 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'"

All the members of the Cabinet are Filipinos. Secretary Palma, in replying on behalf of the Cabinet, referred to this fact. He said :

"We are fully alive to the responsibilities devolving upon our shoulders. We know that the present grants are the work of the liberality of the Jones Act. But the fact that the new Cabinet is composed of Filipinos we have to thank you (the Governor-General) for exclusively, you who have become fully identified with the aspirations of the Filipino people. You can rest assured of our loyal co-operation and that the harmony that has heretofore prevailed between us, between the two Houses, amongst their individual members, will continue to exist between the members of the Executive Department and both Houses."

The government of the Philippines furnishes an example of steady and progressive political evolution, the goal being perfect self-rule. This is the method which ought to be followed in India, not that of Russia.

The latest example of a political revolution, having in view the same object, *viz.*, government of the people by the people and for the people, is the revolution in Russia. Speaking before the American Club in London, Mr. Lloyd George described New Russia as "one of the most advanced democracies in the world."

Progressive political evolution is to be preferred to political revolution. There was revolution in Russia probably because the people of that country had no hope of securing complete freedom in their own life-time in any other way.

Utility of "The Moon" in Hastening Political Progress.

Lord Morley, when he was plain John Morley, was the first British statesman who exhorted us not to cry for the moon. As we continue to be children, many other British statesmen have repeated Lord Morley's exhortation in varied phraseology. "The Moon," however, in the shape of a distant, "impracticable" ideal, would seem to have some utility in accelerating the pace of political evolution. Lord Acton observes in his essay on Nationality :—

"The pursuit of a remote and ideal object, which captivates the imagination by its splendour and the reason by its simplicity, evokes an energy which would not be inspired by a rational, possible end, limited by many antagonistic claims, and confined to what is reasonable, practicable and just. One excess or exaggeration is the corrective of the other, and error promotes truth, where the masses are concerned, by counterbalancing a contrary error. The few have not strength to achieve great changes unaided ; the many have not wisdom to be moved by truth unmixed. Where the disease is various, no particular definite remedy can meet the wants of all. Only the attraction of an abstract idea, or of an ideal state, can unite in a common action multitudes who seek a universal cure for many special evils, and a common restorative applicable to many different conditions."

We do not consider Home Rule "a remote and ideal object" ; we think it is "a rational, possible end" which is "reason-

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able, practicable and just." But if our political opponents think that it is "the moon" in politics, we present to them the observations of Lord Acton on the need and utility of such a moon. In our opinion it is only the absolute independence of India which can be described as "a remote and ideal object." Our political opponents are guilty of "exeess or exaggeration" when they assert that nothing but personal rule, or nothing but the bureaucratic system of government, can suit India. Both in theory and in practice they persisted in this opinion so long that the "counterbalancing" "excess or exaggeration" made its appearance a decade ago in the desire for absolute independence, which was given the name of extremism: it was obvious that extremism in one direction led to extremism in a contrary direction; but this our political opponents would not admit. However, as Indian extremism, except among a few revolutionaries, has made room for the "reasonable, practicable and just" demand for Home Rule, Anglo-Indian extremism should also agree to meet us half way.

Anglo-Indians are probably to a man opposed to Indian Home Rule. Among Indians too there are those who are opposed to it. To both these classes of opponents we appeal to name some "remote and ideal object" which would "captivate the imagination by its splendour and the reason by its simplicity," and "evoke an energy" which could not otherwise be evoked. Let them supply that "abstract idea" or "ideal state" whose attraction "can unite in a common action multitudes who seek a universal cure for many special evils, and a common restorative applicable to many different conditions." In our opinion Home Rule is a cure for many special political and economic evils and a restorative applicable to many different conditions.

"Stake in the Country."

The Home Rule agitation being at its strongest in the Madras Presidency, it is natural that various sorts of opponents of the desire for self-rule should make their appearance there. Among them are men with a "stake in the country." We do not wish to indulge in the trite pleasantry of asking how many acres make a wiseacre; but we wish to ascertain who are really the men who have the greatest stake in the country. We know, of course, that when certain animals are kept tied to stakes driven deep into the soil, they cannot move forward. But it would be incorrect to conclude therefrom that the logically true converse proposition would be, that those individuals who are absolutely incapable of progress or are the least capable or desirous of progress have the biggest stakes in the country.

We do not think that big landholders and wealthy capitalists are the only men who have a stake in the country or that their stake is the biggest. We are supported in this opinion by what Lord Acton thought. He felt strongly that the stake-in-the-country argument really applied with the fullest force to the poor, for while political error means mere discomfort to the rich, it means to the poor the loss of all that makes life noble and even of life itself. As he says in one of his published letters:

> 'The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls.'

So long as the Indian ryots, artisans and labourers themselves are not sufficiently educated to organise themselves and stand up for their rights like the labouring classes in Western countries, their spokesmen and champions can be found chiefly among the educated, independent middle class, and to some extent among educated and capable landholders and capitalists. Government can have no difficulty in recognising this fact. For it has passed tenancy legislation to protect the peasantry against those men among the landholding class who are greedy and grasping, and also grandmotherly Court of Wards legislation to protect incapable landholders against themselves.

Motor Cars for Commissioners in the U. P.

Recent discussions in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils have more than their usual importance. In many cases there has been much plain speaking, both on the part of the official and on that of the non-official members. In fact the issues between bureaucra-

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and the people are getting more and more pointed and settled. The real tussle is now to come.

Consider for a moment the question raised in the U. P. Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani regarding the up-keep of Motor Cars for Divisional Commissioners in that province. The matter is a trifling one, but gives ample indication of what a bureaucracy, not responsible to the people, will sometimes do to benefit itself. Commissioners will have their motor cars maintained at Government expense. Why? Because the thing has worked well. But is that the test in such a case? Well, if Commissioners will not live on anything but *Pate de foie gras*, will Government give it to them because they thrive well on it? The Commissioners draw their Rs. 3000 a month and are they not able to look after their own *cars?* Nothing was said in the debate as to whether the amount spent by Government is not deducted from the T. A. bills of Commissioners. If it is not, there is double inequity.

So far as I know the system does not obtain in any other province and even if it did, it would not make the thing just. If things are allowed to go on at this rate, every district Magistrate and every Superintendent of Police will in time require their cars to be maintained at Government expense. If it is allowed to stand, someday the bureaucracy will want a sumptuary allowance for all its members.

The Commissioners as a body are a superfluity—their existence is an anomaly. That the Government of the country could be conducted without their aid is illustrated by the Government of Madras. That so much of public money should be wasted on a superfluity is a curious irony of fate.

B. C.

Grant for Primary and Secondary Education.

The Viceroy has certainly shown his insight into and solicitude for the education of this country by providing a recurring grant of thirty lacs for improvement in the position of teachers in primary and secondary schools. I can speak only for Bengal and I say without fear of contradiction, that the condition of things as regards the pay and prospects of teachers in secondary schools, is most discreditable both to the rulers as well as to the people. It is no wonder that education does not make rapid strides in this country where the teachers are thought to be mostly drawn from the failures in other professions, who drag on a miserable existence on a pittance of 30 or 40 rupees a month for years together. The bureaucracy with its proverbial shortsightedness failed to see that discontented teachers could only produce discontented and inefficient citizens and therefore allowed this state of affairs to continue. The Viceroy has at once proved his superiority to the bureaucracy by putting his finger on this plague spot. Let us hope that the money will be fully utilized and not surrendered at the end of the year for want of suitable schemes. Non-officials should be taken into confidence in preparing schemes if they are not ready.

B. C.

The Industries Commission.

The programme of the Industries Commission has come to an abrupt close and one does not know what the real result of its proceedings, so far, would be. We had never much faith in commissions except so far as they helped to show up existing evils. The duty of the Government and the people in this connection is, however, plain. Three things are patent. That the Government have so far done nothing or next to nothing to help new industries in this country. That they have not extended enough help to existing industries. That they have not yet prepared any scheme for the industrial education of the people. So far as the first and third evils are concerned Government will of course plead their inability to do anything during the period of the war. But there is nothing to prevent them from applying themselves to remedy the second evil. Are the existing industries getting sufficient support from Government purchasing departments? Let this question be asked in all seriousness by the non-official members in the legislative councils. So far as our knowledge goes this has not been done. The purchasing agency of the Government is purely bureaucratic and is composed of Europeans who have no sympathy with Indian aspirations. They lay down unduly hard tests for Indian commodities and give undue preference to European goods. This should be remedied

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and an Indian element should be introduced into this agency. The war has demonstrated how far we could be self-sufficient in this country and how much was luxury with us and how much was pure necessity. Let us cling to the standard laid down by the second consideration only and refuse to be lured by the charm of European merchandize.

B. C.

"The Heralds of Dawn."

The magnificent speech of Mr. Lloyd George delivered on April 12th before the American Luncheon Club in London concludes with the following eloquent peroration :—

"Those gallant men who won that victory on Monday,—men from Canada, from Australia and from this old country—these men attacked with the dawn,—fit work for the dawn to drive out from forty miles of French soil those miscreants who had defiled it for three years. They attacked with the dawn. It is a significant phrase. The breaking up of the dark rule in Turkey, which for centuries has clouded the sunniest land in the world ; the freeing of Russia from oppression which for so long has covered it like a shroud; the great declaration of President Wilson, coming with the might of the great nation he represents into the struggle for liberty,—these are the heralds of Dawn. They attacked with the dawn, and those men are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn and soon, Frenchmen, Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yes, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins and Rumanians, will emerge into the full light of perfect day."

As it is claimed that the British angle of vision as regards India has changed for the better and as British officials and the British people in Great Britain are now undoubtedly inclined to be more courteous towards India than before, we may be permitted to remind Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen and the British people in general that India, too, has not yet emerged "into the full light of perfect day." May we, therefore, urge that they will take such steps as will enable Indians, along with Frenchmen, Russians, Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins and Rumanians, to "emerge into the full light of perfect day" ?

Mr. Lloyd George on Democracy and Freedom.

In the course of the same great speech from which we have quoted above, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

"This is the straightest struggle for liberty America ever embarked upon (Cheers). Most great wars of the past were waged for domestic aggrandisement and conquest. The fact that the United States has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no such struggle. It is a great fight for human liberty" (Cheers).

"There are two great facts which clinch the argument that this is a great struggle for freedom. The first is the fact that America has joined. She would not have done so otherwise. The second is the Russion Revolution (Loud Cheers). When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers to America to fight for the freedom and independence of that land, France was also an autocracy, but once the Frenchmen were in America, their aim was freedom, their atmosphere was freedom, and they took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia engaged in this great War for the freedom of Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria. They were fighting for the freedom of Europe and they want to make their own country free and have done with it (Cheers). The Russian Revolution is not merely the outcome of a struggle for freedom, it is a part of the great struggle for liberty and if the Russian people realise this, as there is every evidence that they are doing, that national discipline is not incompatible with national freedom, nay, that national discipline is essential to the security of national freedom (Cheers), they indeed will become a great people."

As it is a great fight for human liberty may it not be hoped that the British people will bear this fact in mind in their dealings with India now and after peace has been concluded ? Thousands of Indians, like the Russians, have been "fighting for the freedom of Europe"; we hope, that Mr. Lloyd George will admit that according to his logic it would not be unnatural if Indians too "wanted to make their own country free."

India does not demand "independence" nor is there any general desire to "revolt against the beneficence" of white men ; there is at present only a demand for internal autonomy. A contemporary historian should, therefore, be able to say that the following extract from Sir John Kaye's History of the Sepoy Mutiny, vol. I. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1898), page 262, (in which he speaks of the views of the new school of Anglo-Indian politicians as reflected in the Anglo-Indian Press of 1856, the year before the Mutiny,) no longer represents the attitude of the British people at "home" and sojourning in India :—

"To suggest that in an Asiatic race there might be a spirit of independence and a love of country, the manifestations of which were honourable in themselves, however inconvenient to us, was commonly to evoke, as the very mildest result, the imputation of being "Anti-British," whilst sometimes the "Anti-British feeling" asserted itself in a less refined choice of epihets, and those who ventured to sympathise in any way with the people of the East were set

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denounced as "white niggers." Yet among these very men, so intolerant of anything approaching the assertion of a spirit of liberty by an Asiatic people, there were some who could well appreciate and sympathise with the aspirations of European bondsmen, and could regard with admiration the struggles of the Italian, the Switzer, or the Pole to liberate himself, by a sanguinary contest, from the yoke of the usurper. *But the sight of the dark skin sealed up their sympathies.* They contended not merely that the love of country, that the spirit of liberty as cherished by European races, is in India wholly unknown, but that Asiatic nations, and especially the nations of India, have no right to judge what is best for themselves, have no right to revolt against the beneficence of a more civilised race of white men, who would think and act for them, and deprive them, for their own good, of all their most cherished rights and their most valued possessions."

We are sure there are very many Englishmen now who would be ashamed to give expression to such sentiments.

In our February and April numbers we have drawn attention to and commented upon the Premier's previous declarations to the effect that the present war was a fight for human liberty and that the world stood on the verge of the greatest liberation that has been seen since the French Revolution. On the 6th April he dictated to the American Press Representative the following message to the American people, on behalf of the War Cabinet :—

"America at one bound has become a world power in a sense she never was before. She waited until she found the cause was worthy of her traditions, and the American people held back until they were fully convinced that the fight was not a sordid scrimmage for power or possessions, but an unselfish struggle to overthrow a sinister conspiracy against human liberty and human right. Once that conviction was reached the great republic of the west leapt into the arena and she stands now side by side with the European democracies, who, bruised and bleeding after three years of grim conflict, are still fighting most savagely for the ever-menaced freedom of the world. The glowing phrases of the President's noble deliverance illumine the horizon and make clearer than ever the goal we are striving to reach. There are three phrases which will stand out for evermore in the story of this crusade. The first is : The world must be safe for democracy. The next is : The menace to the power of freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organised force which is controlled by their will and not by the will of their people. The crowning phrase is that in which the President declares : A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. These words represent the faith which inspires and sustains our people in the tremendous sacrifices they have made and are still making. They also believe that the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy, upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government, upon respect for the rights and liberties of nations both great and small, and upon the universal dominion of public right. To all these Prussian military autocracy is an implacable foe. The Imperial War Cabinet, representative of all the peoples of the British Empire, wish me on their behalf to recognise the chivalry and courage which calls the people of the United States to dedicate their whole resources to the service of the greatest cause which ever engaged human endeavour.

We are in the heartiest agreement with the political ideal which has found expression in the Premier's message. We only hope that the principles of democracy will not to be confined in their application only to the white and the occidental population of the earth and to Japan, but that the other races inhabiting the vast countries of Asia and Africa will have the advantage of democratic ideals. Mr. Llyod George is quite right in holding that "the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy, upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their government, upon respect for the rights and liberties of nations, both great and small, and upon the universal dominion of public right." But unless the peoples of Asia and Africa are governed according to these democratic principles, there cannot be "peace and unity of mankind." There can be no unity between bondsmen and their masters. And if Asia and Africa continue to be considered the happy hunting ground of the strongest nations of the earth, there will always be quarrels about the portions to be possessed and exploited by them. But if democratic principles are given effect to everywhere, there cannot be any such quarrels. Moreover, as under such conditions the protected backward peoples cannot but be sincerely attached to their protectors, there will be less temptation for robber nations to wage war in the expectation of rebellions breaking out among the subject peoples.

That democracy means lasting peace was emphasized by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech before the American Luncheon Club also. He said :

When this War began, two-thirds of Europe was under the sway of autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. (Cheers).

The democracy of France did not want war. The democracy of Italy hesitated long before entering the war and the democracy of Britain shrank from it and shuddered and would never have entered the cauldron, but for the in asion of Belgium. Democracy sought peace and strove for peace and if Prussia had been a democracy, there would have been no war. (Cheers).

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This is true. But Europe should give up the habit of thinking that the white races and Japan constitute the whole of mankind. The other people of Asia and Africa are also men. Great Britain and her allies have repeatedly declared that the present war is due to Germany's unrighteous ambition. And what was that ambition? To monopolise the major portion of the world's commerce, by having more extensive possessions in Asia and Africa than she had, and by other means. For that reason she wanted to have the sea-ports of Belgium by conquering that country. Thus, whatever might have been the immediate motive for Germany's declaration of war, the ultimate cause is the firm belief that some continents and races exist only for being industrially exploited and politically kept in subjection. This root cause must be destroyed, if wars are to cease. The ideal of democracy as enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George can alone eradicate it. He no doubt observed :

> The world is an old world, it never had peace. It has been rocking and swaying like the ocean, and Europe, poor Europe, always lived under the sword.

But he forgot that there are other places besides "poor Europe" which "always lived under the sword"; Europe has by no means been the worst sufferer. Hence he spoke of democracy only in connection with Europe. It is possible that in the subconscious regions of his mind there was a belief that democracy is, like the air we breathe, for all mankind. If so, we are only trying to make explicit what was implied.

There was no doubt always a possibility, though not a probability, of all the strong nations of the earth coming to an agreement among themselves that all other peoples were to be politically and industrially exploited, and of the unorganised peoples being assigned to particular ruling nations in pursuance of that agreement. But the repeated declarations of British and other statesmen in favour of democracy should be able to avert such a gigantic crime and calamity, the most heinous imgainable in human history. The entrance of America,—America who is doing her best to liberate her dependency in Asia, into the war strengthens this hope. Mr. Lloyd George may have had some such thought in his mind when he said :

> We know America will wage a strong, succe... War and ensure a beneficent peace. I rejoice ... America is going to win the right to be at the P... Conference, which will settle the destiny of nat... and the course of human life for God knows ... many ages. It would have been a tragedy for ... kind if America had not been there. I can see a pe... not a peace to be the beginning of another war, ... a real peace.

America may be expected not to b... party to the enslavement of peoples ... part of the peace terms, not at any ra... to the enslavement of peoples who w... free before the war.

British Appreciation of America's Entr...

On the 18th of April last, the follow... resolution was unanimously adopted ... the House of Lords and the House ... Commons :

> "This House desires to express to the Governm... and the people of the United States its profound ... preciation of the action of the Government in joi... the Allies, thus defending the high cause of free... and the rights of humanity against the gra... menace by which they have ever been imperilled."

Mr. Asquith in the course of his spe... expressed a doubt whether even now ... world realised the full significance of ... step taken by the United States.

> I do not use the language of flattery or exagg... tion when I say that it is one of the most disinte... ed acts in history (Cheers).
>
> Mr. Asquith proceeded to show that the war ... not doing appreciable harm to the United States ... was America's independence or liberty directly ... perilled. She did not want territory. What ... had brought her in was nothing but the constrai... force of conscience and humanity growing in com... sive authority month by month with a gradual ... folding of the real character of the aims of Ger... (Cheers).
>
> America saw the whole future of the civ... government, and intercourse, particularly the fort... of and faith in Democracy imperilled. In suc... situation aloofness was not only a blunder b... crime. To stand aside with stopped ear, folded ... and averted gaze when you have the power to ... tervene is to become not a mere spectator but ... accomplice (Cheers). But none of us feared ... America would finally decide (Cheers).

We hope when statesmen use the ... pression "rights of humanity" in con... tion with the war, they mean the rights ... all mankind, not merely the rights ... whitemanity.

Mr. Bonar Law said in part :

> He welcomed the adhesion of America also be... it morally justified our own action (cheers). Am... like Britain had entered into the war because ... could do no other. The entry of America was ... fitting pendant to the revolution which bro... Russia into the circle of freed nations. He had ... with deep admiration and profound agreement

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nine Falstaff would have racked our nerves.

49

Bolpur,
12th Jaistha (May) : 1892.

I usually pace the roof-terrace, alone, of an evening. Yesterday afternoon I felt it my duty to show my two visitors the beauties of the local scenery, so I strolled out with them, taking Aghore as a guide.

At the edge of the horizon where the distant fringe of trees was blue, a thin line of dark blue cloud had risen over them and was looking particularly beautiful. I tried to be poetical and said it was like an edging of blue collyrium adorning a beautiful blue eye. Of my companions one did not hear the remark, another did not understand it, while the third dismissed it with the reply : "Yes, it is very pretty." I did not feel encouraged to attempt a second poetical flight.

After walking about a mile we came to a dam, and along the pool of water there was a row of *tal* (tan palm) trees, under which was a natural spring. While we stood there looking at this we found that the line of cloud which we had seen in the North was making for us, swollen and grown darker, flashes of lightning gleaming the while.

We unanimously came to the conclusion that viewing the beauties of nature could be better done from within the shelter of the house, but no sooner had we turned homewards than a storm, making giant strides over the open moorland, was on us with an angry roar. I had no idea while I was admiring the collyrium on the eyelashes of beauteous dame Nature that she would fly at us like an irate housewife, threatening so tremendous a slap!

It got so dark with the dust we could not see beyond a few paces. The fury of the storm increased and flying stony particles off the rubbly soil stung our bodies like shot, as the wind took us by the scruff of the neck and thrust us along, to the whipping of drops of rain which had begun to fall.

Run ! Run ! But the ground was not level, being deeply scarred with water courses, and not easy to cross at any time, much less in a storm. I managed to get entangled in a thorny shrub and was nearly thrown on my face by the force of the wind as I stopped to free myself.

When we had almost reached the house, a host of servants came running towards us, shouting and gresticulating and fell upon us like another storm. Some took us by the arms, some bewailed our plight, some were eager to show us the way, others hung on our backs as if fearing that the storm might carry us off altogether. We evaded their attentions with some difficulty and managed at length to get into the house, panting, with wet clothes, dusty bodies and tumbled hair.

One thing I have learnt ; and I will never again write in novel or story the lie that the hero with the picture of his lady love in his mind is passing unruffled through wind and rain. No one can keep in mind any face, however lovely, while in a storm,—he has enough to do to keep the sand out of his eyes! . . . .

The Vaishnava poets have sung ravishingly of Radha going to her tryst with Krishna through a stormy night. Did they ever pause to consider, I wonder, in what condition she must have reached him ? The kind of tangle her hair got into is easily imaginable, and also the state of the rest of her toilet. When she arrived in her bower with the dust on her body soaked by the rain into a coating of mud she must have been a sight !

But when we read the *Vaishnava* poems these thoughts do not occur to us. We only see on the canvas of our mind the picture of a beautiful woman, passing under the shelter of the flowering *kadambas* in the darkness of a stormy *Shravan** night, towards the bank of the Jumna, forgetful of wind or rain as in a dream, drawn by her surpassing love. She has tied up her anklets lest they should tinkle ; she is clad in dark-blue raiment lest she be discovered ;—but she holds no umbrella lest she get wet, nor carries a lantern lest she fall !

Alas for useful things,—how necessary in practical life, how neglected in poetry ! But poetry strives in vain to free us from their bondage,—they will be with us always ; so much so, we are told, that with the march of civilization it is poetry that will become extinct, but patent after patent will continue to be taken out for the improvement of shoes and umbrellas.

* July-August, the rainy season.

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50

Bolpur,
16th Jaistha (May) : 1892.

No church tower clock chimes here, and there being no other human habitation near by, complete silence falls with the evening, as soon as the birds have ceased their song. There is not much difference between early night and midnight. A sleepless night in Calcutta flows like a huge, slow river of darkness ; one can keep count of the varied sounds of its passing, lying on one's back in bed. But here the night is like a vast, still lake, placidly reposing, with no sign of movement. And as I tossed from side to side last night I felt enveloped within a dense stagnation.

This morning I left my bed a little later than usual and, coming downstairs to my room, leant back on a bolster, one leg resting over the other knee. There, with a slate on my chest, I began to write a poem to the accompaniment of the morning breeze and the singing of birds. I was getting along splendidly—a smile playing on my lips, my eyes half closed, my head swaying to the rhythm, the thing I hummed gradually taking shape—when the post arrived.

There was a letter, the last number of the *Sadhana* Magazine, one of the Monist, and some proof-sheets. I read the letter, raced my eyes over the uncut pages of the *Sadhana*, and then again fell to nodding and humming through my poem. I did not do another thing till I had finished it.

I wonder why the writing of pages of prose does not give one anything like the joy of completing a single poem. One's emotions take on such perfection of form in a poem, they can be taken up by the fingers, so to speak. While prose is like a sackful of loose material, heavy and unwieldy, incapable of being lifted as you please.

If I could finish writing one poem a day my life would pass in a kind of joy, but though I have been busy tending poetry for many a year it has not been tamed yet and is not the kind of winged steed to allow me to bridle it whenever I like ! The joy of art is in its freedom. It can take a distant flight at its fancy, and even after its return within the world-prison an echo lingers in its ear, an exaltation in its mind.

These short poems are coming to me unsought and so prevent my getting on with the play. Had it not been for th I could have let in ideas for two or th plays which have been knocking at door. I am afraid I must wait till the weather. All my plays except Chitra written in the Winter. In that sea lyrical fervour is apt to grow cold, and gets the leisure to write drama.

51

Bolpur,
31st May : 1

It is not yet 5 o'clock, but the light dawned, there is a delightful breeze and the birds in the garden are awake and started singing. The *koel*, it seems be itself. It is difficult to understand wh should keep on cooing so untiringly. Cert ly not to entertain us, nor to distract pining lover, *—it must have some pers al purpose of its own. But, unfortun creature that it is, that purpose never see to get fulfilled. Yet it is not downhear and its Coo-oo ! Coo-oo ! keeps going, now and then an ultra-fervent trill. W can it mean ?

And then in the distance there is s other bird with only a faint Chuck ! Chu Its warble has no energy or enthusia as if it had lost all hope ; none the l from within its shady nook it cannot re uttering its little plaint : Chuck ! Chu Chuck !

How little we really know of the ho hold affairs of these innocent little win creatures, with their soft little breasts necks and their many-coloured feath Why on earth do they find it necess to sing so persistently ?

52

Shelidah,
31st Jaistha (June) : 1

I hate these polite formalities. No days I keep repeating the lines : "*rather would I be an Arab Bedouin* fine, healthy, strong and free barbarity

I feel I want to quit this conta ageing of mind and body with incess argument and nicety concerning an decaying things, and to feel the joy free and vigorous life ; to have, be good or bad, broad, unhesitating, unfe ed ideas and aspirations, free from lasting friction between custom and s sense and desire, desire and action.

If only I could set utterly and boun

* A favourite conceit of the old Sanskrit po

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ly free this hampered life of mine, I would storm the four quarters and raise wave upon wave of tumult all round ; I would career away madly, like a wild horse, for very joy of my own speed !

But I am a Bengali, not a Bedouin ! I will sit in my corner and mope and worry and argue. I will turn my mind now this way up, now the other—as a fish is fried—and the boiling oil will blister first this side, then that.

Let it pass. Since I cannot be a thorough barbarian, it is but proper that I should make an endeavour to be thoroughly civilised. Why foment a quarrel between the two ?

53

Shelidah,
16th June : 1892

The more one lives alone on the river or in the open country, the clearer it becomes that nothing is more beautiful or great than to perform the ordinary duties of one's daily life simply and naturally. From the grasses in the field to the stars in the sky, each one is doing just that ; and there is such profound peace and surpassing beauty in nature because none of these tries forcibly to transgress its limitations.

Yet what each one does is by no means of little moment. The grass has to put forth all its energy, to draw sustenance from the uttermost tips of its rootlets, only to grow where it is as grass ; it does not vainly strive to become a banian tree ; and so does the earth gain its lovely carpet of green. And, indeed, what little of beauty and peace is to be found in the societies of men is owing to the daily performance of little duties, not to big doings and tall talk.

Neither poetry nor bravery is perfect in itself, but each bit of duty has its own completeness. Nothing can be meaner than to fret and fume, let loose one's imagination and feel no existing state to be worthy of oneself, while allowing time to slip by unfulfilled.

Our whole life fills out with joy and ceases to be disturbed by carking cares and griefs when we have the determination to go through the work within our grasp, honestly, heartily and with all our strength, be it pleasant or painful; and the belief that this can be done.

It may be that because the whole of our life is not vividly present before us at each moment, some imaginary hope may lure, some glowing picture of a future, untrammelled with petty, everyday burdens, may tempt us ; but these are illusory.

54

Shelidah,
2nd Asarh (June) : 1892.

Yesterday, the first day of *Asarh*,* the enthronement of the rainy season was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance. It was very hot the whole day, but in the afternoon tremendous, dense clouds rolled up.

I thought to myself this first day of the rains I would rather risk getting wet than remain confined in my dungeon of a cabin.

The year 1293† will not come again in my life, and for the matter of that, how many more even of these first days of *Asarh* will come either? My life would be sufficiently long if they number 30,—these first days of *Asarh* to which the poet of the *Meghaduta*‡ has given special distinction, for me at least.

It sometimes strikes me how immensely fortunate I am that each day should come into my life, some reddened with the rising and setting sun, some refreshingly cool with deep, dark clouds, some blooming like a white flower in the moonlight. What untold wealth they hold !

A thousand years ago Kalidas welcomed that first day of *Asarh ;* and once in every year of my life that same day of *Asarh* dawns in all its glory,—that self-same day of the old poet of old Ujjain, that first *Asarh* day which has brought to countless men and women their joys of union, their pangs of separation, through the ages.

Every year one such great, time-hallowed day drops out of my life; and the time will come when this day of Kalidas, this day of the *Meghaduta*, this eternal first day of the rains in Hindustan, shall come no more for me. When I realise this I feel I want to take, once more, a good look at nature,—to offer a conscious welcome to each day's sunrise, to say farewell to each day's setting sun as to an intimate friend.

Had I been a saintly type of person I would probably have reflected that since life is fleeting I should beware of wasting

* June-July, the commencement of the rainy season.

† Of the Bengali Samvat era.

‡ In the *Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger) of Kalidas a famous description of the burst of the Monsoon begins with the words: *On the first day of Asarh.*

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the precious days and spend them in good works and prayer. But that is not my nature, and my only regret is that I cannot take in the whole of the beautiful days and nights that are passing through my life with all their colour, their light and shade, their silent pageant filling the skies, their peace and beauty pervading all space between earth and heaven.

What a grand festival, what a vast theatre of festivity! And we cannot even fully respond to it, so far away do we live from the world! The light of the stars travels millions of miles to reach the earth, but it cannot reach our hearts,—so many millions of miles further are we!

Ah that heavenly sunset which I saw on the Red Sea on my way to England, where is it now? But what splendid good fortune it was for me to have seen it. The vision, which of all poets in the world I alone saw, did not come in vain, for its colours have burnt themselves into my life. Each such day is as so much hoarded wealth.

Such are some of the days of my childhood at the river-side garden, some of my nights on the roof terrace, some rainy days on the south and west verandahs, some evenings of my youth at the Chandernagore villa, a sunset and a moonrise seen from the Senchal peak at Darjeeling; these and other scraps of time I have kept filed away within me. When in my early life I used to lie on the roof terrace on moonlit nights, the moonlight would brim over like foam from a glass of wine, and intoxicate me.

The world into which I have tumbled is peopled with strange beings. They are always busy erecting walls and rules round themselves and how careful are they with their curtains lest they should see! It is a wonder to me they have not made drab covers for flowering plants and put up a canopy to ward off the moon. If the next life is determined by the desires of this one, then I should be reborn from this enshrouded planet into some free and open realm of joy.

Only those who cannot steep themselves in beauty to the full, despise it as an object of the senses. But they who have tasted of its inexpressibility know how far it is beyond the highest powers of mere eye or ear,—nay even the heart is powerless to attain the end of its yearning.

I masquerade through life as a civilised creature when, in passing and repassing the streets of the town, I converse with the most polished of civilised humanity in the most civilised manner. But at heart I am a barbarian and a savage. Is there no state of anarchy for me where men hold joyful revelry?

But what am I doing? I am raving like the hero of a melodrama who rants in a long aside, against the conventions of society to show his superiority to the rest of mankind! I really ought to be ashamed to say this kind of thing. The bit of truth in it has long ago been drowned in verbiage. People in this world talk a great deal too much, and I am the worst offender. This has just struck me after all this while

P.S. I have left out the very thing I started to tell of. Don't be afraid, I won't take four more sheets. It is this that on the evening of the first day of *Asarh* it came on to rain very heavily in great, lance-like showers. That is all.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE rumour was afloat that Gobindalal had given seven thousand rupees' worth of ornaments to Rohini. This had reached her ears, and she wondered who had spread this falsehood. Could it be Bhramar? She at once jumped to the conclusion it was she. Who but

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foolish girl would ever care to circulate this nonsense? Surely it was she who did it to be revenged on her by branding her with infamy. She remembered to have heard that she had called her a thief. She said she would never forgive her, but wear it in her heart till she had humbled her pride.

The reader by now knows Rohini well enough to feel that she is up to anything. She went and borrowed from a neighbour a silk cloth wrought with beautiful designs in gold and silver, and a suit of gilt ornaments. With the cloth and the ornaments made up into a bundle she left and bent her steps in the direction of Krishnakanta's house. It was near dark, and she entered the house by the back-door. She then went and stepped quietly into Gobindalal's room where Bhramar was alone and weeping. Seeing Rohini she recoiled just as she would have recoiled at the sight of a serpent in her way. "You thieving, wicked, dangerous woman, what do you want here in my room?" she cried. "Have you come into this house again to steal?"

Rohini cursed her in her mind. Aloud she said, and with a coolness which was extremely provoking, "No, not to steal. I don't need to steal now. I must confess that your husband is very kind to me. He has given me this valuable cloth, and these ornaments here whose worth is about three thousand rupees. The rumour that he has given me some seven thousand rupees' worth of ornaments is false."

"Get out of my room, you serpent. How dare you add insult to injury?" exclaimed Bhramar.

Rohini, without paying any heed to her words, hastened to put before her the ornaments after undoing the bundle.

This was so aggravating and insulting to her that she struck them with her foot in great indignation, and scattered them about on the floor. "Out, you shameless impudent woman, pack out this instant," she cried.

Rohini very quickly picked up the ornaments, put them together and withdrew without uttering another word.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Bhramar could get no sleep at all, and she passed a very anxious and restless night. Before morning dawned she engaged herself in writing a letter to her husband. When she was married she was an unfledged and unlettered girl of eight. Her husband taught her how to read and write; but she was never an apt pupil, and consequently she had not been able to make any very great progress. However, she could read and write tolerably well. This day as she wrote she blotted and blundered much, for she felt very uneasy in her mind.

Her letter we give below in a readable form.

"That day when you returned from the garden after eleven o'clock at night, I inquired what made you stay away till so late as that. You refused to tell me. When I insisted on knowing you said you would tell me, but not until a couple of years had passed. But I have got your secret. I wish I had never known it. Rohini called yesterday to show me the cloth and the ornaments you have given her. Such a wicked impudent woman she is. She did it to hurt and insult me, I know. But I bore with her and let her go unharmed.

"What will you say now? I had unbounded faith in you, you know I had. My heart is broken. I wish we should not meet when you come. Would you kindly drop a line to say when you are going to come home? I request this favour because I want to go to my father's house before your return home. I shall know how to get your uncle to consent to my going."

In due course Gobindalal received his wife's letter. When he had read it, he was as much pained as surprised. It was like a bolt from the blue. The language in which it was couched made him for a moment doubt that it was written by his wife. But there could be no question about it, for he well knew her hand.

By the same post there had come a few more letters which he afterwards opened and read one after the other. Among these was one from Brahmananda, who wrote as follows:—

My Dear Sir,

I am obliged to communicate with you on a very painful subject. A rumour is afloat (though I do not believe one word of it) that you are in a criminal intrigue with my niece, Rohini, and that you have given seven thousand rupees' worth of ornaments to her. This is scandalous, and injurious to us. But who do you think

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the inventor of it is? Would you believe me? They name your wife. I was astonished to hear it, for I never dreamed of any harm from your quarter. I am a poor man and have ever lived under the protection of your uncle. I communicate my grievance to you, and I earnestly hope that you will do justice in the matter.

Yours sincerely
Brahmananda Ghose.

Gobindalal was amazed. Bhramar had fabricated this? Was it possible? The more he pondered over it the more perplexed he was. At length he decided that he must at once start for home. So he told his *naib*, and, through him, his tenantry that he was going home the next day, the pretext put forward being that the climate of the place did not agree with his health. Accordingly a boat was got ready, and on the following day Gobindalal started homeward with his attendants.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Why had she, thought Bhramar, let her husband go? If he had stayed at home the mystery of this disgraceful rumour would have been easily solved, and she would have been spared the cruel anxiety she was labouring under. She was in a passion with her husband, for the proofs she had of his illicit love for Rohini seemed to speak very strongly against him. This troubled her very much, making her miserable and taking the sweetness out of her daily bread.

On the very day that Gobindalal left to return home the *naib* sent by post an intimation of his departure to Krishnakanta. The letter reached him four or five days before Gobindalal arrived. When Bhramar heard that her husband was coming home, she wrote a letter to her mother, which she secretly sent by a woman of a low caste, for her native village was only a few miles off from Haridragram. She pretended she was in the worst of health, and asked her mother to send for her immediately on receipt of her letter. She warned her at the same time that in the letter they would write they were to make no mention of the state of her health.

When her mother received her letter, she naturally became very anxious. Had it been any other person he might have suspected that there was something wrong. But the mother easily swallowed what her daughter wrote. She wept and showed the letter to her husband, who at her instance sent a palanquin and bearers the next day with a letter in which he made a pretext of his wife's illness to request Krishnakanta to send their daughter to their house for a few days.

Krishnakanta was in a fix. It did not seem to him right to allow his daughter-in-law to go to her father's house, since Gobindalal was coming home and would arrive shortly. Nevertheless he ought not, he thought, to refuse to let her go, considering that her mother was ill and wished to see her. He reflected for a while and decided that she might go only for four days.

On his return home Gobindalal heard that his wife had gone to her father's, but that a palanquin and bearers should be sent that day to bring her. He was greatly annoyed. Did she not know him better than to believe a flying rumour and conclude that he was in the guilt? If she did not care to have the slightest regard for his feelings why should he have any for hers? She was certainly going to extremes. She would be sorry for it one day! He expressly told his mother not to bring her; and Krishnakanta said nothing, but allowed his nephew to have his own will.

CHAPTER XXV.

After Gobindalal's return home some days had passed, and Bhramar came not, for no one went for her. Gobindalal thought that she was going farther than she had a right to, that her attitude was defiant and that he must teach her a lesson. Nevertheless he felt a pang whenever he looked around the vacant room. How very strange it seemed to him that there could be any misunderstanding between himself and his wife. The very thought of it would bring tears into his eyes. However painful the separation from her was, at times he would feel very angry when he thought that her behaviour was most unbecoming. Why did she not tell her suspicions to him? Sometimes he allowed himself to be so carried away by his passion that he thought he would never see her face again.

Days went by, and Gobindalal felt so sad and lonely that at length he resolved to get over his trouble by giving himself up to the thought of Rohini. He had tried to forget Rohini while he had been away, but

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in vain. Off and on her pensive face (for so it appeared to him) would come floating before his mind in spite of him, chasing away all his virtuous thoughts. Now he wanted to welcome the thought of Rohini as a means whereby to drown his sorrow. But he little thought that in doing so he would be taking a most dangerous course —a deadly poison in order to be rid of a little ailment, which could be cured by a simple remedy.

Gobindalal was enamoured of Rohini; and now he gave the reins to his passion, and he continued until his heart fluttered for her as it had never done.

One wet evening Gobindalal was seated in a bower near the garden-house where he commanded a full view of the tank. It was the rainy season. He was thinking of Rohini, and he looked sad and thoughtful. The rain was falling, and the gloom of evening was enhanced by the thick black clouds which overspread the sky. Through the growing darkness and the rain Gobindalal could see a woman descending the stairs of the ghat at no very great distance from where he sat. He called out to warn her that the stairs were slippery in the rain, and that she should be very careful lest she might catch a fall.

The wind whistled among the trees and the rain pattered. Whether the woman had heard him properly we cannot tell, but she set down her pot at the ghat, mounted the stairs again and walked toward the garden. Coming to the garden-door she pushed it open and entered, closing it behind her. Then slowly she moved up to where Gobindalal sat.

"Rohini!" cried Gobindalal, an agreeable surprise marking his tone. "Why have you come out in the rain, Rohini?"

"Did you call me, sir?" said Rohini. "I thought you called me."

"No," said he; "but I called out to say that the stairs were slippery. One might catch a fall stepping carelessly, you know. But why do you stand in the rain?"

She found courage, and stepped into the bower.

"Oh, what will a person think if he should see us alone together and in such a solitary place? You expose yourself to scandal."

"I do not care," said Rohini. "Have you not heard the rumour?"

"I have," he said. "But is it true that it was invented and spread by Bhramar?"

"I will tell you. But shall we be talking here?"

"No; come with me," said Gobindalal.

They walked a few paces and entered the garden-house. Modesty will not permit us to give the talk they had together. Suffice it to say that when Rohini left this evening she was satisfied that she had obtained a pretty fast hold upon Gobindalal's mind.

CHAPTER XXVI.

We love and admire everything beautiful in nature. You admire the wings of a butterfly. I am delighted when I see a rainbow in the sky. You love flowers because they please you. Why should I not love a pretty young girl if she pleases me? It is no sin to love; and to love is natural.

Thus reasoned Gobindalal in his mind. Thus even will a saint reason on the first setp to ruin. Gobindalal was so fascinated by Rohini's beauty that he thought it was no sin to wish to get her. His passion for her consumed him night and day like a flame. Sigh after sigh broke from him; and he seemed to have no wish, no thought, no hope beyond her. This went on for a time till one day in an evil hour he slipped and sold himself to the devil.

Krishnakanta knew nothing of his going wrong, but after a time it got to his ears. When he heard it he was much grieved, for he dearly loved his nephew. This must not be overlooked, he thought, and it seemed to him that a timely admonition might make him turn and repent. But he had been ill for some days past, and consequently was not able to leave his chamber. Gobindalal went everyday to see his uncle, but as the servants were always by Krishnakanta did not like to say anything to his nephew in their presence. But the old man's illness increased. He went from bad to worse; and he thought that if he did not speak to his nephew yet he might never have an opportunity, for he felt that he was not long for the world. One day being on a visit after he had returned very late at night from the garden, Gobindalal said, "How do you feel to-night, uncle?" Krishnakanta said nothing; he signed to the servants to leave the room. "What made you stay away so late as this?" he said. Gobindalal made as if he did not hear him, and only coughed as he took his hand to feel the

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pulse. He startled; for it seemed to him that his pulse-beat was so faint as to be scarcely perceptible. He abruptly left the room, saying only that he would be back in a little time.

Without losing a minute Gobindalal hastened to the physician. "Oh, come quick, sir," said he as soon as he saw him, "uncle seems so very bad just now, and I am so afraid." The physician, who had noticed no premonitory symptoms to fear anything of the kind, looked rather amazed. However, he made haste to take a few pills and walked off with Gobindalal with hurried steps. On reaching the house they quickly went and entered Krishnakanta's room. The old man looked rather alarmed. When the physician had felt his pulse, he asked him if he feared anything worse.

"I cannot assure you, sir, that there is no reason for apprehending anything of the kind," said the physician in a serious tone of voice.

Krishnakanta understood the drift of his words. "Do you think my end is near?" he asked again.

"I do not know. I mean to wait and see what effect this medicine has on you, and then I may be able to give my opinion," he returned, offering him a pill which he wished him to swallow in a little water. But Krishnakanta instead of taking the pill dropped it into the spit-box at his side.

The physician looked up with some surprise.

"You need not mind my not wishing to take any medicine," said Krishnakanta. "It won't—it can't do any good to an old man like me whose last hour is at hand. I would rather wish all of you to chant the praise of God as the only remedy that can do any real good to me now."

There was an awful silence in the room. No one spoke a word, nor stirred hand or foot. Krishnakanta alone sang a hymn, one he loved to sing, and his face betrayed no signs of fear. After a while he said to Gobindalal, "Open the drawer and take out my will. The key is there."

Gobindalal took out the key from underneath the pillow where it used to be kept, opened the drawer, and taking out the will handed it to his uncle.

"Call my clerks here and all the respectable men of the village," said he to Gobindalal.

In a little time the room was crowded and Krishnakanta told one of his clerks to read out the will. When he had finished he declared that he wished to change the will, and ordered the clerk to write a fresh one.

"A fresh will?" said he, looking up in his master's face.

"I do not mean any changes in the wording of the will," said Krishnakanta. "Only—." Here he paused, and the clerk looked inquiringly at him.

"—Only," he continued, "you are to leave out Gobindalal's name, and in his stead to put his wife's. Write also that after her death her half share of the estate will go to her husband."

All were silent, and no one dared to speak a word. The clerk looked significantly at Gobindalal, who by a motion of his head told him to write as he was bidden.

When the writing was finished, Krishnakanta signed the will and asked the witnesses to put their signatures to it. After which he took up the will again and signed as one of the witnesses.

In the will Gobindalal had not got a farthing. To his wife was given his full share of the property.

That day toward the small hours of the morning Krishnakanta breathed his last, and even to his last moments the name of God dwelt upon his lips.

(*To be continued.*)

Translated by D. C. Roy.

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WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By Frank Howel Evans, Author of "Five Years," "The Cinema Girl," &c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

CHAPTER VII.

Homeless again.

"WELL now, and 'ow d'you like it?" It was the end of Glady's first week as a waitress in the coffee shop. It had been a strange but a not altogether unpleasant experience. She wore a white apron and a little, almost coquettish cap in the same style as Jessie's, the good-natured, darkhaired, rather pretty girl who was leaving to be married in a month's time, and was full of the sweetly humorous patronising manner of the engaged and about-to-be-married girl to the unattached of her sex. She had put Gladys into the way of things, with many a hint and wrinkle which were extremely useful.

It was rather perplexing at first to remember all the orders as they were called out to her, but she soon managed to get used to the strange terms and to be able to take two orders at once, and add up a bill almost at the same time. The men were all of the good, honest, working class, and Ma Giles's coffee shop had a reputation for order and cleanliness of language. Nearly all of the customers were known to each other, and Gladys soon got to know them all by their various names and nicknames.

The shop opened at six in the morning for the early breakfasts which went on till eight and nine; then began the preparations for the dinners at twelve. Gladys, of course, helped here, peeling potatoes and lending a hand generally, then laying the tables, and finally rushing upstairs to tidy herself. And so on, till the end of the day's work came at eight o'clock. It was not exactly hard work, for there was a boy to put up the shutters, sweep out the shop, and so on. There was not much time for standing still while the meal rushes were on, and the hours spent amidst the fumes of the cooking rather nauseated Gladys at first. She felt that she would never be able to eat anything herself after serving so many other people, but in time she got used to it, and she got to like her customers. She took one side of the coffee shop and Jessie the other, and though at first she felt a little doubtful about taking any tips, she argued with herself eventually that there was no reason why she should not take them, that there was nothing shameful in doing it, and that she must remember that she was earning her living.

The tips were not large. From the regular customers, that is, those who had their dinner and tea there every day, she received practically a penny a day each; these were working-class men who earned small wages. From some plutocrats, however, she received as much as twopence a day; these were the black-coated working class, attracted from neighbouring shops and manufactories by Mrs. Giles's prices and good cooking. Some of the others were of the foreman class, who kept all their tips till Saturday, when each one handed to Gladys sixpence. The casual customers, who were few, sometimes left nothing at all, and often Gladys felt as if she could beg them to let her pay for their meal herself, for they were evidently poor, hard-up creatures.

The butcher who supplied Mrs. Giles with meat used to dine there twice a week amidst the chaff of the men who knew him, who used to ask if he was there to see that the meat was safe, hurl witticisms at him about the toughness of the steak, and so on, all of which he used to take in good part. And every time he had a meal there, there was a shilling on the table for the waitress who served him.

Altogether it was an insight into the way in which some of her fellow-creatures lived, which Gladys would never have gained elsewhere. Brought up as she had been

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in practical luxury, she had never dreamt that for eightpence one could get a good dinner and that fourpence would pay for a breakfast.

As she sat in the bedroom with Meg that Saturday night counting up her tips which she had received during the week, she burst out laughing.

"Now, that's wot I like to 'ear !" said Meg. "That was a real laugh, that was ! Wot was you thinkin of, my dear ?"

"I was thinking that I believe I'm really rather glad to be poor. You know what I mean, Meg, dear, don't you ? I mean having to work for my living. I was laughing to think what some of my friends would have thought, my friends of a year ago whom I met abroad if they could see me now. I never thought work was such a delightful thing. I've quite enjoyed this week, and I owe it all to you."

Gladys went over and kissed Meg, who gave her a little push.

"Go on with you !" she said. "But wot you say about work is right. I couldn't abide bein' idle. Now then, 'ow much 'ave you made ?"

"Well, let me see ! I've got four shillings from Mrs. Giles and five-and-threepence in tips—that includes the shilling from the butcher ; he shares himself between Jessie and me. Why, good gracious me, I've got nine shillings ! Meg, you shall come out with me to-morrow afternoon, and we'll go for a nice long tram ride and have tea somewhere. It shall be my treat."

"Well, I should like to, I should love to," said Meg, hesitating a little, "but—well, you see it's my day out with Ted. You'll see him when 'e comes, won't you ? I should love you to see 'im."

"Oh yes, of course, of coarse ! I'm dying to see him. And I quite forgot that it was your day together. How selfish of me ! But you haven't told me his name yet, Meg ?"

"Well, 'is name is Martin, but don't you go givin' 'im no Mister ; 'e wouldn't like that ; you just call 'im Ted."

Gladys went to church the next morning, to a little church that she had noticed tucked away in a corner close by, and as she listened to the beautiful, simple words of the service, the swelling strains of the organ, and the direct, homely sermon, peace entered into her soul ; she felt that there were other things than riches, and she walked back to the coffee shop—closed, of course on the Sabbath—feeling quite a little glow of happiness.

A little before three o'clock, when the midday meal was over and had been cleared away, there came a knock at the door, which Meg answered, and then came back with a young man wearing a decent dark suit with a rather flamboyant tie, loudly squeaking boots, and hair parted in the centre and plastered down tight over his forehead. In his buttonhole was a flower, and from the inside of his hat he extracted another and presented it to Meg, then took out another one which he handed to Mrs. Giles, then another which he handed to Gladys, all without saying a word. He had a round, good-natured face, and he blushed furiously and seemed very shy.

"Why don't you speak up, silly ?" said Meg. "Wish the ladies good afternoon or somethin' of that sort. This is my Ted, Gladys. Ted, this is my friend, Miss—I forget 'er name, I call 'er Gladys. You know ! You've 'eard me speak of 'er."

"I'm pleased to meet you, miss."

Ted gave a jerky sort of bow, and then relapsed once more into silence.

"And to 'ear 'im talk sometimes—well, you wouldn't believe it," said Meg, looking at the little man with affectionate pride, however—he was much smaller than she was. "Do you remember that chap as was 'ittin' 'is moke, Ted, and 'ow you talked to 'im ? Aye, talked to 'im and got 'im a 'idin', too, didn't yer ? Well, come on, say good-bye to the ladies and we'll pop off. We're goin' to see 'is aunt down at Surbiton, Gladys. She's got a bit of money, and if she takes a fancy to me she might, perhaps, fork out that extra thirty pounds, eh, Ted ?"

"Not 'arf !" said Ted, inconsequently. 'Good afternoon, miss, and Ma," he said, moving to the door, and then, turning, he jerked his thumb at the flowers which Mrs. Giles and Gladys had now tucked into the bosoms of their dresses. "Not a good thing for flowers," he said hoarsely. "Best I could do."

They left, and then Gladys went out herself, leaving Mrs. Giles to her peaceful Sunday afternoon sleep. The air was crisp, but there was a touch of sun, and Gladys made her way to Hyde Park, skirting Kirton Square on the way. She just glanced at the old house, and then passed on with head erect. She would not look

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back: she would not regret; she had done what she considered to be her duty by her soul, by her self-respect.

The Park was full. People walked briskly, to take no risk from the little nip in the air. Cheeks were rosy with exercise, and most of the crowd seemed happy and contented as they passed by laughing and chatting.

Gladys felt that she must not walk too far. She still limped a little, and when opportunity offered in the shop she always sat down. But she had been able to dispense with the stout stick, which of course drew attention to her slight lameness, and for that she was grateful. So, after sauntering a little way along the banks of the Serpentine, she decided to return home.

When she arrived at the gates of the Park on her way home there was a slight block in the traffic for a moment; taxis and motorcars were held up, and just as she reached the kerb the policeman moved to one side, the cars and cabs jerked their way on again, and in a taxi that passed she distinctly saw a face she knew, the face of a man who was looking straight in front of him. It was Lord Guardene. He didn't see her. The cab passed on, and he was gone in a second. But the sight of him brought back to Gladys again the remembrance that she had not yet answered his letter.

She thought of that letter all the way home. Somehow since she had seen him in the cab things seemed to have become a little sordid; the Blackfriars Road seemed so unclean, so dilapidated and dingy. And her clothes too! She had only the one costume she was wearing, and that was now shabby. Her boots, too, were going down at the heels; her hat—she felt sure that was out of shape and antiquated. She wanted new things badly, for the cold weather was coming on. And she dreaded now to think of the next day's work, of the waiting in the humid, steaming atmosphere; she could smell again the roast meats, the vegetables. It seemed as if rebellion seized her. There was Lord Guardene in that cab, well-dressed as usual, doubtless on his way to make a call, to afternoon tea, and Gladys pictured the well-furnished, silk-hung drawing-room to which he might be going, the shaded electric lamps, the hissing kettle, the beautiful silver, the delicate china, the blazing fire, the soft carpet, the piano in the corner, the pile of newspapers and magazines, the new books, the drawn curtains—for it was now getting dusk—the well-dressed callers. She shivered again, for here she was in this dingy neighbourhood, going back to a coffee shop, to coarse food, to pokey rooms. Why, why should she put up with these things? She had not answered his letter. She could change her mind, she could accept him. If he really loved her it wouldn't matter to him if she were poor. Yes, she would write, not to-night, perhaps, but very soon, and tell him this.

Gladys went to bed before Meg returned, thinking what she would say to Jack Guardene, how she would frame her words. She had made up her mind that she would marry Lord Guardene.

"Are you asleep, Gladys?" said Meg when she came up to bed later on. "Oh, I must tell you! We've 'ad such a bit of luck. Ted's aunt's agreed to give 'im the extra thirty pounds that we want to go into that shop, so we're goin' to get married before Christmas. It'll be in about two months' time, no longer, and I told Ted that I was goin' to ask you—I've got no one else to ask—if you'd be my bridesmaid. You'd look so pretty, and I should be so proud if you would. Oh, my dear, kiss me! I'm so 'appy I don't know 'ow to 'old meself. I've been cryin' all the way 'ome, and Ted 'e 'asn't 'arf called me all the sillies 'e could think of. But I couldn't 'elp it. I feel as if the 'ole of this world was 'eaven. Oh, my dear, my dear, you wait till you're in love, and you'll find you'll cry as much as you'll laugh, but it's cryin' for 'appiness. You don't mind me goin' on like this, do you, my dear? I 'aven't got no one else to talk to and tell all about it, and I'm 'appy, oh, so 'appy! Just wait till you're in love, and then you'll know. You don't mind kissin' one of my sort, do you, Gladys? I know you are a lady, and I'm common, but we're both women, ain't we?"

And then a revulsion of feeling came over Gladys. She was ashamed, ashamed of herself. This was love, real love, which this common Cockney girl was showing her nakedly and openly, the love of the woman for the man she had chosen, real, honest, pure love. And she, Gladys, was going to debase the name of love by agreeing to marry a man for whom she did not really care. Yes, this common Cockney

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girl had shamed her, shamed her into herself again, and she threw her arms round Meg's neck and kissed her, while the tears rolled down her own cheeks as well.

"Why, you're cryin' too, Gladys, blowed if you ain't! Now, my dear, you'll be my bridesmaid, won't you? And I'll be yours—oh, lor, I couldn't be yours, because I should be married. Well, never mind, you'll let me come to the weddin', won't you? Promise me that."

"Of course, of course! And I'll be your bridesmaid with the greatest pleasure—the greatest pleasure in the world."

"Now, look 'ere, there's another thing," went on Meg. "It's Ted's birthday tomorrer, and I'm goin' to treat 'im. I'm goin' to take 'im to the pit of a theayter, and I want you to come too, and we'll 'ave a bit of supper afterwards—not fried fish—and come 'ome together."

"Oh, that's awfully kind of you, Meg. But you know there's an old saying, 'Two's company, three's none.'"

"Oh, rats!" cried Meg inelegantly. "I told 'im I was goin' to bring you. We can 'old 'ands quite enough when we're by ourselves, and as we're goin' to get married sooner than we thought we shall 'ave plenty of time later on."

So Gladys set off the next night with Meg and Ted to the theatre. In the good, frank, open class in which Meg moved there was no false shame about a woman treating a man, and she paid for the admission to the pit of a theatre where there was a good, long, full-blooded melodrama running. And how they all enjoyed it! Gladys, taken right out of herself, laughed with everyone else at the jokes of the comedian, sorrowed with the heroine, and hated the villain. And Meg whispered to her:

"'Ere we are again, cryin' our eyes out! We women are a funny lot, ain't we? And look at my Ted! If 'e ain't a-doin' it, too!"

Then after the play there came supper. Ted insisted on paying for this meal, which was taken at a little Italian restaurant close to the theatre. Meg was a little abashed at the array of forks and knives and the number of glasses, but Ted was quite the swell; he had no false pride. He made the waiter explain to him in proper English what every dish was, and he paid the bill and tipped the attendant in quite a lordly manner.

"'Oo, ain't we a-goin' it?" cried Meg when a taxi was hailed and the three of them drove away over Blackfriars Bridge.

"I'll drop you two ladies at Ma Giles's and then the cab can take me on 'ome," said Ted, as they neared the street where the coffee shop was situated.

"'Allo, wot's up now?" said Ted, as the cab began to go more slowly, and there came the signs of a crowd.

He put his head out of the window to look, and the cab stopped dead.

"Wot is it, driver?" he asked.

"Fire up yonder, somewhere, I think," was the answer. "I don't think I can get through."

"All right, we'll get out 'ere, then," said Ted. "It's not a step to walk now."

He helped the two girls out of the cab, paid the driver, and then began with Meg and Gladys, one on each arm, to make their way through the crowd.

"There it is, there it is!" said Ted, pointing across the road to where the flames were shooting up from a building that was now furiously alight. "There's the fire!"

"My word," cried Meg, her voice rising to a shriek, "it's Ma Giles's!"

She had hardly spoken when a long drawn moan went up from the crowd, one of those shuddering, audible sighs that sound so strange, so weird, coming from a number of excited, frightened people.

"It's a woman, it's a woman!" cried someone excitedly, as a white-clad figure was seen at a top window towards which the flames were licking their hungry way. Meg's voice rose again.

"It's Ma, it's Ma Giles!" she shrieked. "She was the only one left in the place. Where's the escape? Ain't it ever coming? Can't nobody do nothin'? 'Ere, come on, get out of the way!"

Meg, with the strength of excitement, elbowed, pushed, squeezed her way through the crowd, followed by Gladys and Ted, and at length they found themselves as near to the burning shop as the police would allow.

It was a grandly awful sight as the flames, licking their way up, seized greedily on their prey. The building was blazing, and there at the top window, seen plainly almost as if it were day by the lurid light, was a gesticulating figure in white night-dress, poor old Mrs. Giles with her thin grey hair waving to

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breezes. It seemed as if she were about to try and jump from the window to the street below, and from the crowd there came shrilly and excitedly the first thought that was in everybody's mind :

"Don't jump! Don't jump! The escape's coming!"

The fire engine was already there, and the hose was playing vigorously on the flames, though seemingly without effect. The firemen could not make their way into the house up the stairs to try and save the old lady, for the flames were like a raging furnace. Would the escape never come? It seemed ages, whereas it was really only seconds. And still there at the window was that wavering, pathetic old figure. Willing hands had brought a ladder from a neighbouring shop, but it was too short, and for the moment it seemed as if the flames would reach that window-sill and lick Mrs. Giles into their horrid embrace.

Women turned away, hiding their faces, crying softly; men with white faces were cursing beneath their breath. And still the escape did not come! It wasn't minutes, it was only seconds that were passing, but they seemed like hours.

"The escape, the escape!" suddenly rose the shout as faintly in the distance was heard the booming gong. "The escape! The escape!"

Men shouted and yelled and waved their hands to Mrs. Giles. Still higher licked the flames and the short ladder had to be moved away,

"Don't jump, don't jump!" came the shout again.

"She'll do it! She'll jump! She'll be killed!" yelled Meg. "Oh, if she'd only stopped, if she'd only stop!"

"I'll stop 'er—at least I'll 'ave a try!" cried Ted, as he buttoned his coat tightly round him and made a sprint across the road, dived right through the little crowd of policemen and firemen that were in the street in front of the burning shop, and the next second he was seen shinning quickly up the ladder that willing and brave firemen had used, mounting as high as he could, trying to think out some method, some plan of reaching the old woman, of saving her.

Up to the top of the ladder, placed below and to one side of the window where Mrs. Giles was—the flames were too fierce for it to be any closer—ran Ted, and then—and then a cry that was almost like a united shout of triumph from the onlookers as Ted, balancing himself somehow on the very top rung of the ladder, crouched for a second and then gave a mighty spring upwards and was clutching with both hands on to the sill of the window next to the one at which Mrs. Giles was standing, distracted. This window gave into her room as well as the other. Ted clung there for a moment, and then the flames swaying towards him, borne by the wind, seemed to lick round his lithe, thin body, but another gust drove them back again, and then he was seen hanging by one hand—oh, how Gladys shuddered and Meg looked on with ghost-white face and staring eyes!—and with his other hand he was bashing, smashing crashing at the window-panes, heedless, evidently, of whether he cut himself or not. Another second or two and he had drawn himself up still further and in some miraculous manner seemed to fling himself through the broken window into the room.

"Oh, oh, Ted, Ted, Ted!" Gladys heard Meg saying beneath her breath as she looked with parted lips at what the brave coster boy was doing.

The next second Ted was seen at the window, with Mrs. Giles in his arms, dragging her backwards, and almost simultaneously the escape dashed up, the tall ladder was at the window and, wrapped in one of her own blankets, Mrs. Giles was brought down safely.

Kindly hands were ready to receive her; she was quickly taken away into a neighbouring shop. And then down came one of the firemen again with a limp, dangling body held over his shoulder.

"Ted! Ted! It's Ted! It's my Ted!" cried Meg, and her voice came high above every other sound as she fought her way to the foot of the fire escape, followed by Gladys.

Ted was senseless; he looked as if he were dead, and his face was an awful sight; the flames had touched his left cheek and had scarred and burnt his flesh; his right hand was covered with blood where he had cut himself when breaking the window.

Two or three men standing by stripped off their coats, which they placed on the pavement, and on these they laid poor Ted while a local doctor made a hurried examination, attending first of all to the wounds in the hands, binding them up

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with borrowed pocket-handkerchiefs and making a tourniquet to stop the bleeding of the arteries, for Ted had cut himself severely, dangerously. Still, he was alive though his injuries were terrible and his face was burnt on the left side.

"He's alive, and that's about all," said the doctor. "Get him into the ambulance at once and away to the hospital."

Meg heard the words and flung herself down on the ground by the senseless lad.

"E's not dead, 'e's not dead!" she moaned. "Oh, 'e mustn't die!" She turned and looked up at the doctor. "Don't let 'im die! That's wot you're 'ere for—to save people's lives. You ain't goin' to take 'im from me! I want 'im. 'E's mine. You ain't goin' to take 'im from me! You shan't, I say you shan't."

It was like an animal being robbed of her young, thought Gladys, as Meg looked up from her knees by the side of Ted.

"Let them take him to the hospital, dear," said Gladys gently. "Here's the ambulance. They'll look after him splendidly there. And I'm sure he's going to live, isn't he, doctor?"

"Say yes! Say he's going to live, for Heaven's sake!" went on Gladys, turning to the doctor in an undertone. "She's almost out of her mind."

"Live? Of course he'll live!" said the doctor cheerily, though he had his doubts. "He's been knocked about a bit, of course, but they'll soon pull him round at St. James's."

Ted was lifted into the ambulance, which was soon on its way to St. James's, the nearest hospital, and behind followed Meg and Gladys, Gladys trying to act the part of comforter.

"Dear, it will be all right," Gladys said. "Didn't you hear what the doctor told us? And you know it was a wonderfully brave thing to do. If he hadn't got into the room somehow Mrs. Giles would certainly have thrown herself out and killed herself; he was only just in time to pull her back. And he must have wrapped that blanket round her. Oh, what a brave little man, and how proud you must be of him! His name will be in all the papers to-morrow, you see if it isn't."

Gladys talked on rapidly, trying to distract Meg's attention, trying to prevent her from dwelling too much on the sight of that poor, maimed face and that wounded hand, but to her surprise she turned on her almost fiercely.

"Shut up!" she cried. "'E ain't a man, is 'e? D'you think I wanted 'im go and be brave like that and get hurt like that? Oh, if 'e should die!"

Then suddenly her tone changed.

"I'm sorry, my dear." she said. "I didn't mean to speak to you like that, but I see 'is poor face all the time, all the time. Oh, my Ted, my Ted!"

And they walked the rest of the yards to the hospital in quiet, pai silence.

It was with difficulty that Meg persuaded that she could not be admit while they attended to poor Ted.

"Take her away, take her away," whispered the doctor, who had followed well, to Gladys. "I'm afraid the fellow won't live, but don't let her kn that."

Gladys at length persuaded Meg leave with her, and then, and only did she realise that she and Meg homeless. The shop must have been br out, and when they made their way ag down the street Gladys saw that surmises were indeed only too true, for place was practically gutted.

The crowd had by now dispersed, excitement was over; there were no nei bours about to offer them accommodati and so Gladys knocked up another co shop in a street near by and took a ro for the night for herself and Meg.

But Meg wouldn't go to bed, wouldn't even lie down; she sat in a ch dry-eyed in her sorrow, with hopel blank grief written on every lineam And Gladys sat with her, holding her h and trying to comfort her, until the da told them of the approach of another d Not till then did Meg allow herself to persuaded to lie down, and then sl kissed tired eyelids and she and Gla slept.

"Yes going on quite nicely. Out danger, but great care is wanted."

Such were the fairly cheerful words t greeted them the next morning at the h pital, and Meg seized Glady's arm a grip that almost hurt.

"I don't know wot I should have d without you, Gladys," she said. "y was so good to me last night, sittin all that time with me. Well, now I get off to work, and then in the di

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hour I must go and tell some of Ted's mates about it. 'E's like me, 'e ain't got no father nor mother. You'll go and ask after old Mrs. Giles, won't you? Poor old soul, I 'ope she ain't 'urt. And, Gladys, I remember sayin' last night as I wished 'e 'adn't been brave, but I think I was wrong; I feel as if I could say 'Thank Gawd 'e was' now."

"Yes, dear, that's right," said Gladys gently, "and God has looked after him I think."

So Meg went away to work. For even those who have supped full of sorrow must work on when they have their daily bread to earn. And Gladys went round to make inquiries concerning old Mrs. Giles.

"I don't think she'll know you," said the kindly neighbour who had taken the old lady in. "She wasn't hurt at all, but the shock's been too much for her."

Old Mrs. Giles was in bed, her eyes, never still for a moment, wandering round the room. It was quite true; she did not know Gladys.

"I suppose you don't know anything about her people or anyone belonging to her, do you?" asked the woman, Mrs. Mallins, a widow, who had a hard struggle to make her small provision shop pay. "Of course, she's welcome to stop here as long as she likes, but there ought to be somebody to look after her."

"No, I really don't know of anyone, I didn't know anything about her private affair," answered Gladys.

And only then, as she walked out of Mrs. Mallins's shop, did she realise that she was indeed homeless, that her work was gone, and again she felt the awful sense of bewilderment, of depression, of loneliness, settle upon her, even as when she had found herself penniless in Holborn. True, she now had a friend in Meg, but she couldn't expect Meg to feed her and keep her. She must obtain work, another situation, as quickly as possible.

But where?"

CHAPTER VIII.

ONE OF THE WORKERS.

"My dear, I've been thinkin' about you all day, and wonderin' where you was. We ought to 'ave made an appointment to meet, but I was thinkin' about my Ted so much. You do look tired!"

Gladys had been wandering about all day. She had, fortunately, not wanted for food, as she had the few shillings from her tips and wages in her purse. But the hours had seemed terribly long, and she hardly knew how she had got through them when, at twelve o'clock at night, she ventured to call at Meg's fried fish shop, for she dreaded to be alone again, she seemed so helpless by herself. Meg, too, must have somewhere to sleep, somewhere to live. And so, rather timidly, she entered the shop, tired out in mind and body.

Meg, in white apron, was busy in front of the counter, clearing away, when finished with, the plates and forks of those who had condescended to use them. She kept the tables neat and clean with a rough cloth, she gave a hand to the man behind the counter; in fact, she kept an eye everywhere and seemed to make herself generally useful.

At length the last customer was served and the shop was shut, and then Meg introduced Gladys to Mr. Parlow, the proprietor.

"Pleased to meet you, miss," said Mr. Parlow. "Any friend of Meg's is worth knowing. Now let me give you a nice little bit of fish. I always eat it myself as well as sell it, so you can be sure it's good."

Gladys tasted the fish, and found it astonishingly good.

"Any time you're passing and feel hungry, miss," went on Mr. Parlow, "just you pop in, and I'll find you the nicest middle bit there is going. Any friend of Meg's is always welcome here. Good night, miss. Pleased to have met you."

"A good sort is old Parlow," said Meg, when she and Gladys left together. "My dear, why didn't you come round before? I've been worryin' about you all day. I've been round to the 'orspital whenever I could about poor Ted, and 'e's goin' on fine, though they say 'is face 'll be scarred for ever. But, bless you, I don't mind that! But there, did you see the paper? There's a bit in it all about 'im. I've cut it out to keep it to show 'im. 'The Coster 'Ero' they call 'im. Oh, my! But ere, I say, 'ave we got a 'ome to go to? And what about Ma Giles, poor old thing?"

Gladys told all that she knew about the old lady, and Meg stopped in her walk.

"Poor old Ma, I don't know whether she's got anybody," she said. "P'raps the butcher 'ud know. 'E knew 'er 'usband.

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And my word, we ain't come off too well, Gladys, 'ave we? All our little bits o' things burnt up there. Well, we must get a bed for to-night somewhere, though it comes a bit expensive payin' by the night."

They had to pay a shilling a night each for accommodation at a little establishment which grandiloquently called itself a commercial hotel, and the next morning, when they were breakfasting in a little coffee shop, which was almost an exact double of Mrs. Giles's, Gladys spoke of what was in her mind.

"I must get something to do, Meg," she said. "I can't always live on you. Can't you suggest something?"

"I don't know. I should go round and try and get another job as a waitress if I was you. You're too good for this 'ere coffee shop sort o' game. Why don't you go to one of them tea shops you see over the bridges? They tell me that a gel can pic up a nice little bit in the way of tips at some of them. Now, will you go and see the butcher and see wot 'e can find out about Ma Giles, if she's got any relations as we can send to, and I'll meet you at one o'clock."

But no, the butcher did not know if Mrs. Giles had any belongings, as he called it; he thought not, except distant ones who lived in the North. But he had a happy inspiration. He knew the solicitor who had acted in the matter of Mr. Glies's will; perhaps he might know of some one?

And at this solicitor's office Gladys found that he did know of a relative of Mrs. Giles's, in the north of London, with whom he would communicate at once. And that business being concluded, Gladys went off to try and obtain further employment.

Into a teashop, not far over Blackfriars Bridge, she ventured timidly, wondering who was the proper person to ask for employment. Seeing a pleasant-faced girl in black behind a desk, she put the question to her.

"Oh, waitresses aren't engaged here," said the girl. "You must go to Markham Street; you'll find the headquarters of the firm there."

At Markham Street, where the huge central establishment of the firm was situated, Gladys had no difficulty in finding her way to the employment department. Everything seemed to be done on a quick and elaborate system, and after she had state her name and business she was whisked off by a small, brisk boy in buttons to a room where she was interviewed at express speed by a young man, as smart and brisk as the page boy.

"Waitress? Yes," he went on rapidly. "Age? Thank you. Name? Yes, Address?"

Gladys hesitated for a moment. She really had no permanent address; she did not know yet whether she and Meg were going back to the commercial hotel.

"Address please? Come along, you live somewhere surely, don't you?"

"Well—I—I've no permanent address just at present. I am staying at a—at a—at an hotel," faltered out Gladys.

"No permanent address! Don't you live with your people or some relatives then?"

"No, I'm quite by myself in the world with the exception of a friend."

The young man shut up the book in which he had been recording Gladys's name, with an air of finality.

"We only employ young ladies who are living with their parents or relatives," he said.

"Oh, I've no parents and no relatives and I'm wanting work," said Gladys desperately. "I must get work somewhere if I'm to live."

"I'm sorry, very sorry," said the young man, "but you see, the rule of the firm is this: We don't guarantee to give our girls enough money to live on by themselves. We pay nine shillings a week, and of course there are some tips; we don't encourage that system, but we know that it prevails. Then there is eighteenpence a week to be deducted for breakages, cost of uniform and washing—quite reasonable, I can assure you. But even with tips we do not consider that a girl can live with comfort and—and—well, safety, on her wages; so, for the protection of our employes, we make it a point that they shall not be entirely dependent on their earnings."

"But it seems rather hard that if girls have homes they should work for less than girls who have their entire living to get, doesn't it?"

It was poverty that was giving to Gladys the power of argument on economic subjects.

"I'm afraid I can't discuss that with you," was the quite polite reply. "If you were living with a relative, and our

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inspector verified the fact—we always verify these things—we would have taken you even without any experience, but as it is I'm afraid I can do nothing for you. Good day."

Gladys left, burning with anger at this unrighteous system. The girls must have parents or relatives to look after them. But what did the girls do who were without parents or relatives? Did they starve, or what?

"Yes, I can tell you it's ard for a gel," said Meg, when she and Gladys met at one o'clock. "It's bad enough for me, and I can 'old me own, but for a pretty little thing like you, and a lady, too, it's much 'arder. But I've been thinking about you and I spoke to Mr. Parlow about it, and I've got an idea that somethin' may come of it. I don't know as you'd like it, Gladys. It's rough, common sort of work. Still, we've all got to do somethin'. Mr. Parlow, 'e's doin' so well 'e's goin' to open a branch shop about two mile away; 'e's puttin' in a manager and, well, 'e might want someone to do the same sort of job as I'm doin'."

"Like it? Of course I should like it! It's work, and that's all I want. And please don't keep on talking about my being a lady, Meg. I'm just a working woman, that's all."

"All right, then I'll talk to 'im. I've been round to the 'orspital and my Ted's goin' on fine, and I'm goin' to see 'im in three days—ain't that lovely? They say as 'e won't be strong enough to stand it afore then. Now look 'ere, 'ave you got any money left?"

"Oh yes, I've still got a few shillings."

"Very well, then, you go and get a good blow on the top of a 'bus. I'm goin' to take an evening off. Old Parlow can do without me for once—it's generally slack about the middle of the week when folks ain't got much money—and we'll go and see old Ma Giles."

"Oh, she's going to-morrow," said Mrs. Mallins, when the two girls called that night. "Some of her relations from the north of London have been here—they said they'd had a telegram from a solicitor and they're going to take her away with them in the morning. Poor old thing, she doesn't seem to get any better. The doctor says she ought to be put in a nursing home and taken the greatest care of. Nice-spoken people her relations were, and they told me that if money would cure her they weren't poor, and that she had quite a nice little bit put by herself. Will you come and see her?"

It was pitiful to see the still vacant, wondering look in Mrs. Giles's eyes, but when Meg and Gladys stooped and kissed her good-bye there seemed to come just a little gleam of intelligence over her face, and she looked at them curiously, one after the other.

"I seem to know you, but there's something here, something here," she said, touching her forehead. "Another time, perhaps, another time."

"Poor old Ma! It's a good job there's plenty of money," said Meg. "And it's a good job that there's 'orspitals, too, for my Ted 'e's bein' looked after proper, so the doctors tell me. Now, d'you know where we're goin' to-night? We're goin' down to Surbiton to see 'is aunt, and I'm goin' to tell 'er all about it and take 'er the bit of paper with 'is name in it."

Mrs. Jennyon, Ted's aunt, was the wife of a publican who was prospering in a fair way in a small licensed house, and Meg and Gladys were received in the little parlour at the back of the bar.

"Now, don't you say anything to me about Ted, you, Meg," said Mrs. Jennyon, a stout, red-faced, rather creaking lady, who appeared to breathe with difficulty. "I've been crying my eyes out about him. I've read it all in the paper, and they've actually got another bit about him in the 'evening' saying that he's on the way to recovery. And you should hear my husband, my Jim, talk about him! When he's well and comes out, if there's anything he wants he shall have it. And I'll tell you what, the best thing for you to do, Meg, would be to marry him as soon as he can walk, and then take him away to the sea to get well. You shall have that money I promised you, and some more besides. Proud! I should think I am proud of him! And so are you, too, aren't you?"

"Well, I don't know wot's goin' to 'appen to me," said Meg, when she and Gladys were returning home. "It seems as if the luck was too good to last. And 'ere I was grumblin' and complainin' because my man 'ad been brave. Why, I ought to be ashamed of myself. Only three days more and I'll see 'im! Oh, by the way, Gladys, I've been so full of myself

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I didn't tell you, did I? Old Parlow 'ud like to see you to-morrow. 'E'll take you on at the new shop like a bird, 'e ses."

And the next morning Gladys was engaged by Mr. Parlow to assist at his new branch. She was to be there at ten every morning to help in the preparations for the mid-day work, leaving again at three—in fact her hours were to be exactly the same as Meg's.

"And I'll give you twelve shillings a week to start with, miss," said Parlow, "and after a while if things go well I'll make it a bit more. I shall be there myself for the first two or three days to see how things go, and the chap as I bought this place from 'll come here for me. We open at the beginning of next week."

Gladys found that her money would just hold out until she started work. She and Meg had decided to stop on at the little hotel where for permanent lodgers in a double-bedded room six shillings a week would be accepted. Meg had drawn money out of the post-office savings bank to buy hair brushes and other necessaries which had been destroyed in the fire, and Gladys borrowed enough money from her to buy two strong, coarse white aprons.

"The smell will make you a bit sick at first my dear," said Meg, "but you'll get used to it after a time. Some of the fellows may be rough—it's a bit rougher neighbour'ood there than 'ere—but if they see you won't stand no nonsence they won't do you no 'arm. Not such a bad lot, the workin' man ain't, if you take 'im right. And to think that to-morrow I shall see my Ted, my Ted!"

And when Gladys met Meg the next day, returning from seeing Ted, it seemed as if heaven shone in the girl's eyes; they were bright, and there was a soft light in them, a mother-light it seemed to Gladys, and she spoke of her visit in a sort of awed whisper.

"I never thought I loved 'im so much, Gladys, till I see 'im there with the bandages on 'is 'ead and round 'is poor 'ands and wrists. I just sat by 'is bed and put my arms round 'im gently and cried like a kid, I did. Ashamed of myself I was, too. An' there 'e was, just as much of a chump as ever, I told 'im. ''Oo's been makin' all that fuss in the papers?' 'e ses. 'You ain't been tellin' nobody nothin' about me, 'ave you, Meg? They say I'm goin' to be recommended for some s... of a medal for savin' life in a fire. ... wasn't me, it was the fireman.' Just ... my Ted, just like my Ted! And then w... I told 'im about 'is aunt, well, 'e cr... too, then, and we both cried together, a... then the nurse came, and she laughed ... us. And 'e's comin' out in a fortni... and—oh, life's just too fine for anythi... ain't it? I never thought it could ... like this."

Gladys cried a little in sympathy w... Meg, and before she went to sleep she a... cried a little for herself.

For the bright sunshine of happin... which was surrounding Meg reminded ... of the love that had been offered to ... Lord Guardene's love, the love that ... could not accept. And then between ... and her sleep there came again t... strong, dark face, the face of the yo... man she had only seen once, but of wh... she often thought, and in the dark... she felt her cheeks grow hot, and resolu... ly she tried to dismiss his image from ... mind.

And then again she thought of L... Guardene. She had not answered ... letter. What would he think of her? ... would be justified in accusing her at a... rate of discourtesy, for a man's propos... to a woman is an honour that m... always be acknowledged; and yet, so... how, the time had slipped by and she h... not written. Her memory travelled o... more over the sheets of paper on which ... had poured out his love to her—for, eve... a woman doesn't love a man, she w... never forget a word of the letter in wh... he has told her of his secret.

That letter had been written fr... Pichon. Doubtless he expected an answ... there. By now he would certainly ha... left the hotel at that place. Perhaps, ... hearing from her, he would have come ov... to England, would have called at Kirk... Square. Gladys thought of all that, a... made up her mind that on the next d... she would go to the Free Library, look ... a fashionable directory, find out ... address, and write to him. She wo... write him a grateful letter of thanks, ... —of refusal.

And again Gladys cried a little, for ... man loved her and she was going to h... him.

(To be continued.)

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INDIFFERENCE

O slow voiced patient sea,
Now hast thou learnt at length,
That in indifference lies thy only strength,
Eternally.

O restless striving wind,
In vague indifferent flight
Thy broken wings at last have found respite
And thou art blind.

O voiceless tired rain,
Now art thou doubly wise,
Indifferent as the tears that in dead eyes
So long have lain.

D. N. BONARJEE.

GLEANINGS

Artificial Volcanoes.

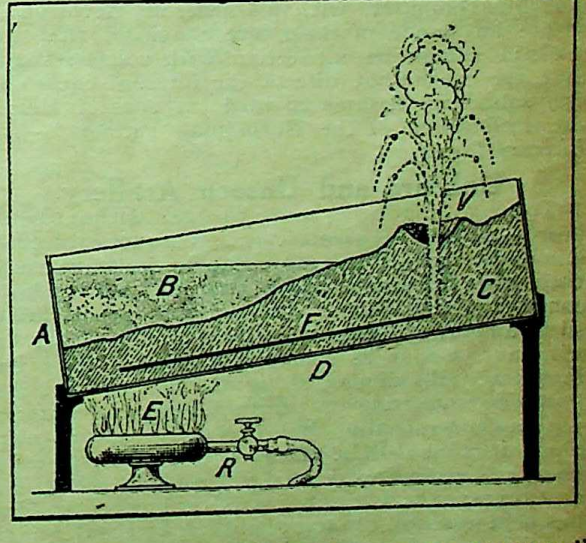
A frenchman, Emile Belot, has succeeded in imitating the phenomena of volcanism by means of steam. That the activity of volcanoes is primarily due to steam from heated sea-water has long been believed by many geologists, tho it can not be said to be so universally accepted as to bear the stamp of orthodoxy. But Belot thinks that he has gone far toward silencing all objection by the exactitude with which he reproduces volcanic action on a small scale. Under the heading of "Experimental Volcanism," he writes thus in *La Nature* (Paris, October 28):

"In a shallow basin about two feet square, we place a wet mixture of sand and clay in such fashion that the side *B* represents the sea and *C* the continent. The bottom *D* is inclined away from the continent. We heat the lower part of the slope as uniformly as possible..... Because of the metallic conductibility of the bottom we shall have practically an isothermal surface *D*. At the end of ten minutes or so volcanic phenomena begin to show at *V* in the form of fumaroles escaping from a volcanic chimney, the material thrown out accumulating to form a crater. The volcano *V* is always near the top of the slope, and we have the paradox of a surface *V* in ebullition while the 'sea' is completely cool at *B*, just over the heat.

"In nature it often happens that impermeable layers alternate with permeable ones. We may imitate this effect by placing a sheet of slate *F* at a little distance from the bottom *D*; thus several volcanoes may be produced, in the line with the upper edge of the slate. The volcanic action may then appear very far from the source of heat *R*. We thus realize how linear groups of volcanoes form in nature, and why some volcanoes are found at considerable distances from the sea.

"The position and number of the slates may be varied; the volcanic action is always concentrated near the top of the slope. It may be seen that the submarine vapors concentrate or disperse as the impermeable surfaces have the form of a right or an inverted cone. Hence the following law: volcanism is proportional to the steepness of the slopes and to their convexity toward the sea. This explains why the Atlantic coasts, being much less steep than the Pacific, are not volcanic."

Mr. Belot imitates tidal waves by placing his slate so that it touches the bottom of the basin at



CROSS-SECTION OF THE "EXPERIMENTAL VOLCANO."

the upper edge, forcing the steam to act on the "sea" at the lower edge. He has produced craters several inches across, which fill with water and form "crater-lakes" when the heat is removed. He produces "volcanic bombs" of mud, like those formed

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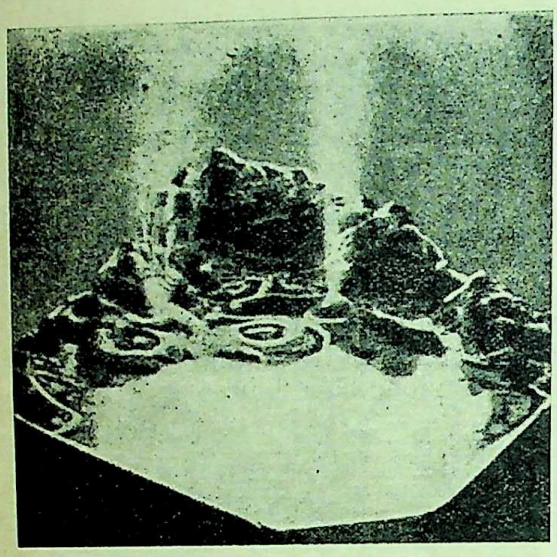


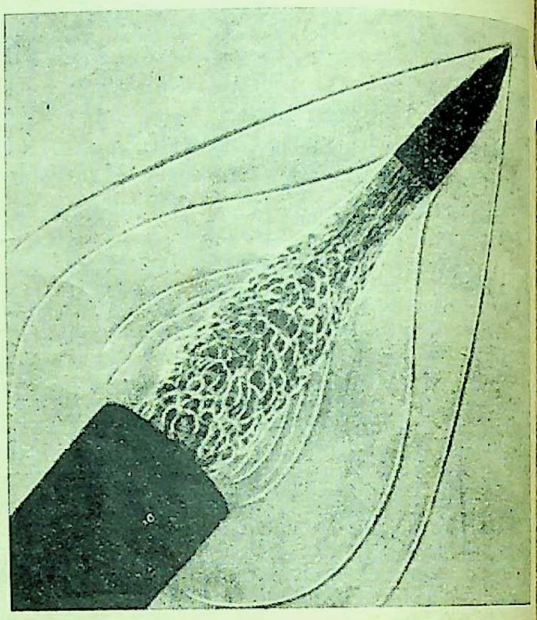
ARTIFICIAL VOLCANIC PHENOMENA.

Belot's volcano, showing a crater-lake in the middle; eruption in an early stage at the right, in a later stage at the left, and a dried crater in the left foreground.

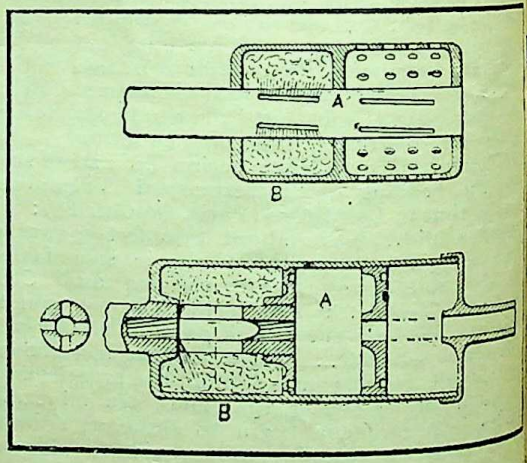
from lava in real volcanoes, and he has even noticed a phenomenon resembling the "blazing cloud" from Mont Pelee that destroyed St. Pierre, when the steam column from his artificial crater sweeps the surface obliquely instead of ascending. By covering the whole surface with water he has a submarine volcano, which throws up islands like those off the Alaskan coast. By saturating his water with salt he gets other familiar volcanic phenomena. In fact, all who have seen the artificial volcano or the films that Mr. Gaumont, with his generous devotion to science has made of them, are convinced that the sea is in submarine connection with volcanoes and that the cause that directs the internal vapors of the submarine fissures toward the coast is simply the inclination of the isothermal surfaces."—*The Literary Digest.*

Unheard and Unseen Artillery.

To see without being seen; to hear without being heard—are the two greatest factors of tactical success in military operations. How can armies make use of them when the very weapons that they use are both conspicuous and noisy? In particular, an absolutely silent and invisible piece of artillery would fill a long-felt want. So far as smoke is concerned, that has been practically eliminated by the use of smokeless powders, consisting of nitrated organic material with no mineral salts. But it is not so easy to make a powder that shall be "flashless" as well as smoke-less; and at night it is the flash, and not the smoke, that betrays the whereabouts of the gun. The flash has been lessened, tho not abolished, by the Germans, by mixing alkaline salts with the powder. All sorts of substances, have been tried—vaseline, alkaline soaps, opalates, and resinates—but with no better result. In general, decreasing the flash augments the smoke, and *vice versa*, so that this method of getting an invisible discharge is not promising. A better way may be to dilute or cool down the inflammable gas that issues from the gun just behind the projectile and produces the flash. This would have to be done in about one-hundredth of a second, but might be accomplished by breaking flasks of carbo- gas at the proper instant. A device that was inten-



Photograph of a projectile leaving a gun fitted with a silencer.



Maxim Silencer: Two Recent Forms.

to abolish smoke, flame, and noise all at once was a nounced by a Frenchman named Hurnbert, abo fifteen years ago. His idea seems to have been entrap the gas from the gun in a series of chambe The most perfect development of this idea is found the modern Maxim "silencer," which consists o tube 4 to 6 inches long by 1½ in diameter, fastened the mouth of a firearm. The illustrations show t interior arrangement and give an idea of how the is slowed down in its exit, so that when it fina gets out it produces little or no disturbance of atmosphere. The Maxim silencer has assumed suc sively several different forms. A similar device been invented by Bordenave, a Frenchman, and oth have been devised by Genshow in Germany, Sc Chilcott, Thurler, Ring, Moore, and others.

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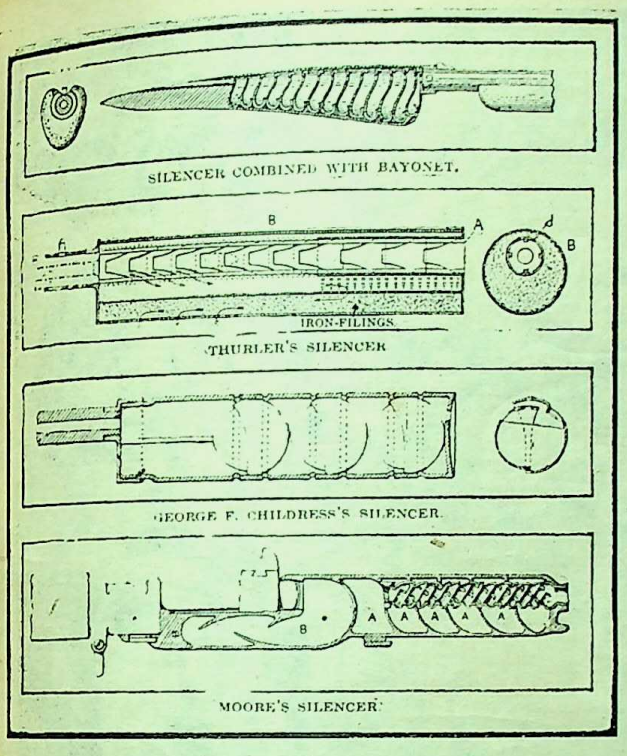

SILENCER COMBINED WITH BAYONET.

IRON-FILINGS.

THURLER'S SILENCER

GEORGE F. CHILDRESS'S SILENCER.

MOORE'S SILENCER.

of these abolish flash as well as sound. Some are intended to be used with light artillery or machine guns, but apparently none of the larger types has been practically successful.

"Both our machine guns and those of the Germans carry masks that hide the flash, but the characteristic detonation has by no means disappeared.

"The problem of the flash is most interesting for cannon of long range. In the evening, or at night, two observers, by noting the time, may, with regulated chronometers having illuminated dials, locate a battery. Three observers can do so without any timepieces. But it is of especial interest to reduce the noise of firing. The powerful voice of the gun may put courage into the soldier occasionally.....but its repetition causes nervous depression, as does the bursting of shells.

"The ideal would seem to be to have on one's own side a line of invisible, silent guns, while on the side where the shells are falling is a zone of death and smoke..... On one side would reign a relative calm, while the enemy's lines would be turned upside down by explosions, shrapnel, and uproar."—*The Literary Digest.*

Japanese Signs.

It is not known when signboards first came to be used in Japan, but presumably it was not long after the introduction of writing, though that would not be necessary among a people where pictures and designs preceded ideographs representing them. Indeed Japanese writing, like Chinese, consists of signs rather than expressions of sound. The national ideographs are for the eye rather than the ear; to be seen rather than to be heard.

There is mention in Japanese history of the fact that in the reign of the Emperor Godaigo (1319-1339) each government official set up a door-plate signifying his name and occupation, which may be regarded as the first mention of signs in Japan. It is also recorded that in the Ashikaga period the *sake* dealers used a bunch of cedar leaves as a sign of their business; and the ambition of tradesmen and merchants to develop their business and call attention to their wares has led to the innumerable diversity of signs that now interrupt the eye wherever one looks along the streets of a Japanese town, and even in the fields.

The art of advertising seems to have made considerable progress during the Tokugawa era, especially in the variety of signs used. To foreigners these signs are striking to a degree, though to Japanese they appear perfectly natural. Those in broken, antique or impossible English are, perhaps, the most remarkable; for since the coming of foreigners every attempt has been made to appeal to them, though in many cases these foreign signs are only to impress the native customer with the idea that the shop deals in foreign goods and, therefore, sells reliable wares.

The most primitive form of Japanese sign is that whereon is depicted the article for sale. The hemp dealer hangs out a bundle of raw hemp fibre; and the maker of grass or reed hats suspends some of these hats before his shop entrance, while the umbrella-maker does the same. The watchmaker has a big round clock or watch over his shop, either in a tower on the roof or on the sign over the door. Sometimes the clock is a real one and sometimes only a picture. Shops that sell mirrors often do likewise. The druggist sometimes has the picture of a huge paper bag over his shop, as most Japanese medicines are sold in that receptacle. Makers of *tabi*, the Japanese sock, also have a big *tabi* in front of their shop, usually the pattern after which the sock is cut before sewing. Fan-makers put out a half-finished fan, and so on.

Most of the signs, however, are painted; often pictures of the goods are so represented. The pictures are frequently on the sliding doors of the shops, as, for example the candle-maker, who has candles painted on his shop doors. The tobacco man has withered or dry tobacco leaves on his door in natural colour; while the dealer in clams has that bivalve painted in full view of the public. In many cases a kind of symbol or trademark is selected to stand for the business. We have already mentioned that from very ancient times cedar leaves have been used to represent the *sake* business. The reason for this is because the ashes of cedar foliage has been put in *sake* from of old to give it a certain flavour liked by the native palate. The leaves are arranged in various forms, from a round bunch to an oblong bundle. The cedar foliage is not painted but natural and is replaced by fresh ones as the old fall away. Usually the change is made with the appearance of new *sake* on the market, especially at New Year. When you see a paper lantern with a painting of the tree peony on it, that shows the shop within deals in wild boar meat. Sometimes a lion is painted in association with the peonies, as the pronunciation of the word "shishi", wild boar, is much the same as that of the word "shishi", lion.

Tea dealers usually set up a picture of a tea caddy either on the roof or in front of their places of business. Paper lanterns with pictures of maple leaves tell you where to buy deer meat, as the best venison comes from the maple forests.

The custom of setting up signs that involved some sort of puzzle came into vogue in the Tokugawa

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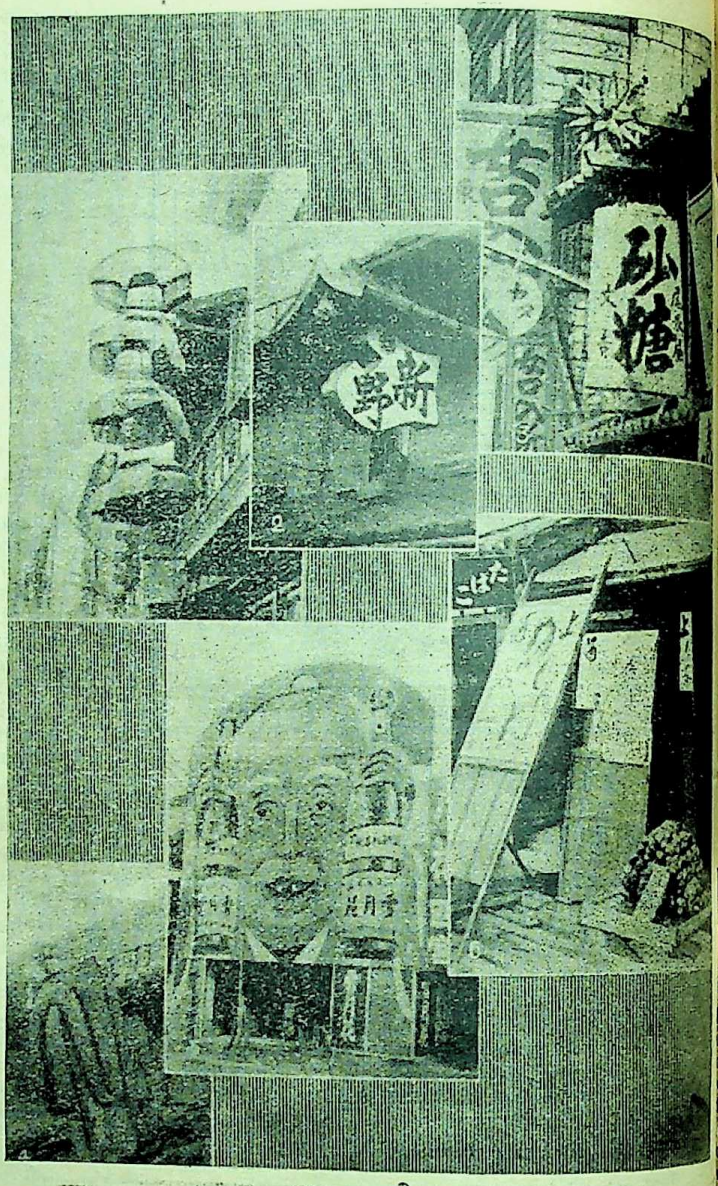
period, and has been continued down to to-day, though more often to be found in the provinces than in metropolitan areas. When one sees the picture of a flying arrow one knows that is a bath-house, as the word for shooting an arrow (yuiru) sounds like *yu-iru*, taking a hot both. Dealers in sweet potatoes write up the ideographs for *jusanri* (thirteen ri), which means that the potatoes are nicer than chestnuts (kuri-yori-umai), ku-ri, meaning nine ri, and also chestnuts; the syllogistic signification being that as 13 ri are greater than 9 ri, so sweet potatoes are finer than chestnuts. The kite maker puts thepicture of an octopus (tako) on his door, as the word for kite (tako) is much the same as that for octopus in the vernacular. The dealer in bean-jam buns has a horse over his shop, because the word for horse (uma) has the sound of umai-umai (sweet-sweet), not unlike foreign yum-yum, for the same meaning. Such notions may appear childish, but in the peaceful Tokugawa days people were evidently at a loss for novelty and had to do some thing to preclude ennui. Such signs are now seldom seen.

Of course most of the signs in Japan, as in other countries, simply name the articles for sale, or describe the business of the merchant. Some of these signs are horizontally over the doors, some perpendicularly and some suspended before or beside the doors. Others are painted on paper lanterns. The paper lantern sign became very popular during the Meiji period. Rouge and toilet powder are so extensively used by Japanese women that there are shops that deal exclusively in this stuff, and are indicated by a small red flag, signifying the colour which the powder will make the cheeks. A shop with a square piece of wood on which is painted various round dots of different colours, tells the passer-by of a paint shop. The dealer in writing brushes has a big one painted in front of his shop. Seal makers, comb makers, shoe makers and the like all set up representations of what they make. Such places as restaurants, book shops, hardware dealers and so on often use lanterns or square boxes with the name of their trade inscribed thereon.

To foreigners, of course, the more interesting signs are those essaying English inscriptions, which are often very remarkable for their eccentric attempts at spelling and wording. When you see a sign reading: "Tailor of Resistant Wet Coat", you know that *there* is a good place for cheap waterproofs. "Baggages. Sent any Direction by Internal Railway", means an Express Office. "Modified Milk for the Scientific Feeding of Infants and Invalids", is of doubtful signification; as is also "Shifts Repaired Here." No one doubts the meaning of "Horse shop", though why the appeal is made to English readers no one seems to know. "Coats Made any hides Yours or Ours", sounds dangerous, simply means furs will be made up from skins brought to the shop or will be supplied by the shop. "Various Kind Hairs", has the same meaning. "Ladies Furnished in Upper Story", bring you to a blouse waist maker. "Whale all Relating it Are Sold" seems more ambiguous than it is.



Japanese Shop Signs
1. UMBRELLAS 2. SOCKS 3. SUGAR SHOP 4. GETA 5. SAKE SHOP 6. CLAM SHOP.

The stranger will naturally ask why such ridiculous wording is thus impudently stuck up before the public, when it would be so easy to have the English corrected before being painted on the signs. Those asking such a question but show how much familiar they are with the country they have come to visit. The man who sets himself up as painter of foreign signs is forgoing to admit that he can

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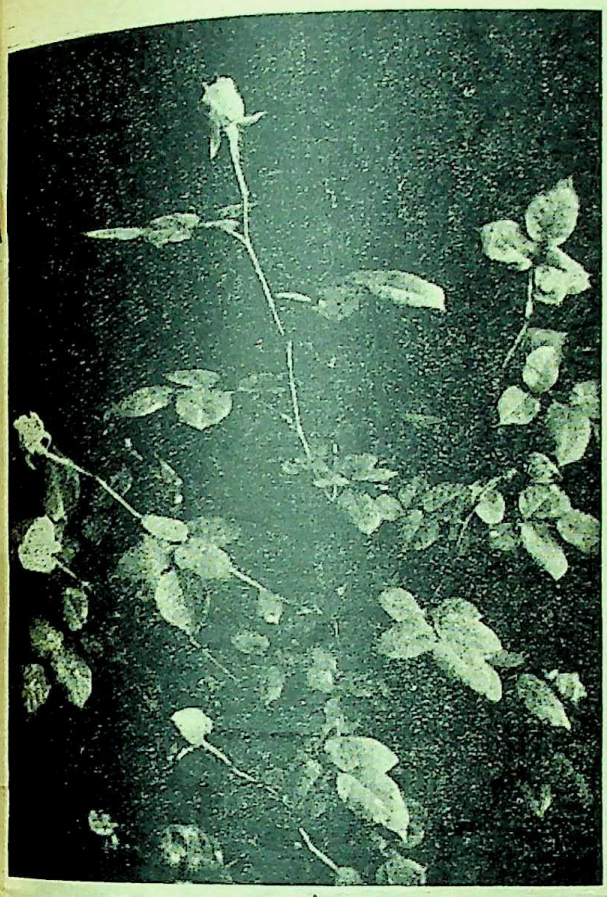

A Rosebush before treatment with quicklime

Ten minutes after.

compose the device to be painted on them. Possibly he gets some school boy to find the words in the English dictionary, that correspond to the Japanese ideographs; and so he paints these words in any order that seems to him best. But what of the man who pays for the sign! Does he not object to paying for a sign covered with a jumble of mistakes and then holding them up to public view? Well, he does not know the difference; and so long as he is none the wiser, the painter will not find it profitable to seek correct English for his signs. In Japan many things are done incorrectly simply because those who pay for the work do not know the difference. This is especially the case in regard to translations and advertisements in English, and often it applies even to papers and magazines. So long as English readers, for whose consumption this fare is provided, do not object to the repast and thus acquaint those who pay for the work with the imperfection and absurdity of it, the practice will go on. This means that it is likely to continue until all Japanese who use foreign signs and print foreign papers, can read English themselves; for foreigners do not take the trouble to point out such mistakes to those taken in by paying for them: they think it too good a source of humour to trouble about the matter, though the foreign press ftequently calls attention to it.

—*The Japan Magazine.*

A Curious Garden Trick Explained.

A few years ago some of the leading horticulturists were very much perplexed by certain experiments conducted by a French exhibitor.

A plant perhaps a geranium or a rose bush, was brought forward in a large deep box of soil, some times the plant was just growing in the open border. Although the specimen was full of buds there were no expanded blooms to be seen. The demonstrator informed the onlookers that in about ten minutes he would have the plant covered with widely opened flowers. The procedure started with the watering of the soil over the roots. As soon as the ground was moist, the whole plant was at once covered with a glass shade. At the end of ten minutes the shade was removed, and the audience was amazed to see that the specimen was covered with blooms fully open.

The manner in which this instantaneous blooming of plants was brought about has been recently explained. In the first case care was taken to secure specimens in which the buds were as far developed as possible without having actually started to expand. Shortly before the exhibition a shallow trench was dug out all round the plant. This was not quite deep enough to expose the main roots. Then all around this trench small lumps of quicklime were placed, with care not to put them actually in contact with the roots. When the quicklime was in position the soil was filled into the trench.

The liquid used was plain water. After a thorough soaking of the soil the moisture quickly penetrates to the quicklime, and there is a great generation of heat. A certain amount of vapor arises, and this is kept round the plant by the glass shade. The heat in the soil and this warm vapour have an extraordinarily stimulating effect upon the plant, with the result that the flowers' buds are forced open.

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The idea is an extension of a plan commonly followed by florists when it is desired to induce flowers to open fully, of placing the stalks for five minutes or so in almost boiling water. This has an amazing effect, for in a very short while the buds, previously tightly closed, are fully open. In the same way wild flowers which have wilted after picking may frequently be revived.—*Scientific American.*

Escape from a sunken Submarine.

Possibly a thousand men have lost their lives, in times of peace, through the bad behavior of submarines. These powerful agents of destruction occasionally turn on their own masters and asphyxiate them by lying down on the sea-bottom and sullenly refusing to rise. A few practicable rescuing devices had been invented up to very recent times. These are divided into three classes—those with buoyant, detachable conning-towers; those having compartments fitted with hatches; and those that tap the upper air for oxygen and at the same time signal for help.

A DETACHABLE SUBMARINE CONNING-TOWER AS A RESCUER.

"This plan will work should the submarine sink as far as three hundred feet. Below this depth no scheme will be of use, for the water pressure is so enormous that it will actually force the water right through the pores of the steel hull."

"In the first class are those devices which have a buoyant, detachable conning-tower. This tower contains all the appliances of an ordinary conning-tower; but such things as the steering-rod must be made in two parts which can be separated when the tower is disconnected from the body of the submarine. ... windlass is mounted at each end of the tower ... upon each a cable is wound. The other ends of ... cables are fastened to the body of the subma... Four large bolts hold the tower to the submar... body.

"Should anything go wrong all the men can c... into the tower, close the hatch behind them, ... on the oxygen from the tanks, unscrew the bolts, ... rise to the surface. By means of the handles of ... windlasses, the speed of the tower can be contro... as it rises. When they reach the surface, they ... open the windows and send out signals of dist... by an electric flash-light.

"This plan will work should the submarine ... as far as three hundred feet. Below this depth ... scheme will be of use, for water pressure is ... enormous that it will actually force the water ... through the pores of the steel hull, and finally re... in crushing the submarine like an egg-shell!

An entirely different invention has two compa... ments within the submarine, from which the crew ... escape through hatches to the top of the boat. ... open the hatches, it is necessary to let water into ... compartments through a valve, until the compa... ments are completely filled. In this way the gr... pressure of the water on top of the hatches is relie...

"In an emergency, the crew immediately put ... light diving-suits. These contain oxygen appara... which not only prevent suffocation, but also pre... the water from crushing the body. Three or f... men enter each compartment and shut the watertig... door behind them. Letting in the water, they op... the hatch and climb out. After they have emer... the hatch is closed by gears connected to it in ... inside of the submarine. The water in the compa... ment is then ejected into the ocean through dra... pipes connected with a hydraulic hand-pump wh... the imprisoned men operate. Then three or four m... of them may enter the compartment and esca... in the same way.

"After all the crew reach the top of the boat th... release a buoy which moves upward toward ... surface carrying a cable with it. Up this the m... must climb."

It may seem strange, that the men must climb ... and are not forced upward as soon as they to... the water. The reason for this is that the we... of the suits is so great that it tends to keep the m... at whatever level they happen to be.

"Due to the fact that the men have to exp... themselves to the pressure of the water, this plan ... not be used at a greater depth than 225 feet. E... at this depth, the pressure is 8¼ tons per square fo... Divers have gone down this far; but one, who w... down 288 feet, at the time of the *F-4* disaster, p... manently injured his lungs.

"The manner in which the oxygen is supplied fo... these suits is extremely interesting. A small cylin... strapped to the back of the wearer contains ... oxygen, which is stored at an enormous press... of 150 tons per square foot. The oxygen is slow... released from this by an automatic ejector wh... regulates its pressure as it is supplied to the lu... so that it nearly equals that caused by the wa... outside. After the oxygen has been consumed, it ... thrown off by the lungs as carbon dioxid, and th... the lungs force into a cartridge of chemicals wh... it is completey absorbed. After this absorption, on... the nitrogen of the air remains, but this is ag... passed over the ejector and mixed with fresh oxy...

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before it enters the lungs once more. In this way the same nitrogen is used over and over again.

"In a third class of devices, the men do not leave the submarine at all. Two buoys are fitted in the superstructure at both ends of the submarine. Attached to each are a cable and two flexible hose, while directly under the point where each buoy is held on the submarine is a compartment into which the crew get in time of danger. Then the buoys are released. As they rise, they carry the cables and hose with them. An unlimited amount of fresh air can now be had by working airpumps which are connected to the lower ends of the hose.

"In the two compartments, the men must stay imprisoned until a salvage vessel answers their distress signals, given out by an electrical flash-light within the buoys."—*The Literary Digest.*

WHY INDIA SHOULD HAVE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

MANY may think that it is the photographer who is responsible for the production of a good motion play; but in fact he has comparatively little to do with putting on a picture, in the artistic and dramatic manner. Good actors and photographers are indispensable, but without the guidance of a talented director the result will be extremely disappointing. The director is responsible for each scene and action. He is the most important man.

A Movie director must have the command of everything, and should thoroughly

M. D. Shaha made up as a Hindu Lady.

S. N. Guha and Abbas Ali in the second row personating in "Beyond the Pale."

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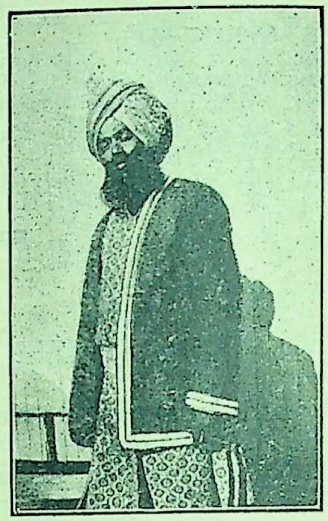
S. N. Guha as Turkish soldier.
A Scene from "Black Box Mystery."



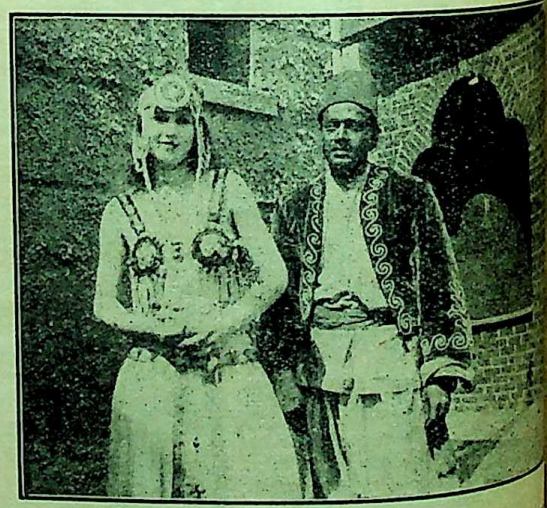
S. N. Guha made up as a Mahomedan.

understand the business. The scenerio is handed to the director by the scenerio writer, who does his best to fit in the play with the demand. Very seldom the scenerios are produced as they are written by the writer because two minds think alike. The director often changes scenes, even when they are not faulty. The director's duty is to look for new scenes that is why he always changes even faultless things.

It is the director who makes the actor; frequently, he has to shape a photoplayer out of raw materials; it is his patience which brings forth so many photo play stars among us. The difference between an experienced player and a trained director is that the former cannot see the faults, whereas the latter can.

The co-operation between the director and the photographer is also absolutely necessary, otherwise the clever photography tricks would not be possible. Often the camera-man tells the director, "The light is bum, we should not shoot;" at that time every action is stopped, until the camera-man consents to start work again.

The man near the Camera is the Camera man. The man next to him is the President Director General of the Keystone Film Co., the man who made Charlie Chaplin with Hindu Costume. Next to him are—(standing) V. D. Patel, S. N. Guha, (sitting) N. C. Guha and Mogul Khan.
[This picture is taken from the book called A. B. C. of Motion Pictures by Robert E. Welsh, Published by Harper & Brothers.]



S. N. Guha, and Miss Lovely as an Egyptian dancer
A Scene from "Under the Crescent."

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Selection of types is a difficult problem. The camera is a merciless critic; the director must select the type, rather than face failure in making up a person, who is physically unfit for the part. If he requires a person for a religious part, he must not simply select a good-looking person; what he wants is a person with religious temperament and with spiritual countenance. Spiritual pictures are practically failures in America. Very few screen women of America can play spiritual and domestic parts, but they excel as vampires; why it is so is because that is their temperament and nature.

The make-up itself is an art, and colours produce an effect contrary to the normal, when seen on the screen. Rouge, for instance, comes black on the screen, but it looks beautiful on the stage. If a man is asked to make up for Abraham Lincoln, and if he is a clever man and understands the art of make-up, he will make himself up so perfectly that very few people will find differenee in appearance between him and the portrait of Abraham Lincoln.

The splendour of photo plays always depends on the selection of suitable location, and the building of realistic and befitting sets. Moving pictures are not factory-made staple articles but the creation of a human soul, a flowering ofspirits, that has the habit of constant renewal. A man who cannot appreciate spectacular symbolism and artistic realism, will never become a creative producer. He must have instinct for the strange and beautiful art, as they are related to the decorative designs of the ages. Many of the designs of ancient times may not be very beautiful, but they are themselves revelations of a personality, and give witness of the character and disposition of the people. A photo play is unique. The soundest directors are those who emphasise this point. Things which are adopted to complete expression in one art, might give but half expression in another. A supreme photo play will give us the complete expressions of many things, which have but partly been expressed by any other medium allied to it. To complete the expressions the perfections of sets and location is indispensable.

India is advancing every day and has reached the state of mind where she must visualise herself again. It may not be possible to bring back the Satya Yuga again to-day by our deeds, but it is reasonable to think that the Indian people can do tremendous things, towards the upliftment of their own race, and can give to the outside worlds something great, something unique, which no other nations can ever conceive, without sacrificing anything, rather by gaining tremendous financial return. Here we have the medium of the great instrument, the motion picture, one of the greatest industries of the world, attended by millions of people daily; capable of interpreting the largest conceivable ideas. There are ideas which can be conceived only by the Hindus. And the world needs them and is willing to pay for them. This is the only outlet for this type of imagination.

Motion pictures are going to play an important part to educate the masses. The country where ninety-five per cent. of the people are illiterate, and where it has not yet been practicable to have free compulsory education, and which is the abode of all sorts of diseases and vices only on account of ignorance, must be awakened, and adopt means to educate her people, that they may understand the fundamental causes of their misery. This can only be done, through the medium of moving pictures. Geography, History, Botany, Hygeine, and other sciences can be made familiar even to the most illiterate through this medium. Consider what it will do to our souls, if we are true to ourselves. Every year in spite of earthly sorrows and punishment of our sins, in spite of all weaknesses and nature's reproof and the whips of Providence new visions will dawn, new prophecies will come, we shall be again nature's favourites and companions of God.

The question arises, who is going to perform such a philanthropic act? No philanthropy is necessary; the only necessary thing is co-operation. If all the Indian high schools co-operate and unite, the rest will come easy. A Company will be organized to manufacture films, they will undertake to manufacture these educational films and hire them out to the high schools, for so much and for so many weeks; while they are shown in the schools, all the neighbouring villages will be invited to witness them. School officials can make some sort of arrangement with villagers for financial help in return for this service. There is no

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philanthropy in it. It is a simple business proposition. If this company get promises from almost all high schools of India, then they will gladly undertake to manufacture these films. Instead of university extensions our efforts should be centralized on the extension of primary education. These films will be standardised by the government board of education.

In these modern times nothing large can be accomplished by individual efforts; it was possible in the past. Our individual banking systems have been smashed by the cooperative banking system of England. This holds good for every industry; we want cooperation, without cooperation no great attainment is possible. What a nation desires, that will the nation become; so a nation must be careful how she desires and prays. A nation largely fulfils its own prediction and vision. Let us desire to have a better and enlightened India. Let us cooperate and establish this industry. We ought to have done so long ago. It is not too late yet, let us get busy before it gets too late.

We are going to organise a motion picture company, the capital of which will be fifty thousand rupees. We will take pictures of human interest, so we shall have the market in the outside world. We know every creek and corner of the foreign market, so it will be easy for us to push them there. For our first pictures, we will arrange our scenerio in such a way, that it will do away with elaborate sets; we have natural sets in our country, we do not need to build any. Natural scenery makes better pictures than the artificial sets. It is the producer who makes the picture, not the pictures which makes the producer.

In the beginning we can not adopt the American system for circulating our pictures, because we have no circulating exchanges. We have to handle the representation ourselves in the large cities, and it will be presented as long as it will attract patrons. If it succeeds even in one city to draw the crowds to packed houses, even for a week, the profit is assured. Sometimes we can sell provincial rights to different parties. If it is a picture of worldwide interest, it will bring tremendous money from the outside world.

The earning of a good motion picture production is tremendous. This industry has created many sudden millionaires in the United States; the man who was a common carpenter eight years ago is now a millionaire.

Griffith's last picture, "Intolerance", which I had the privilege of working for four solid months, has created a sensation all over the country. It shows that intolerance was and is the cause of all conflicts, from time immemorial to the present age. It appeals to the human heart; it is not a picture for this or that country, but it is a picture for the human race.

The following theme will give you a slight idea of the pictures we can give to the world. This will help to deliver the nations from the temptation of cynicism and the timidities of orthodoxy, and will pave the way to worldwide peace and towards bringing humanity under the banner of equality, and all the racial and religious conflicts may be thus gradually wiped out of the earth. It needs a Hindu brain to conceive a thing like this. It is far wider in its scope than "Intolerance". And India is the only country where it could be produced successfully.

Careful perusal of the religious scriptures of the world will convince us of the fact that many great prophets made prophecies about their return to us in opportune time, the descriptions of which are given in the scriptures. The life of each prophet has been great, and uplifting to the people, within the sphere of his respective influence, but all failed to be all-reaching. On the basis of the above mentioned facts this story has been written entitled "The Man to Come" or "Three in One". The idea of a fourth man has been conceived, in whom the identity of the foregoing three prophets, Buddha, Christ and Muhammad is merged, so that the followers of these three prophets who are quarreling among themselves for religious differences, can find their respective prophets in this fourth man; which will prove that there are no essential differences in religions, the basis of all is the same and fundamentally the teachings of all scriptures are alike. Spiritually and physically the quarrel has ceased. The present is considered to be the most opportune time for the second advent of the prophets.

Fearing to awaken his wife and child but full of the determination to know the truth, Gautama Buddha leaves his palace at night, contrary to the injunction of his

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father. The charioteer leaves him at the outskirts of a forest, where afterwards he is found alone in meditation. Privations, and severe and enticing trials could not shake the determination of this saint. At last sitting under the Bodhi tree Gautama attained the Buddhahood, and the *devas* from above showered flowers on him. Buddha now teaches his disciples, and sends them to all parts of the world to proclaim the truth.

The lives of Jesus and Muhammad have also been dealt with, almost in the same way, paying particular attention to the exact details of their career.

When the followers of different nationalities and religions are fighting one another, the fourth prophet is getting his initiation, sitting by the side of a mountain river. When the world is suffering from earthquakes, famines, devastating wars, &c., the fourth prophet comes among men to proclaim the message of love and peace. In him they all find their respective prophets and derive solace and strength from his teachings.

NIRUPAM CHANDRA GUHA.

INDIA ENTERING UPON A NEW ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT

WHEN the European people visit India they carry away with them various kinds of impression. Some with their superficial knowledge have looked upon the country as a land of heathen and semi-civilized people. Some, who are students of the world, have studied the country and its problems with sincere and open heart. These latter have exalted the land and praised her for her past culture. All have tried to fathom that mysterious land but few only have partly succeeded.

Everyone who loves India must take a keen interest in the activities of that country. When a country enters upon a new era of enlightenment, its women play a great part in the development of that nation. The world has realized now what an intelligent woman can do to elevate the human race. And we are glad to know that India is not slow to welcome her women.

This is peculiarly the time when India must do something for the education of her womankind. We are filled with a joy when we hear of the opening of a new university for the women of India under native auspices. It is a great undertaking, and every true Indian heart feels proud and cannot but pay a sincere tribute and high admiration to its founders. It comes to us as a surprise to see a country taking such a step when her economic conditions are so discouraging. Such an institution must help the women of India who suffer from the narrow and impractical nature of education.

In the opening announcement the aims and object of the university are given and we read a fairly well planned program of studies. The success of the university will depend upon how far this program is carried out. But one cannot help thinking that those who have mapped it out could not get away from the traditional education given in India. We take for granted that the founders of this university do not wish to copy the men's university. The object of its existence is to have freedom to organize the curriculum to suit the individual mind in its development. The object of true education is two-fold ; namely, self-realization in self-expression to the greatest degree, thus helping to unfold the latent faculties of mind and character ; secondly, the ability to find the place in life for which the individual is fitted. Education is not a mere culture of mind or means to comfortable living ; but it is the fullest realization of self making the mind active to participate in all things that the larger group does. We must be able to understand our moral relations with each other so that we can be sympathetic toward all.

By going over the curriculum of the new university one feels rather disappointed. In the first place the four year course is reduced to three years. In that time it is

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impossible to get a good thorough education that will enlighten one's mind. Even in European countries, where the general knowledge of students is much better, four years in a college are not enough for university education. If we elaborate the curriculum and make a four year course, then we can divide our work in such a way that a young woman who leaves college at the end of two years gets most of it. If the circumstance in which she is placed allows her to have the full benefit of college, she may spend the last two years in getting a more general knowledge and preparing along some special line for which she feels a call. Whether she wishes to be married or not there are things that are essential for every woman to know. But she must also understand and must prepare for the larger duties in the world.

The system of education in India puts too much emphasis on making any sort of work compulsory without any regard to individual temperament, its likes and dislikes. Why education of men in India has partially failed is because of this defect. We see many hopeless results from such education. Perhaps the worst is that the mind has lost its originality and power of free thinking. A man graduating at the end of four years is a pitiable sight. All men cannot be born with genius; but at least they possess a fair amount of intellect whose cultivation must decide the turn of their lives. People desire to get a university education because universities confer degrees which bring honor and fame. Our universities have recognized credit in the eyes of the public. Thus those who enter university doors and come out successfully are pretty sure to be able to get some kind of position. Our universities are doing a wonderful work along education, but their curriculum is so narrow that when men enter college they cannot say yes or no, or show any dislike for a work, but must take the prescribed courses if they seek a career. We are doing the same in the case of women. Why should we not have a large number of electives instead of the fixed courses which are arranged without allowing for personal choice?

When young women enter college a good knowledge of language—English, as well as the native—is assumed. It is a question how far the use of vernacular as a medium of instruction would be helpful. By doing so there is a fear of narrowing down the most valuable sources of information. The knowledge of the students will be confined to class lectures and text books. It is true that the use of vernacular will encourage and develop our own literature which is so essential for the growth of national life and national consciousness. But at present our literature contains a very small amount of modern educational material and cannot treat any subject scientifically. Again the study of language is not to know its technicalities and dry grammar. When we confine this study to a fixed number of lines and pages in poetry and prose, we lose the larger meaning. Literature must teach us to appreciate the beauty and grace manifested in nature and human life. In the study of literature we learn the history of any race and its development. The inner soul of any people holds its communion with others through language and we must study it in that spirit. We must learn to appreciate language which is a beautiful expression of soul. It is necessary that we must know its history, its best and greatest writers.

Again turning from language to history we must take a broader view. The study of history does not mean knowing the career of kings and governors, the battles, the military strategy and a few other such facts; but it is a study of a living society in the past and bearing upon the present in all its activities—economic, social, political, intellectual, religious and spiritual. From this we know what factors operated on society so that it has taken the particular direction which we see. This knowledge of the past helps us to understand the new problems in which we have to act prudently that we may not retard human progress. History is so closely related with sociology that in order to understand one we must know the other. The latter tells us how the groups are formed, how they act upon each other. It explains the mental phenomena at such a time and helps us to understand the right moral relations which would alleviate human sufferings.

Our women must know more than the history of India and England, because the world is not confined to these two countries only. In order to get a larger outlook on life it is highly essential that they

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should know about other countries,—their development, the stages through which these countries have passed. Economic conditions in these countries, the political parties and forms of governments cannot be neglected. To be able to judge a thing, whether it is right or wrong, first we must know it.

In the present curriculum very little consideration is given to science. In modern education science plays such an important part that we cannot afford to neglect it. Biology, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, physics, geology, must find a place. If people are ignorant and superstitious in India it is because they know so little of science. Intelligent and scientific explanations of all that people do is more wholesome than mere dogmatic teaching.

It is surprising that with our outlook on life and its ideal which is different from that of the West, we have no place in our curriculum for a school of practical arts. This school includes domestic economy, household administration, household arts, fine arts, sewing, music, hygiene, nursing, sanitation, etc. It is essential that our women should know domestic economy. This science does not mean merely how to cook and make fancy dishes. Here again our scientific knowledge comes into play. Food chemistry, organic chemistry, bacteriology, are at the basis of our food problem. It means the study of diatetics, the effect of food on health, the kinds of food that give a greater amount of nutrition, the diet best for sick people and children. These should form an essential part of a woman's knowledge.

After all, the fundamental thing for the building of mind and body is physical education. Healthy and strong children will not be born of weak parents. In order that they may be morally strong they must be physically strong. Besides this we have to make some provision for recreation for women. Our mode of living is such that our women naturally get enough exercise and fresh air while they are at their daily work. But that kind of work becomes monotonous and they need their minds refreshed by something different and lively.

Finally our thought goes to pedagogy. One wonders whether we understand the real significance and true nature of this professional study. To become a teacher is so easy in India that those who go through the portals of a university are qualified to teach without further requirements. In India we engage a teacher just as we hire a servant for any kind of work. It never strikes us that the profession of a teacher is very sacred and a delicate relation exists between a child and a teacher. The light that comes from a teacher, his personality, his knowledge of human nature, his efficient preparation, are to help the child mind and to mold its character. We must base our theories and principles of teaching on the knowledge of psychology. This science explains the variety of human nature and finds a key to approach it. The child mind and its interests must be the centre of our educational work. We have to arrange a curriculum to suit the child, instead of adjusting the child to the curriculum. Indeed, the curriculum as worked out by educational authorities may be quite at variance with the child's nature. We have to provide many such courses in pedagogy to get a trained body of teachers who will be able to handle the educational problems scientifically and intelligently. Then only we shall have some hope of progress.

To sum up all this is to arrange a kind of curriculum that will fulfill the purpose of our new university. I respectfully submit the following tentative courses :—

I.

Required Work.

1. Vernacular literature.
2. English composition.
3. Detailed knowledge of Indian history.
4. General courses in European history.
5. Sanskrit or any modern European language.
6. Physiology.
7. Hygiene and sanitation.
8. Pure and applied chemistry.
9. General course in household management.
10. Physical education.

Electives.

1. Hist. of vernacular
   ,, ,, literature.
   Study of dramas.
   ,, ,, poems.
   ,, ,, composition.
2. Hist. of English literature.
   English dramas.
   Famous poets and prose writers.
   Composition.

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3. Other languages,
   Sanskrit, Latin, German, French, Persian.
4. General mathematics.
5. General courses in European and Asiatic history.
   English ,,
   Greek ,,
   Roman ,,
   American ,,
   Advanced courses in Indian and English history.
6. General courses in social science
   (a) Elements of economics
   (b) ,, ,, politics
   (c) ,, ,, sociology.
7. Psychology
   General social psychology
   ,, educational ,,
   Psychology of child mind.
8. Philosophy and ethics.
9. Elocution.
10. Sciences.
    Chemistry, biology, physics, astronomy, geology.
11. Courses in pedagogy.
12. Kindergarten teaching

II.

School of practical arts

1. Household economics.
2. Food and organic chemistry.
   Practical lessons in cooking.
3. Housekeeping and housing conditions.
4. Sanitation.
5. Hygiene personal and public.
6. Home nursing, child rearing.
7. Sewing, knitting, cloth printing, embroidery and designing.
8. Drawing, painting, other fine arts.
9. Weaving.
10. Music.
11. Courses in agriculture, gardening
12. Dairying.
13. Laundry.

We should make the curriculum wide and let there be a large number of electives as far as possible, so that with the required work divided throughout the four year period there will be plenty of time so that young women can take, with required courses, many electives in which they are interested. For this kind of program we have to make another change in our policy. It is better and advantageous to have a final examination at the end of each term, instead of only once a ye The emphasis should not be on how m time is given to lectures, but rather ho much time students should spend on o side work (library reading and cl preparation). Eight or ten hours devot to class attendance and fourteen or sixte hours to outside preparation every we would be a good plan for the stude She will be able to accomplish more th if she were required to attend ma lectures. At the end of four years o women will feel that their college life w not confined to the knowledge of a fe subjects. Such a system will help them get a broad view of life and they will fe that their intellectual outlook is widene

As the name indicates, the object of th new university is to afford young wom all over the country a training of unive sity grade. If the instruction is giv only in one or two vernacular languag that means preventing the coming of tho who cannot understand the languag We can solve this problem and help ma by making English a medium of instr tion. Another point: such an institut must be for all classes of women a should not be for a chosen few. There a large number of women who are kee conscious of their dependent lives, a they are a burden to the community. W have to make some provision for the women, to enable them to help themsel and at the same time be efficient and he ful members of society. For this reas we must have some vocational traini Perhaps some will say that we do n want our women to enter the industri world and rub their shoulders again men. But there are many professio which women can enter without t danger.

It is true that our funds will not allo us to establish a university on a lar scale. But the university at Poona is t only institution of its kind from which can expect anything progressive. If o wealthy people and rich native states help such a university, then our probl will not be so difficult. Thereby not o we shall help our women, upon wh depends the regeneration of India, but shall begin a great constructive work.

New York, U.S.A. KRISHNABAI TULASKA

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A LIST OF FOOLS

A merchant once to Akbar led
An Arab horse—a thorough-bred ;
And Akbar, for he had a whim,
He paid up what was asked of him ;
And ordered then the man to bring
A mare to match so good a thing.

"Your Majesty"—the merchant swore—
"I'll try to get you such a mare,
Only I cannot promise to
Find one that will exactly do ;
But if you pay up in advance,
I'm sure you'll stand a better chance."

Then Akbar ordered them to pay
The merchant, and he went away.

It happened, not long after, that
Akbar with Birbal had a chat :
"Make me a list of all"—said he—
"The fools that in my kingdom be—
Old fools, young fools, small fools, great,
Wise fools, stupid fools, up to date,
Born fools, made fools, lean fools, stout,
A complete list—leave no one out."
Then Birbal made a list complete,
And laid it at His Highness' feet ;
And Akbar took the great roll up,
And glanced right through it from the top—
But opened wide his eyes, I wist,
For lo ! his name did top the list.

"Now how is this ?"—great Akbar roared.
But Birbal was not to be floored.

"What else is one"—Birbal began—
"Who pays a round sum to a man,
Of whom he knows nor name, nor place,
Nor reputation, class, nor race,
Who pays the price down for a mare,
He'll never see, or skin, or hair ?"
"But how"—said Akbar—"if he should
Come back, and make his promise good ?"
"I'll score your name out"—Birbal said—
"And write that idiot's name instead."

GRYLLUS DOMESTICUS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

STRAY BIRDS, *by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co. Price 4s 6d Net.*

Most of the pieces in the 'Stray Birds' are literal translations from the Poet's Bengali work called 'Kanika' or Tiny Poems. There are also quite a large number of pieces which are not translations at all, but composed originally in English. No English reader, however, takes Rabindranath's English rendering of his own poetry to be mere translation-work ; for however beautiful and delicate a translation may be, something must unavoidably be lost in the process—the atmosphere, the rhythmical significance—and such loss is immeasurable. Strangely enough, Rabindranath's prose versions have not suffered a whit in any way : they are as fresh and delicate as the originals. They seem to have changed the vesture of language only and not to have changed otherwise.

'Kanika' or the tiny poems are a collection mostly of quatrains full of wisdom, rather of a proverbial nature, but bristling with a kind of poignant wit and humour, that make the utterances extremely delicious. Sanskrit and Persian poetry—generally speaking Eastern poetry—abound with instances of this type. They are so homely that sometimes they are hardly renderable, just as it is almost impossible to translate a proverb of one language into another, unless there is a corresponding proverb in the other language too. Rabindranath has been discriminating enough to keep such homely 'birds' encaged in their Bengali original ; they are so very snug in their little nook of Bengali that they cannot be persuaded to go abroad. Their local colouring ; their fine play of words and puns ; clever hits and raps at the little conventionalities and absurdities of the world ; smiling twitters of delicate humour ; brilliant suggestiveness—all these put together impart to the tiny poems of 'Kanika' a peculiar flavour and an aroma, so that their very tininess becomes a rare advantage.

Let me quote a few pieces which, though not quite representative of this type, may serve as good illustrations.

163. P. 43

"The learned say that your lights will one day be no more," said the firefly to the stars.

The stars made no answer.

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172. P. 45

The sun-flower blushed to own the nameless flower as her kin.

The sun rose and smiled on it, saying,
"Are you well, my darling ?"

236. P. 62

Smoke boasts to the Sky and Ashes to the Earth, that they are brothers to the Fire.

184. P. 49

He who is too busy doing good finds no time to be good.

171. P. 45

Either you have work or you have not.
When you have to say, "Let us do something," then begins mischief.

129. P. 33

Asks the Possible to the Impossible, "Where is your dwelling-place ?"
"In the dreams of the impotent," comes the answer.

107. P. 28

The echo mocks her origin to prove she is the original.

Other poems of the 'Kanika' are of a somewhat different type, they are pure and simple "*pensees*," highly sapient, like those of Pascal, Epictetus, Joubert and others. The present volume of 'Stray Birds' contains quite a large number of the translations of such pieces. We reprint a few striking sayings below :—

138. P. 36

"I am ashamed of my emptiness," said the Word to the Work.
"I know how poor I am when I see you," said the Work to the Word.

173. P. 46

"Who drives me forward like fate ?"
"The Myself striding on my back."

130. P. 33

If you shut your door to all errors truth will be shut out.

75. P. 20

We read the world wrong and say that it deceives us.

258. P. 67

The false can never grow into truth by growing in power.

Similar wise aphorisms are strewn all over the book. They are too cryptic for ordinary minds, as they are the crystallized forms of the poet's varied experiences in life. The more one probes into them, the deeper one realises the inherent truths they convey. Except perhaps Goethe, there is no other literary figure in Eastern or Western literature, who has been able to give the world such a rich storage of wisdom, borne not upon the vehicles of massive creation but upon frail and light-winged pencil-sketches of images, adages and epigrams. They are tiny, like small pieces of diamond, but they flash forth light and truth from every facet. Herein lies the great and undisputed power of the poet—the power of crystallization of thought, the power of hiding power and becoming simple, the power of wonderful self-restraint and silence, so that things become thoughts and thoughts become things in rapid transfiguration, in his art. The wonder, therefore, is that the poet, who has been the creator of all the great forms of poesy, the dramatic, the lyric, the ballad and the ode, etc., who has had even epic flights of imagination in some of his longer lyrical and dramatic pie... should thus be able to show the same power i... line, in a single touch of the brush, in short epigra... and simple images. There is one piece in the 'St... Birds,' which may be very well applied to the p... present work :—"The stars are not afraid to ap... like fireflies." In fact, these tiny pieces may ap... like fireflies, but they are in reality stars. They ... orbs of light ; they are images of life. One may ... say to them, to quote another piece : "Tiny gr... your steps are small, but you possess the earth u... your tread."

There is a school of painting in modern Eur... called "Imagism," which has its corresponding sch... in poetry also. The Imagists confine all their att... tion to images or pictures and do not care for id... tion or intellection of any kind. In some respe... their poetry is allied to Japanese poetry. The p... torial art in Japan has reached such a high perfect... at the expense of the other arts, that Japanese poe... also has been strictly kept to the limits of a f... words merely so that there is just room enough fo... short, simple image unmixed with any other emoti... fancy, or idea of any kind. Feelings and thoug... may come as subsidiary effects, but the impress... that the poetry itself will convey is one of picture a... picture merely. Rabindranath is not an imag... But the significant fact about 'Stray Birds' is t... most of it was written during the poet's voyage... Japan or during his short stay there. This ... makes the dedication of the volume to "T. Hara, ... Yokohama," one of the greatest of modern Japan... artists, peculiarly appropriate, as the poems sugge... the delicacy, picturesqueness and frailishness ... Japanese poetry, as we know it in translation.

The pictorial art of Japan was certainly ... unconscious influence working in the mind of t... poet, when he was writing 'Stray Birds.' His stra... thoughts were shaping themselves in pictures ; t... mood of the artist was on him. Of course he ca... not chase away thoughts and emotions outright, b... he moulded them in forms of pictures. Even in ... occasional vagueness, here and there, his images h... commerce with the world of dreams. In every pie... the poet betrays a keen and true eye both for col... and form and he reminds one of Keats, Gaut... Rosetti and William Blake, past masters in wo... painting. But his power, at every step, seems to ... infinitely much greater. No other poet, as I have ... ready said, except Goethe, could express such dep... of wisdom ; no other poet could express his wisd... in the garb of such simple, beautiful image... The blending of wisdom, wit, and pictorial art h... made the book so extremely fascinating and ... uniquely novel as a literary production. We can qu... here only a few pieces as illustrations ; the wh... book is a string of gems, each of them rare a... beautiful. The reader should not therefore think ... following quotations to be the best : they should ... a lure to him to explore the mine for himself.

10. P. 3

Sorrow is hushed into peace in my heart like ... evening among the silent trees.

29. P. 8

My heart beats her waves at the shore of ... world and writes upon it her signature in tears w... the words, 'I love thee.'

116. P. 30

The earth hums to me today in the sun, lik... woman at her spinning, some ballad of the ancie... time in a forgotten tongue.

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147. p. 59

The dust of the dead words cling to thee,
Wash thy Soul with silence.

161. p. 43

The cobweb pretends to catch dewdrops and catches flies.

279. p. 72

We live in this world when we love it.

300. p. 78

God waits for man to regain his childhood in wisdom.

326. p, 84

Let this be my last word that I trust in thy love.

Nearly all the quotations above are original pieces. We have noticed only one mistake in the book; one poem has been printed in two places (See Nos. 98 & 163). Willy Pogany's frontispiece in color has an imaginative and contemplative charm that is in entire keeping with the poems themselves. There is, however, too much of the dream-stuff about it, which is absent in the poems.

In one of the concluding poems, Rabindranath wishes his guide to lead him into "the valley of quiet where life's harvest mellows into golden wisdom." All that we can say, as we close this hasty review, is, that his wish has been more than fulfilled. He has reaped the harvest of life 'which mellows into golden wisdom' in the Stray Birds, his latest work.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY.

ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY—VOL. II, PTS. I & II. *T. A. Gopinath Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, pp. 1-360, 361, 578 and 1-279 and 1-37; The Law Printing House, Madras.*

Mr. Gopinath Rao's work is undoubtedly the best work on Hindu Iconography that has ever been published. It possesses all the characteristics of a modern scientific work on ancient Iconography, as it is based on original authorities, *e.g.*, Rituals, Puranas, Inscriptions and an actual analysis of Icons. Mr. Gopinath Rao's work in these points excels all other works on ancient Indian Iconography whether Hindu, Buddhistic or Jain published up to date.

The second volume of this work is entirely devoted to Saivaism. The author begins his subject with a very learned preface on the history of Saivism and this general introduction is perhaps the best that has been written after the publication of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's monumental work on the history of Indian Religions. The style is light and easy, which will make the work agreeable to the general public.

The author begins, as must be the case with all works on Indian history and religion, with the Vedic period. The non-Vedic origin of Phallic worship in ancient India has been very ably demonstrated by the learned author. In the first place the devotees of the Phallus are mentioned in the Vedas in none too respectful terms. Then, there is that always traceable connection between Indian Phallic worship and that of all other countries of the ancient near East. Finally we have the explicit statement that Phallic worship was imported into Southern India from Nothern India.

Coming to the question of ancient sects among the Saivas, the author deals at length with the history of the Pashupatas and the Agamanta Saivas. The history of sub-sects, e.g., the Kalamukhas, Somasiddhantins and Kapalikas, have been exhaustively described. It is one of the most elaborate and best descriptions that ever appeared in print. The learned author has also described Mediaeval Saiva sectarians, e.g., the Vira-Saivas of Southern India and the Pratyabhijnas of Kasmira. Another interesting feature of the work is the history of the merging of non-Vedic Saivism into the orthodox religion of Northern and Southern India. The author begins with the name Rudra, what is signified in the Vedic Literature, the subsequent metamorphosis of the name in the epics and the gradual elevation to Godhood of the hated god of the Phallus. There is no doubt of the fact that the elevation of the Phallic god to his present position in the Hindu Mythology was preceded by a severe struggle like that which preceded the elevation of Vishnu-Surya into his present position in the Hindu Trinity. At the end of this struggle a strong desire for a sort of reconciliation seems to have come over both sides and we see the compromise in Arjuna's worship of Siva. The author has illustrated the second chapter of his work with photographs of two of the oldest forms of the Phallus found in India. These are the ancient Lingas found at Bhita in the Allahabad District and the newly discovered natural Phallus found at Gudimallam near Renigunta. The new Linga is undoubtedly old, as the style leads one to class it with the sculptures of Sanchi. With the exception of the Bhita Lingam, Lingams of Northern India are not at all represented. One naturally expects to find an illustration of the celebrated Linga dedicated by the hereditary minister of Kumaragupta I., at Bharadi-dih in such a work.

The second chapter of the work is devoted to an elaborate discussion of all forms of Lingas, e.g., moveable and immovable Lingas. Moveable Lingas are divided into several classes such as those made of earth, metal, precious stones, wood and stone. Immovable Lingas are divided into several classes according to their formations. Such an elaborate discussion is only possible in Southern India where Silpa Sastras have survived the ravages of Muhammadan occupations and where there are artisans who have not forgotten their craft. These elaborate classifications have been explained by means of diagrams and drawings. Among those Lingas Mukhalingams deserve special mention as they occur in very large numbers in Northern India. Unfortunately there is no mention of Northern Indian Mukhalingams in this book. The Indian Museum collection contains several Mukhalingams which are unique. In these specimens the Phallus is surrounded by four images of the following deities :—Vishnu, Brahma, Suryya, Durga, Ganesha and Kartikeya. The Southern images of this class have been described in the next chapter as Lingodbhava-Murtis. The variety of forms discussed in other chapters under various names is simply amazing and one who has not intimate acquaintance with the details of South Indian Mythology will simply find himself at sea in these chapters. In the third chapter among various forms the only well-known familiar form is that of Uma-Mahesvara which is found in large numbers in all ancient Saiva centres of activity. The *Sanhara Murtis* of Siva are very little known outside Southern India. stray specimens having been found in the principal Saiva centres of Orissa. Images of the dancing Siva have recently become familiar in this province by the discovery of a number of specimens in Eastern Bengal. The chapters devoted to

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the discussion of little known forms of Siva, forms very rarely to be found even in Southern India, is really the most important contribution of Mr. Gopinath Rao to the modern knowledge of ancient Iconography. One great defect of the book is the absence of North Indian specimens either in the discussion or illustrations; otherwise. Mr. Rao's work is one of the best hand-books of ancient Indian Iconography published up to date. Indian scholars owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Rao for having brought out in a very accessible form all that store of knowledge which lay hidden so long in obscure manuscripts of Silpa Sastras and in the maze of Northern and South Indian Puranas and Mahatmyas. The publishers are to be congratulated on the excellence of the get up and the high finish of the illustrations. So long a close study of comparative mythology has not been possible for the younger generation of our students, and foreign scholars have been compelled to use the scanty information that could be gleaned from an obsolete work like Moore's Hindu Pantheon or an incomplete one like that of Prof. Macdonell. Mr. Gopinath Rao has removed a long felt want both at home and abroad by devoting years of study to the compilation of these four volumes.

R. D. BANERJEE.

HINDI.

PHOOLON KA GUCHHI *by Shree Nathuram Praimi and published by the Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar Office, Hirabagh, P.O. Girgaon, Bombay, Crown 8vo. pp. 112. Price—Clothbound, as. 12 and ordinary as. 9.*

This is a collection of short stories of various types, which are interesting on account of their diversity. Some of these stories were published in original in the Prabasi and other Bengali journals. Two have been translated from the Marathi and the Gujerati. Much of the old life in India can be gathered from the perusal of these stories and in them a new path has been chalked out from the stories we generally see in magazines etc. Some of them may not be very interesting to minds moulded in a particular groove, but to a thoughtful reader they are all precious. The original authors of all these "galpas" have made their names in the domain of literature. The translation has done credit to the compiler, under whose direction the translations have been made. We can say that the book is a "veritable bunch of flowers."

KANAK REKHA *by Pandit Jwala Dutta Sharma, published by Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar Office. D. Crown 8vo. pp. 144. Price—as. 12.*

This is a translation of some of the short stories written by Shree Kaishav Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L. The stories have in them the stamp of modern times and they are supremely interesting. They range over all phases of life, and some of them have even the impress of devout Hinduism and orthodoxy in them. There is a great deal of vividness in the stories, and there is no one who will not find something to his taste in the collection. The enterprising publishers must be congratulated both on their selection and on the way in which the translation has been made. The stories entitled "Anuman main pramad" and "Shabda-bibhrat" illustrate how misunderstandings often arise: they show also how admirably the writer has used his imagination in making his stories diversified. We commend the collection to all grades of people who must be interested by the same.

RAJPATH KA PATHIK *by Mr. Krishnalal Varma, published by Mr. Amirchand Jain, Proprietor, Praim Karjalaya, Gohana (Rohtak)—Punjab. Crown 8vo. pp. 56. Price—as. 5.*

This is an adaptation from an English book. It contains high thoughts for one's improvement. The author has soared high and under different heads he has given very practical suggestions. The various subjects dealt with constitute so many practical thesis for the guidance and amelioration of human life. The book contains very sublime thoughts and is highly commendable.

ANJANA PAVANANJAY KAVYA *by Mr. Pharm Lal Saithi. Crown 8vo. pp. 31. Price and address not given.*

This is a Jain book and contains the account of the union by wedlock of Anjana and Pavananjay. It gives in detail the Jain account on the subject in very nice poems in *Khariboli*. The book will no doubt form a very interesting reading.

VYAHI BAHU *by B. Surajbhanu Vakil and published by the Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar Office, Hirabagh, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 43. Price as. 3 only.*

This is a very suitable book for presentation to married girls or those who are about to be married. We san say that we have come across no other book of the nature written in so nice a style. Reasonable and instructive meanings are given to all the ceremonies undergone before and after marriage as also in the course of it. The whole thing has been dealt with in a way which would be both interesting and instructive. The book is an outcome of considerable experience and should find place in every household. We wish to see the book pass through a number of editions. The get up is quite excellent.

CHHATRASAL *translated by B. Ramchand Varma and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 327. Price Rs. 1-12-0 for the bound edition and Rs. 1-8-0 for the ordinary edition.*

This may be called a historical novel which seems to have been written with considerable pains. The original Mahratti author has made a name in the field of Mahratti novel literature and the book bears the impress of the grandeur achieved by him by means of his other writings. The plot of the book is laid in the time of Aurangzeb. Bundelkhand and the land of Sivaji have also been made to play their parts in a very interesting manner. The plot is very dexterously laid and is very interesting indeed. The descriptions in the book are also what has struck us considerably. Delhi has been described in a royal style and the allegories in that connection speak highly of the author. There are some historical inaccuracies which will in no way affect the merits of the book in other respects. The book reminds us of some of the historical novels of Babu and Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt though there is some difference in the style. The book is worth much more than its price.

PRAYASHCHIT, *translated by Shreejut Padma Punnalal Bakshi, B.A., and published by [illegible] Crown 8vo. pp. 43. Price—as. 5.*

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The original of this book was in the Belgian language, the author being M. Maeterlink. We know he is well-known for his superb writings in which there is more of the mind than of the matter and we find an example of that in this drama also. A man eloped with a man with whom she happened to fall awfully in love. Later on, she was forsaken by the lover and she drifted into extremes of sin, but the transcendental love she bore for the Virgin Mary saved her and carried her through at the time of her death. This is the direction in which the plot has gone, but there are many things more; and the book when once begun must be finished. The value of the great love for God and Celestial Beings has been well illustrated. The characters in the original have been named in the Sanskrit phraseology. Annapurna Devi taking the place of the Virgin Mary. The moral is that Love and Faith triumph over Sin. The get-up of the publication is excellent and it is printed on the best paper.

ATMA-RAHASYA *by Messrs. Dayachandra Ji Goya'iya, B.A. and B. Chiranjilal Mathur, B.A., L.T. Published by the Hindi-Sahitya-Bhandar, Lucknow. Crown 8vo. pp. 38+1. Price—as. 4.*

In this book in a very succinct manner it has been pointed out how one can effect one's moral advancement by regulating one's ideas. The practical nature of the book is what strikes us most and the original English author from whose book this is a translation has tried to show that everything depends upon one's thoughts and feelings. We have never met with a book of this sort, which consists not merely of essays on different subjects, but has been written feelingly and is the fruit of the careful observations of an author who has had much experience of moral life. The book has been nicely gotup and it will be of incalculable help to juvenile readers.

BIRON KI KAHANIYAN *translated by Shreejut Kumar Kanhaiya Jao and published by Mr. Nanhai-lal Modi, Bookseller, Da'ori, Dist. Sagar. Crown 8vo. pp. 75. Price.—As. 6.*

This has been written on the basis of an English book and we cannot say too much in praise of it. It depicts a graphic picture of some of the ancient heroes and heroines, which is calculated to stir new life into drooping spirits and the hearts even of the cowards. A retrospect of our ancient greatness can not but be immensely gratifying and these true stories are simply invaluable on that account. We would like to have the ancient books and the already published treatises in other languages ransacked and the number of such stories increased in the field of the Hindi literature. Any reception given to the publication will be but too little.

VAIBAHIK ATYACHAR AUR MATRITVA, *published by the Manager, Maryada-Pustak-Bhandar, Proyag and translated by Mr. Vasudeva. Crown 8vo. Pp. 118+16. Price—as. 8.*

This is a pretty interesting drama, the original being in the French. It gives queer views about marriage, which would not find any favour with the Hindu or our Indian ideals. But these views are shared by a set of people in the west. The point of the book is that in marital indiscretion, men should be held as much responsible as females. The compiler has also added a preface to the book and most people will not share his ideas, though well-reasoned. However, the book will form a very interesting change and it does depict the life held by a set of people in western countries. The portraiture, we must admit, is very graphic and we repeat that the book will prove very interesting. The other books in the series, which the compiler wishes to bring out, may be awaited with interest.

CONGRESS KAI PITA ARTHAT MR. HUME, *translated by Messrs. Dayachand Goyaliya, B.A. and B. Chiranji Lal Mathur, B.A., L.T. and published by Mr. Udaylal Kashlival, Proprietor, Hindi-Gaurav-Granthamala, Chandawari, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. Pp. 124+9+23. Price—as. 12.*

This is the life of the great Congressman written originally in English by another Congressman, Sir William Wedderburn, and translated into Hindi in a very nice manner indeed. The biography is an exhaustive one in which all phases of the great Civilian's life have been depicted. His official life is shown to have as its primary element, sympathy for the Indians and this resulted in administration of a nature which was not superficial but bore far-reaching good effects. It has been shown that he loved Indians with the feelings of a parent—displeased when necessary like a parent and encouraging on other occasions in the same spirit. What he did for the Congress has also been exhaustively dealt with and he has been rightly described as the father of the Congress. The book will no doubt be very eagerly received by a large section of people. The get-up, it need hardly be said, is excellent.

SAPHALTA KI KUNJI, *by Mr. Chandrishekhar Urbanshi. Published by the Arya Book Depot, Lahore and printed at the Union Steam Press, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 118. Price —as. 6.*

The author in this book has given many useful hints for moral culture. He has gathered his materials from several English publications, but the book is nevertheless original. It has been written more or less on the lines of Smiles' books, though the manner of description is different, and illustrations have been taken from the Indian life as well. Youngman who want a moral text-book in Hindi, the book will be very suitable for him. There are some printing errors, but the get-up in other respects is good.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

JEHANGIR-NAMA, *by Mashrek* alias *Sohrab Sheheriyar Irani, printed at the Kaisar-e-Hind Printing Works, Bombay. Clothbound, pp. 285. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1917).*

An Irani or Persian by birth, Persian is the mother tongue of "Mashrek," still he has been able to cultivate his study of Gujarati to such a great extent as to have turned out, in the words of his friends, an "all round" author, tragic, comic, and what not. The present work is a translation of a Persian poem, by Abdul Kasim Hayrati. It relates to the career of Jehangir, whose career has not been adequately chronicled by Firdosi, in his Shah-Nameh. The translation preserves that peculiar flavour which is to be found in old Persian *Namehs* or chronicles, and thus rings a welcome change on the jejune novel literature which at present dominates the pen of Parsi writers.

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DIVODAS NUN DEVALAYA, *by Meherjibhai Manekji Ratura, printed at the Satyanarayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 243, Price Rs. 2-4-0 (1917).*

This Parsi author has already won his spurs in the religious and philosophic (Vedantic) literary field of his Hindu brethren. The depth of knowledge and the intimacy displayed by him in respect of religious love, in his prior works, such as the *Bhagvat Bhavna*, and the *Vanaprastha* are astounding and very creditable in one of an alien faith. His language is that of a cultured Hindu, and the present book, which is cast in the form of a drama fully sustains the reputation he has already acquired as a thoughtful writer. He tries, here, to vindicate the cause of learning, and its nobility. Knowledge of God, and study of one's own religion, are according to him, the mission of man's life. To those not interested in the subject, the book would not very likely appeal.

MAETERLINK NA NIBANDHO, *by Dhansukhlal Kishanlal Mehta, L. E. E., printed at the Umai Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 86. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1917).*

The *forte* of this rising young writer is effective translation and adaptation of short humorous stories, and it is a revelation to find him treating equally effectively such a serious book as Maeterlink's Essays. The work though short is likely to be widely read.

NAV JIVAN, *by Manilal Mohanlal Padrakar, printed at the Luhana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda, Cloth bound, pp. 179. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1917).*

This is a collection of papers written at different times by Mr. Padrakar, a rising ambitious writer, with a foreword by Mrs. Sharda Sumant Mehta, B.A. There are seven papers, and contain essays on the Philosophy of Love, Sufism, Dante, Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, Court of the Muses, Firdosi, and Bharat Khand. These are useful subjects, and the papers furnish ordinary information, in some the writer seems to have travelled beyond his depth.

AMERICA NO PRAVAS, *by Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 299. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1917).*

A translation of Swami Satyadev's experiences in America, written in Hindi, the book furnishes most interesting and instructive reading. We would recommend every one to read it from cover to cover as he would find much that is useful and much that is inspiring in it.

PAIALACHCHHI-NAMA-MALA (पाइअलच्छीनाममाला) *published by B. B. & Co., printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Thick Cardboard, pp. 1.. Price Re. 1-12-0 (1917).*

Pandit Bechardas Jivraj, a native of Kathiawar, is a great student of Prakrit and Pali. It is he who has published this well-known Prakrit vocabulary of Maha Kavi Dhanpal, with its Gujarati equivalents. In the short biography of the author appended to this book, Dhanpal is said to have written this book to teach his younger sister Sundari, her mother tongue. He flourished in Malwa in the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, and though a Brahman by birth, later changed into the Jaina faith. The work is very important, as showing the state of the language there, and the only pity is that the translator is unable to extend its sphere of usefulness by publishing it in some European language too, when he would have found many more admirers than in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

NEW WAYS IN ENGLISH POETRY

A WESTERN CRITIC ON SAROJINI.

By JAMES H. COUSINS.

THERE is a general assumption in literary circles in England that the war, in addition to the many things that it ended and began, marks an era in English poetry, that is, in poetry written by Britishers in Great Britain, as distinguished from poetry written in the English language by Indian, Colonial or Irish writers. It is not quite clear whether the era has actually been entered upon, or will be in the near future. The evidence adduced for the assumption is the fact that much that passed for poetry before the war is not now to be heard or seen. The futurist movement, for example, became a thing of the past long before Italy declared for the Allies. But terminations are not epoch *makers*. In order to prophesy, we have to have regard not only to endings but to beginnings; and the first shock that we experience in the present case is the discovery of the fact that there has been practically no war poetry, at least no poetry of a quality and bulk commensurate with the world-shaking catastrophe. The big poets have not made it a subject for their big moments: some of them have

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definitely stated their determination to have nothing to do with the horrible affair because of its anachronistic and inartistic character. The minor poets have not, through its inspiration, become major. It has brought out no new poets of mark; and the poets that were making themselves heard just before the explosion of civilization in August 1914, had already found themselves and their time; that is to say, they had got as far in the development of their individual style and genius as could be expected, and they had fastened on to the new phase of British thought, the "social consciousness," that has been disturbing the notion of "art for art's sake" for the past twenty years. True, Rupert Brooke achieved fame by his death in the Aegean Sea backed up by a small volume entitled "1914"; but any prophecy of a new era that that volume might stir, is discounted by the volume entitled "April 1915" by Henry Bryan Binns, which enters a strenuous protest against the glorification of human slaughter as the last resort of Christian argument.

Yet it is quite true that the war marks, if it does not create, a passing over from one phase of poetical activity to another. Apart from the universally recognised Irish literary revival, that produced—or some say was produced by—two poets of the front rank, Yeats and A. E., lovers of poetry in English have been aware for some time past of a new spirit and method animating the younger generation of English poets. The popular success of John Masefield, an occasional play by Lascelles Abercrombie, the winning of the Royal Literary Society's prize by Ralph Hodgson, have been but special points in a general tendency. Those who had not come across volumes by individual poets were helped to an understanding of the new movement through the publication of two volumes entitled "Georgian Poetry," one containing representative poems of 1911 and 1912 by writers who were beginning to define themselves as a younger English school, and another for 1913 to 1915. These were brought out by The Poetry Bookshop, London, largely, if not mainly, through the enterprise of one of the poets, Mr. Harold Monro, who founded and edited "The Poetry Review," which was the organ of The Poetry Society until a split sent Mr. Monro elsewhere, and the magazine passed under the editorship of the late Stephen Phillips, and subsided into an undistinguished literary orthodoxy. It was quite an adventure to wander round the shelves of the shop in a quiet street off one of London's main roads, and note the vitality and extensiveness of the new work, mainly in little books produced in an artistic fashion that makes reading a delight to the hand and eye as well as to the mind.

It was obvious that something in the nature of a "school" of modern English poetry was in process of development. A definite consciousness of associated purpose showed itself through the technical and temperamental divergences of the writers, and many eyes have watched for an indication of the new ways that the rhythmical feet of the modern English Muse would pursue in days in which the singers have inherited all the skill and thought of the mighty masters, and are yet under the responsibility to express their own time in their own way. It is too early yet to prophesy of the fulness of the new movement with any special degree of assurance; but those to whom anticipation is a pleasure, as well as those who are content to enjoy poetry for its own sake, apart from its implications, will find material to hand in Mary C. Sturgeon's "Studies in Contemporary Poets," published by Messrs. G. G. Harrap & Co., London, which provides not only a sympathetic survey of the whole field of the new movement, but also copious illustrations that make the book an exegetical anthology.

The volume is not furnished with any introduction: it simply sets out studies of individual poets; but by collating the scattered references to the general features of the movement which the author makes in passing, one gathers that the life of contemporary England is "evoking its own music." Some aspect of the complicated life of today is reflected through the work of one or more of the new writers, "its awakened social consciousness or its frank joy in the world of sense; in mysticism or its repudiation of dogma in art as in religion."

In the repudiation of dogma we have an indication of the youthfulness of some part of the movement. Youth is always anti-dogmatic, and, being denied the retrospective eye of middle-life or age, is

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not specially concerned with the fact that it is but creating a new dogma for the iconoclasts of the future to smash. An art without dogma would be as inartistic as a religion without dogma would be unreligious. What matters, however, is not the philosophical merits or demerits of rival dogmatic or anti-dogmatic dogmas, but the play of the spirit which they manifest; and in the case of the new poets that play is seen not merely in the reflection of the disturbance of their time in thought and conduct, but also in the matter of technique which shows the effort of artistic adjustment between subject and method. "The technique of modern poetry," says Miss Sturgeon, "would seem to be a movement towards a more exact rendering of the music and meaning of our language. That is to say, there is in prosody itself an impulse towards truth of expression, which may be found to correspond to the heightened sense of external fact in contemporary poetic genius, as well as to its closer hold upon reality. Thence comes the realism of much good poetry now being written: triune, as all genuine realism must be, since it proceeds out of a spiritual conviction, a mental process, and actual craftsmanship."

The chief characteristic of the new technique is irregularity of rhythm and rhyme. Those who forget Whitman may regard this as an advance: others will think back to the days of English poetry when assonance played the part that consonance does now in the creation of verbal music, and will wonder if this technical atavism, this conscious bid for freedom from technical restriction, is not at worst a symptom of haste and lack of power, or at best a renunciation of art's supreme duty to be artistic. Miss Sturgeon's reply to the question is that the new technique is a reflection of its day, which does not move in regular rhymes or measures: "It has taken hold upon the world" (that is, its own world of English life) "real and entire;" it "has come so close to life as to claim its very identity." "Moreover," Miss Sturgeon adds, "the life upon which it seizes in this way is wider, more complex, more meaningful than ever before."

Wider and more complex, truly, on the superficies of life; but it is not quite certain that extension and complication in details are an added virtue in poetry whose concern should be the seizing of essentials and fundamentals if it is to be real poetry, that is, a distillation and exaltation of emotion and thought, not merely verbal photography. As to its being more meaningful, that surely exists more in the interpreter than in the proliferations that lead away from, rather than to, the synthesis which is the test and business of real poetry: in any case, it will be more fitting to talk of life being more meaningful to the poets when they have lifted its meaning beyond the level of the poets of speculation in Greece or the poets of realization in India. It is only possible in a short article on a long subject to hint thus at the uncertainty in some of the assumptions which Miss Sturgeon makes in connection with the new poets of modern England. The poets themselves, who are genuine poets, will be mercifully preserved from any trouble over the score of artistic theory: they will write just as they are able to write; but the criticism that follows in the wake of creation has a duty to itself, and that is to take the widest and sanest possible view, based on the fullest grasp of facts and principles. In this respect, it looks as though Miss Sturgeon had let the discovery of a new thing lead her occasionally into pulpit rhetoric, and to the attributing of an emotional, rather than a rational, importance to the "clear day" and "reality" into which these poets are said to have stepped—with an inferred superiority to the alleged unreality and darkness of the poets of the past.

We shall not discuss the question What is reality? Miss Sturgeon's definition of it is that of the realists to whom metaphysics is a kind of foggy disease. What is of importance in an evaluation of modern English poetry is not any question of theory, but the plain fact, stated by Miss Sturgeon, and borne out by books of contemporary English poetry, that there is in many of the new poets an indentification of their technique and thought with the most peculiar phases of the peculiar life of their time: which is the same thing as saying that they are hopelessly dated, and, therefore, for an age not for all time: in short that they are minor poets.

Minor is, in truth, the impression that one has on reading the works of most

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these poets. They have a wonderful terseness and strength of phrase, and vividness of sight; but one misses from their poetry the undertones and overtones and the invisible rays that play about the works of the Masters; that lift utterance beyond echo of the sounds of life into prophecy; and lift sight beyond the thing seen, to the level of vision. The minor poet reproduces himself or his time: the major poet *reveals through* himself and his time the true spiritual nature and destiny of the universe: and that is just what the pre-occupation of these poets with the tamasic (physical) and rajasic (emotional and mental) element of life prevents them from doing. They are perturbed through the possession of a "social consciousness"—and in this they are not different from the poets of the past to whom the problems of humanity have made appeal, though Miss Sturgeon gives us the impression that it is something unique in English poetry; they are in contact with the humanitarian movements of their time; they fulfil the desirable function of doubting Thomas in respect of religious assertion; but in respect of the two major "discoveries" of their age—the fact of the survival of death, and the inference of the fundamental unity of all mental life in a super-mental consciousness (as of all physical life in a super-material substance)—they are practically silent, or speak only in terms of the exploded rationalism that was respectable a quarter of a century ago; that is to say, they have hardly been touched by the two most revolutionary inspirational forces that the dawn of the twentieth century has brought within the sphere of scientific certainty.

In fact it is only in two of these poets—Lascelles Abercrombie and Rose Macaulay, names significantly Celtic in this connection—that one finds any definite expression of a "true world within the world we see." Mr. Abercrombie gives utterance to the idea—which is as old as Indian thought, though comparatively new to English literature—that the Self of the individual is God; and in the work of Miss Macaulay the world of material things, to adopt Miss Sturgeon's excellent summary, "is vividly apprehended: but it is seen to be ringed round by another realm which is not less real."

In the poetry of Walter de la Mare there appears something of the "supernatural" element. This Miss Sturgeon regards as "a constant component of the romantic temperament;" and she speaks of the "fearful joy which this type of mind experiences in contact with the strange and weird." The words "strange and weird" show that the supernatural element which is referred to is the conventional business of ghosts and witches and happenings that are "strange and weird" because they are *not* native to the romantic or any other temperament that regards them so. To those who have any real knowledge of such things, they cease to be strange and weird: the facts become quite normal; but their absorption as part of the equipment of experience and memory creates a subtly different attitude to the details of life and death, as well as to their interpretation. In the poetry, for example, of W. B. Yeats—which is not included in the scope of Miss Sturgeon's "Studies"—there is a simple acceptance of "supernatural" phenomena as an orderly fact in nature. This renders transparent to him the surface of life, which is opaque to those to whom the background of psychic reality is unknown, or merely speculative, or "strange and weird"; and consequently many, like Miss Sturgeon, mistake Yeats' poetry for "romance," instead of realising it to be a full imaginative expression of the *whole* life of humanity, physical, emotional, mental and spiritual, in true perspective, here and "behind the veil."

I emphasise this matter with the more assurance because, in a very sympathetic dealing with a portion of my own contribution to contemporary poetry in her chapter on "An Irish Group," Miss Sturgeon applies the epithet "romantic" to my poem "Etain the Beloved," and seems to relegate that poem to some remote "mythological association" in contrast with a "sharply symptomatic change" which appears in a later volume, "subjects of more social and immediate interest" appearing to engage attention. The truth is, I was not a whit more interested or engaged in social and immediate matters when I was writing the lyrics in "Straight and Crooked," than during the five years in which I composed "Etain the Beloved." What happened was that my destiny took me into more superficial, but not more acute relationships with certain problems of the day during a residence of

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two years and a half in industrial England, and provided me with a few new figures of speech for playing variations on a long assimilated central theme, which is the most that any lyrical poet dare hope to do. If my next book should contain a poem directly on social reform, it is possible that some critic will refer to it as showing my growing interest in topics of the day rather than in vague subjects of the past; and I may get annoyed and use unpoetical language in the privacy of my thought when I remember that the very core and marrow of social reform in its most typically modern phases are both explicitly and implicitly contained in "Etain the Beloved." It is possible that that poem fails because it does not show itself fully to the exoteric eye. On the other hand, it is not only equally possible but quite certain that any hint of *esotericism* in a poem will bring down upon one the denunciation of the critics who pick against any suggestion of an intelligent view of the universe in a poet's work. If the poets were guided by the critics, they would find themselves in a weekly quandary. The matter being the other way round, it is not unlikely that the critics of the future will find themselves compelled to intensify their literary values as the spiritual element works itself more and more into poetry. I have seen Mr. Henry Ainley, one of the finest London actors, reduce a freshly starched collar to a pulpy ruffle clinging with perspiration round his neck in reciting Masefield's "Philip the King." It seemed to be a necessary condition for manifesting the strength and energy of the piece: yet there are lines in little poems by A. E., that have enough spiritual dynamic in them to blow all the muscle and size of Masefield's drama to atoms. The Protean creative energy is forever advancing in its disclosure of "reality," and Criticism must adapt itself to the advance. The criticism of today may quarrel with the poets of the past who used poetry as a medium for the expression of philosophy: the new poets (of whom Mr. Abercrombie is one to a certain extent) must make philosophy the *substance* though not necessarily the subject of their poetry, and criticism must get accustomed to the significance of the change.

Indian lovers of poetry will turn with anticipation to the chapter on the work of Sarojini Naidu, and will be gratified to find it dealt with in a very friendly if not in an absolutely understanding manner. "Her poetry," Miss Sturgeon says, "though truly native to her motherland, is more sensuous than mystical, human and passionate rather than spiritual, more active than contemplative. Her thought has something of the energy of the strenuous West; and something of its divine discontent plays upon the surface of an older and deeper calm which is her birthright." One may agree with this as a rough and ready summary of Sarojini's qualities; but second thought may conceive a doubt as to whether the western critic has quite fully comprehended the Eastern artist. On a point of fact she certainly has not, for she concludes that the very much alive Dr. Naidu, Sarojini's husband, died some time ago, because Sarojini has sung a Dirge of Widowhood! It is not easy to understand how a poem that definitely sets the subject apart from the singer could be thus misread; but the error is an unconscious tribute to the sympathy and conviction of the poetess' work. On the deeper question we have not space to say more than that the contrasting, the opposites, of the sensuous and the mystical, the human and the spiritual, which in its extreme form, is one of the vices of English art and criticism, is not a method that can be applied to Indian poetry without a great deal of modification. The highly emotionalised connotation of the term sensuous in the west, and the highly egoised connotation of the term human are by no means applicable in their rawness to the East. To speak of Sarojini's philosophy as "materialism of a noble kind" is to mistake the symbol for the substance, the multi-coloured blaze through the painted glass, for the steady white flame of the lamp within. Indian literature is characterised by the expression of metaphysical truth through symbols that a Western critic would call highly sensuous, but which has only a fraction of the appeal to Eastern sense that it has to Western sense because of the wider different attitude of West and East towards the passional side of life. The appeal of sensuousness is much more *mental* in the East than in the West; and its sequel far less liable to expression on the physical plane. Miss Sturgeon does not seem to have realised this fact: if she has

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she would hardly, in face of such a poem as "In Salutation to the Eternal Peace," have stated that neither the hope of Nirvana nor the promise of Paradise could drug Sarojini's sense of the value of life, nor "darken her perception of the beauty of phenomena," when, as is evident from a perspective view of Sarojini's song, the value and beauty of life and phenomena to her depend upon their relation to the spiritual substratum on which the phenomenal side of life is based.

Fuller knowledge and reflection will no doubt remedy these defects: in any case they do not diminish our gratitude to an enthusiastic lover of poetry who has read and enjoyed practically all that is worth reading in modern English poetry, and given us an excellent compendium of the same.

The poets studied are Lascelles Abercrombie, Rupert Brooke, W. H. Davies, W. de la Mare, W. W. Gibson, Ralph Hodgson, F. M. Heuffer, Rose Macaulay, John Masefield, Harold Monro, Sarojini Naidu, John Presland, Margaret L. Woods, James Stephens, and An Irish Group.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA

MANY readers of the "Modern Review" are anxious for a detailed account of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's work in America. What I propose to do in this article, therefore, is to reprint as many extracts, as possible from various American papers, describing their impression of the poet's lectures and personality, his talks and readings, as he passed from one American city to another.

Interesting and amusing accounts of the poet, some of them faithful and others fanciful and wild and all of them characteristically American with sensational headings fit for commercial advertisements, began to flood all the daily papers of U. S. A., as soon as the cable was received that Sir Rabindranath was on his way to America. For instance, in '*Los Angeles Calif Herald*,' Some Sokul was reported to have said about Rabindranath's school at Shantiniketan that it was a school for all classes, and a 'movement for uplift' and that students were sent from that school throughout India to spread the philosophy and teachings of Tagore. But every Bengali knows that the students of Bolpur school are quite tiny boys who cannot possibly enter into the poet's philosophy and teachings. Of course, it must not be supposed that all the papers published such fancied reports concerning the poet's life and works. Many of them were astonishingly faithful and accurate and gave interesting details.

The Seattle papers and all the prominent papers of America noticed the arrival of Rabindranath on Sept. 18, 1916, in Seattle on the Canada Maru from Japan. This was the description of Rabindranath when he landed in Seattle in *Seattle Wash Post Intel*, Sept. 19, 1916 :—

> Above six feet tall, the head of a Greek God over which flows a mass of soft iron gray locks, a full, high brow, soft dark eyes, a Whitman beard and a figure straight as an Indian's of the plains, Sir Rabindranath is one of the most notable individuals to-day in the world."

Professional interviewers, who are busy-bodies all over the world, published that the object of his visit to America was to raise funds to carry on his school for boys in India. In America, one cannot get rid of these people, who live on flapdoodle, and who will therefore come with all sorts of questions and wring out almost all the views of the man about important and unimportant matters, becoming more enthusiastic as the topic becomes more hopelessly trite and insignificant. It is a sort of craze there; and so all papers send out interviewers, vying with one another as regards the amount of useless information each is successfully able to squeeze out of the big man who becomes for the time being the object of universal interest. We hear that Mr. Pearson, the private secretary of the poet, had great difficulties to keep out the swarm of interviewers who would buzz

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about day and night, disturbing the poet's peace and solitude. This is another aspect of the fever and craze for sensationalism, the fascination for novelty, which rages high in countries like America. It is interesting to note that Rabindranath, in his prophet's role, denouncing all the fetishes and shibboleths of modern civilisation in his famous lectures, no less denounced this side of American life, this mad craze for sensationalism, which kills all higher and deeper interests of life.

However, but for these interviewers, the Americans and the civilised world through them, would never have known some of the important views and ideas of the poet on the outstanding problems of humanity today. Although a few of them played Hamlet without a Hamlet, publishing interviews without actually interviewing, still one must not be hard on such pettifoggery, considering that they did publish some very faithful interviews.

In *Seattle Wash Times*, Sept. 20, 1916, a report was published of an entertainment given to Rabindranath by the officers and trustees of the Sunset Club to which forty guests, representatives of Seattle's social and literary circles, were invited. The report runs thus :—

"A large T-shaped table was arranged in the dining room and was decorated at intervals with large blue bowls filled with marigolds, the auspicious flower of India. Between the bowls were Chinese peacocks, the club's insignia. The place cards were adorned with blue and gold peacocks. Above the flowers fluttered many yellow butterflies. Mrs. Winfield P. Smith, president of the club, presided as Chairman and introduced Dr. Herbert H. Gowen and Dr. Oliver. P. Richardson of the university of Washington and Judge Frederick V. Brown, who welcomed the distinguished guest. In a speech which delighted the guests, Tagore responded to the greetings. "Always," he said, "there is more preparation made for the feast than the occasion warrants. It is so with this welcome you have given me. I can take to myself but a modest share of the good things you have said to me and through me to my country. In India the welcome to the guest is always by the women of the household, so this welcome in this club of women is in accordance with our form of hospitality. I think it most auspicious that my first welcome on this shore should have been in this charming way. East and West are not so far apart and it is such occasions as this that hurry forward the time we are all looking for, the day when intellectual hospitality will be universal."

In the Seattle papers it was advertised that Rabindranath was to read his lecture on 'The Cult of Nationalism' at the Sunset Club on Monday at 2-30 p.m. to club members only and again on the same day at 8-15 p.m. to the general public, 'owing to the big popular demand". The price of admission was one dollar. In *Seattle Wash Post Intell.*, Sept. 26, 1916, a full report of the famous lecture appeared thus :—

"It was a literary feast of beauty and wisdom.... Those who dwell in the belief that the Hindu thinks is a suppressed soul who is content to voice the mystic dreams that come from sitting crosslegged under a tree looking at the point of the nose until the body is atrophied and the senses hypnotised into a sort of voluptuous delirium, will be well disillusionized if they hear this vigorous logician, seer, prophet, what you will.....It would be impossible to separate the parts of this closely knit discourse and print them as excerpts without doing great wrong to the author. He thinks in large space, universally, and treats the moving world of constitutions, single or in groups, as a mass. The individuals he makes the pattern of the nation and all nations outside of India as being just now scientized into power-worship.

"Humanity in its nationalism is now, he said, like a giant giraffe which has shot its intelligence upward from its body to incalculable heights. But in separating pure intellect from the moral man the heart and body are left starving.

"Mr. Tagore pictured the material world of the twentieth century as a giant dragon, a great iron machine, symbolized in the scientific destruction of millions of men in the European war by this brainless monster, tremendous in its brain power, but with the body a shell that must eventually collapse.

"Such references are but meager grains of sand from the bank of the flowing river of his oratory. You are carried along with him into the broad fields of imagination, scarcely cognizant of the language he uses, except to feel the rare beauty and rhythm of it. It is like reading Carlyle's 'French Revolution' to the music of a symphonic orchestra .....

"India is the only country that never had nationalism, according to Tagore.....It was also purely an individualistic civilisation. This left it open to subjugation to the nationalized people who built for power. Nations he characterized as scientific machines, perfected in every part by dividualising men and women and personality politics and efficiency until the steam roller of civilisation was perfected and roared its way over manhood, womanhood, childhood, where the people devoted to thought and moral development instead of the evolution of an iron nation.....

"There is fire in this tall, slender, dreamy-eyed oriental At moments of inspiration his figure seems to rise high, out of all proportion, and his words fairly leap from his trembling lips. But for the part he is gentle, composed and quiet.....

"Tagore is not an entertainer. He is here to say something and he has something to say. He will leave his impress on the thought of our country."

In *Portland Ore Oregonian*, in an account of the poet, preparatory to his reception there, he has been called an "international master". It is true that the wild European and American enthusiasm over 'Gitanjali' had flung about him certain semi-supernatural trappings, calling him a divine mystic, a saint, always in meditation, and so forth. Gradually the poet became more and more stripped

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these trappings as succeeding works of his, like the "Gardener," for instance, were published and it was felt that instead of being a beneficent colossus, a saintly mystic, he was an intense man, who lived life to the full. He came into his true perspective in the literature of the world. But still, it remained to be known that more than a poet, as a prophet he had a great and a wonderful message for all humanity. Never before could any one dream of thinking of him as an 'international master'. This new side of Rabindranath became revealed to the Americans this time in the course of his lecture-tour.

From Seattle Rabindranath went to Portland. As soon as he arrived there and a few interviewers had a chance of getting hold of him, he made some unpleasant remarks about America as 'obsessed' by system, by method, by organisation. The prophet had no pleasing and comforting words for America this time.

"All of this organization" he said, "this system and method, may be well enough in business. Some things are better made by machinery, but when you come to life, complete life, machinery has no place in that. The day will come when you will feel a real thirst for perfection of human ideals. This cannot come through any particular system, through any outward influence. You will have to go to the root, which is the soul, the spiritual life."

But the poet is never pessimistic. He is always full of a bright vision of the future. He went on to say, writes the same interviewer in *Portland Ore Telegram*, Sept. 26 1916, :—

"You have accumulated things—such a vast accumulation of things—and such systems as your nation has worked out, but they are all a sort of dissipation of your youthful energy. But you can afford to go through that to reach the deeper wisdom of the spiritual life. This is the playtime of your civilization and even play has its meaning and its use by letting forth energy and giving strength and fuller growth."

On Sept. 26, he read the same address on "The Cult of Nationalism" in Portland, before a large audience who went away thoroughly impressed. Only one lady, who had Anglo-Indian relations in India, wrote a letter to the *Portland Ore Oregonian* in which she remarked : "It was unfortunate that he (the poet) gave such an impression of inefficient rule in India."

Rabindranath stayed only for a day in Portland and hurried on to San Francisco, where many people had been on the tip-toe of expectation to see him and hear him. It was announced in the papers that the

Nobel-prize winner would give three lectures at San Francisco : two to the general public and one exclusively to the Japanese.

To an interviewer of *San Francisco Calif Examiner*, he talked of the war and its myriad of problems. He said, after the war, women would play a leading part.

"Their final mission," he said, "will be to project on the minds and hearts of men the spiritual understanding that will unfold to them the real landscape of the world and the splendid significance of life."....

"In my own country of India it is impossible to predict what effect the war will have. England will undoubtedly be sorely crushed in her material resources, no matter which way the war will terminate, and nations pressed for means often become more oppressive and exacting on their dependencies.

"India's position, I repeat, will be indefinite after the war. Probably, however, England will have learned forbearance by the war, and the spiritual awakening, I look for, may have a benignant effect on India.

"In my lectures in San Francisco I shall discuss the cult of Nationalism. Here, in the United States, you have a great material empire, but my idea of a nation is that it should have ideals beyond material ends. You have, I think, a worship for organization. Capital organizes, labor organizes, religion organizes—all your institutions organize It all makes for endless strife and attrition. If there would be more of the fundamental idea of brotherhood and less of organization, I think occidental civilization would immeasureably be the gainer. Organization carried to excess was one of the causes of the European war."

In *San Francisco Calif Bulletin*, Oct. 3, 1916, a long report was published about the poet's address on the "cult of Nationalisim" at the St. Francis, with the flourishing heading "Tagore, like prophet, sings the doom of gluttonous nations." Extracts of this famous lecture were published in the April number of the *Modern Review*, in connection with an article on Rabindranath Tagore. All the San Francisco papers quoted long excerpts from that lecture, calling it 'a masterpiece of English style.' *The San Francisco Calif Examiner* writes about it :—

"In his dark mantle, his white curling hair covered with a sort of beretta, he looked like a Greek archimandrite and his words, now tender with supplication, now burning with protest, or acid with irony rang with a scriptural music.....

"Whatever they thought of his indictment of our civilisation, the audience listened with rapt attention."

In another paper, *San Francisco Calif Call*, we get some idea of the varied audience of the poet. It says about the audience :

"There were society men and women in full even-

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big financial powers, there were artists, students and, clad in the careless costume of their calling, several of the well-known anarchists."

Only in one paper of San Francisco, out of a dozen or more, there appeared a somewhat adverse criticism of the address on the "Cult of Nationalism."

In *Duluth Minn Tribune*, one of the audience writes thus :—

"It was not altogether easy to follow his argument, for he heaps word upon word, phrase upon phrase, until his sentences become rhetorical Pelions piled upon Ossas of gorgeous oriental imagery.....

"A nation in the opinion of this poet of India, is all undesirable things : the international idea is to be the salvation of the world.....It seems to me that we miss the significance of the present world-upheaval unless we interpret its movement in the terms of nationalism, and the instinctive, unconquerable patriotic spirit. It seems to me also that Sir Rabindra is a poet who has succumbed to the temptation which has conquered many other poets : the temptation to forget that the poet is a seer of visions, and that a visionary cannot be a philosopher."

We read, however, in the *San Francisco Cal Examiner*, that at the first lecture, on Monday night, "when he had concluded, the audience continued to sit for a few moments, as though unwilling to break the spell of his incisive logic." And that a big party consisting of the intellectual elite of San Francisco insisted on a second reading of the same lecture the day after. The paper concludes the announcement with the following words :—

"The cult of Tagore, which has stirred the intellectual world as the thoughts of no other contemporaneous writer have done, has taken San Francisco by storm."

The same paper opened its columns to two correspondences on Oct. 5 and 6 by two Indians named Ramchandra and Govinda Behari Lal, who tried their best to run down the poet and lower him in the estimation of the American public in every possible way. It is strange and at the same time shameful that his fellow-countrymen should arraign him in this way when they had every reason to be proud of his unique honour and success in America. There are quite an insignificant number of literary leeches here, of the same type of Ramchandra and others, who make it a point to vilify Rabindranath, in season and out of season. For, by experience they have learnt that the shortest and the earliest road to fame or rather notoriety is to run down a great man or caricature his works and teachings. However, by perusal of the long letter of Ramchandra, we find that the knighthood of Rabindranath sticks in his throat. He says, "From that time on Tagore's philosophy was changed. Tagore began to speak gently of the British government." Gently indeed! Possibly Ramchandra had not had the opportunity of hearing the whole lecture on the 'Cult of Nationalism' before he came down on Tagore with his absurd and ludicrous invectives. Rabindranath spoke indeed so spiritually and prophetically, that his lecture reminded us of his 'Atyukti' and other famous addresses. The *San Francisco Calif Bulletion*, Oct 3, 1916, remarks: "He touched upon what British rule has brought to India as typical of what the nation has brought to the world." It is amusing to think how the absurd impression has got abroad in Bengal that Rabindranath, being a nationalist and the father of national movement denounced nationalism in America. The poet, however, did not abandon in the present address one iota of what he has preached in the hottest days of the national movement in Bengal. He was always for social regeneration, for renovation of the 'Swadeshi Samaj' on the *national lines of India and not on the national lines of England or any other western country*. He was the first Indian who had, in those days of Swadeshi agitation, clearly and lucidly brought out before his countrymen just as he did this time in America, the essential differences in the make-up of western and Indian civilisations. In fact many passages and extracts of the present essay are literal translations from some of his best known addresses, given at the time of the Swadeshi movement.

Mr. Gobinda Behary Lal writes in the same paper that the Hindus never think that Tagore can represent them in any sense. "The heart of India", he says, "is in the anti-British revolutionary movement" and "Mr. Tagore stands aloof from the movement."

This letter, inspite of its attempt to lower the poet in the eyes of Americans, is more faithful than the former one. That the poet never countenanced at any period of his life any kind of revolutionary activity, is absolutely true. His pronouncements against coercive measures to rouse people to Swadeshism and his famous pronouncement entitled "The Ways of

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Means" (Path o Patheya) when the bomb conspiracy was first disclosed, are sufficient evidences that he had steered clear of those dangerous revolutionary whirlpools, at a time when the rudder and chart of the ship of national upheaval had practically been in his hands. It was absolutely impossible at all periods of his life, to lend countenance to any movement, in which the principles of morality and spirituality were either compromised or sacrificed.

At San Francisco, on Oct. 5, at the Columbia Theatre, the poet read a short story entitled 'The vision' and a play recently translated and unpublished "The King and the Queen" (Raja o Rani). While there, he was apprised of a cable from Berlin which told of the successful production of his play "Chitra" at the Munich Theatre for the first time. Literary critics in Munich accorded it high praise.

Suddenly, the American public was alarmed by the news which circulated like wild fire from one paper to another that there was a plot by the Indian anarchists to slay Rabindranath. It was alleged that Prof. Bishnu Singh who came from Stockton to invite the poet, was assaulted by the Hindus who probably took him for Rabindranath. Two Hindus were at once placed under arrest and they said that they were employees of Ramchandra! The police became strictly vigilant and admittance to the Columbia Theatre where the poet was to give readings from his writings was denied to several hundred Hindus. Of course, Ramchandra's party denied that there was any such plot among the Indians but the American newspapers naturally made a great fuss over the whole affair and every day the news of the supposed plot to assasinate the poet came under such sensational headings: "Hindu poet flees to save his life" "Hindu Nobel prize winner fugitive" "Hindu savant safe after wild flight under body guard" etc. The papers wrote that the poet feared for his life and under escort of police fled to Santa Barbara, cancelling his lecture and other engagements at San Francisco. That all this fuss had not the slightest foundation in fact was expressed by Rabindranath himself at Santa Barbara. In *Los Angeles Calif Examiner*, we find that he emphatically declared his disbelief that there was a plot among his own countrymen to assassinate him. "He voiced greater fears of the effect of such a rumor upon the character of Hindus in California than of any possible attempt to harm himself." He said: "I have cancelled no engagements and I came to Santa Barbara by the train which had been arranged for me some days before by my manager."

From Santa Barbara he moved on to San Diego, where he was accorded a very warm reception. In every big city, his coming was previously announced in all the papers and there were numerous readings from his works and lectures about him at various intellectual centres and clubs to prepare the public to receive him and his message. He read the same paper on Nationalism at Isis Theatre and then hurried on to Los Angeles. In *Los Angeles Calif Times*, we read that the "Trinity Auditorium" where he read his lecture "was packed to capacity" and he created a great impression.

He spoke at Pasadena, and at San Diego, appeared again at Los Angeles Trinity Auditorium, where on Oct. 14, before a 'tremendous crowd', the organisers having been compelled "to seat about 75 on the stage" itself, he read two of his yet unpublished works, a play "The King and the Queen" and a novelette entitled "The Blind Wife."

It must not be thought that there was no adverse criticism of his paper in Los Angeles. As in San Francisco, so here too was a single dissentient voice, a single adverse criticism which was published in *Los Angeles Calif Times*, Oct. 13, 1916. It is a very healthy sign that while the majority of townspeople everywhere were carried away by the poet's oratory, there still could be isolated individuals here and there who could take an independent position and estimate critically the value of the poet's message. For the poet's vast and unparalleled success in U.S.A. should not be measured by the number of favorable comments in the newspapers alone, but also by the number, even if small, of adverse and hostile comments which would prove that he was not taken as a mere entertainer but as a serious teacher, to whom the Americans could not listen indifferently.

LITERATUS.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS OF THE ANCIENT HINDU STATE

By Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar.

IX.

Kautilya's reference to eighteen tirthas.

The next point for our consideration is the officers and departments of the State. In this connexion we may note the following passage of the 'Kautilīya' :—

Evam satrau cha mitre cha madhyame
chāvapechcharān,
Udāsīne cha teshām cha tīrtheshvashtā-
dasasvapi,[1]

where Kautilya advises the stationing of secret agents in the surrounding states whether inimical, friendly, or neutral to watch the movements not only of the people but also of the eighteen functionaries. This recognition of eighteen *tirthas* in a state is traditional and appears to be of very early origin. Not only is it referred to in the above passage as a matter of general familiarity but also in the *Mahabharata* where Nārada asks Yudhishthira, "Seekest thou to know everything about the eighteen tīrthas of the foe and fifteen of thy own, by means of three and three spies all unacquainted with one another."[2] These are the eighteen tīrthas, according to Nīlakantha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata :—

(i) Mantrī—Councillor,
(ii) Purohita—Priest,
(iii) Yuvarāja—Crown-prince,
(iv) Chamūpati—Commander-in-chief of the army,
(v) Dvārapāla—Chamberlain,[3]
(vi) Antarvesika—Superintendent of the ladies' apartments,
(vii) Kārāgārādhikāri—Overseer of prisons.
(viii) Dravyasanchayakrit—Steward,
(ix) Krityākrityeshu arthānām viniyojak corresponding to Sannidhātā in t Kautilīya list (infra.).
(x) Pradeshtā—an officer combini both executive and judicial powe in the Kautilīya,
(xi) Nagarādhyaksha—overseer of t city,
(xii) Kāryyanirmānakrit—Engineer,
(xiii) Dharmādhyaksha—Judge,
(xiv) Sabhādhyaksha—Overseer of t assembly,
(xv) Dandapála—Gurdian of punishme
(xvi) Durgapāla—Overseer of forts,
(xvii) Rāshtrāntapāla—Protector of t frontiers, and
(xviii) Atavipāla—Guardian of the forest

The tirthas according to the Ramayana

The eighteen tīrthas according to t commentary on the passage in the Rām yana [2] differs only as to the two office vyavahāranirnetā and senādhyaksha, t Mahābhārata mentioning sabhādhyaks and atavipāla whom the former identifi with rāshtrāntapāla. The existence eighteen tīrthas is echoed in works like th

1 For another reference to the eighteen tirtha see MBh., Santiparva, ch. 69, slk. 52. Cf. Nītipra sikā, ch. I, slk. 52.

2 The Rāmāyana gives us some light on t point in the dialogue between Rama and Bharata Ayodhyakanda, sarga 100, slk. 36.

This sloka also mentions the eighteen tīrthas plained by the commentator as follows :—(i) Ma (ii) purohitah, (iii) yuvaraja, (iv) senapatih, (v) dau rikah, (vi) antahpurādhikrita, (vii) bandhanāgāra kritah, (viii) dhanadhyakshah, (ix) rājājnaya ajna eshuvaktā, (x) prādvivākasamjno vyavahāraprad (xi) dharmasanādhikritah, (xii) vyavahāranirn sabhyākhyah, (xiii) senayā jīvitabhritidānadhyaksh (xiv) karmānte vetanagrahinah, (xv) nagarādhyaksh (xvi) rāshtrāntapālah-ayamevātavikah, (xvii) dus nam dandanadhikārī, (xviii) jalagiri-vanasthaladu pālah.

3 Bk. 1, Gudhapuru shapranidhih, p. 21 ; the word tīrtha also occurs at p. 9, slk. 1, Vidyāsamud-desah.

2 Mahābharata, Sabhāparva, ch. 5, slk, 38.

3 For the translation of some of the names, I have received suggestions from Prof. Hopkins, J. A. O. S., XIII, p. 128

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Panchatantra,[1] Raghuvamsa[2] and Sisupāla-vadha.[3]

The lists, it should be noted, mention the names of individuals as representatives of either the respective classes of officials or government departments to which they belong, except when the individual stands by himself, e. g., yuvarāja.

KAUTILYA'S LIST OF TIRTHAS.

The Kautilīya in a similar context as the passages in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata recommends the appointment of spies to watch in the king's own state the following people :—(1) Mantrī, (2) purohita, (3) senāpati, (4) yuvarāja, (5) dauvārika, (6) antarvesika, (7) prasāstā, (8) samāhartā, (9) sannidhātā, (10) pradeshtā, (11) nāyaka, (12) pauravyāvahārika, (13) kārmāntika, (14) mantriparishadadhyaksha, (15) dandapāla, (16) durgapāla, (17) antapāla, (18) ātavika.

AGREEMENT OF THE LISTS.

On comparing this with the previous list from the Mahābhārata they appear to agree in toto, prasāstā corresponding with kārāgārādhikārī, samāhartā with dravyasanchayakrit, sannidhātā, with krityākrityeshu arthānām viniyojaka, nāyaka with nagarādhyaksha, pauravyāvahārika with dharmādhyaksha, karmāntika with kāryanirmānakrit, mantriparishadadhyaksha with sabhādhyaksha, the rest having correspondence even in names. As we proceed, we shall find that the agreement in names is supported by more or less similarity of functions.

THE TIRTHAS EXHAUST ROUGHLY THE WHOLE SPHERE OF WORK OF A STATE.

The reason for this traditional division of the state into eighteen tīrthas probably lies in the fact that they exhaust roughly at least the whole sphere of work of a state and meet its indispensable requirements—providing for the deliberation of state questions and assistance to the sovereign, both secular and spiritual, for his personal safety and convenience, for the administration of justice in the country, for its internal peace and external security, for the collection of state dues and their application, and lastly for the supply of material needs of the people by the exploitation of its natural resources—by manufactures, commerce and industries. The information gathered through secret agents regarding these tīrthas is sufficient for ordinary purposes to show the inner workings of a state and the direction of its policy.

We find some of the officials existing in the Vedic period, a few among whom having the same designations as those in later times. Some officials of the Vedic times figure among the lists of Ratnins found in several early Sanskrit works :

The Taittirīya-Samhitā[1] and Taittirīya-Brāhmana[2] mention : 1. Brāhmana, 2. Rājanya, 3. Senānī, 4. Suta, 5. Grāmanī, 6. Kshattri, 7. Samgrahitri, 8. Bhāgadugha, and 9. Akshāvāpa, excluding Mahishī (king's first wife), Vāvāta (king's favourite wife) and Parivrikti (king's discarded wife) whom we need not notice for our purposes.

The Satapatha-Brāhmana[3] enumerates all the above officers, adding Gonikartana and Pālāgala, while the Maitrāyanī-Samhitā puts rājan for rājanya (perhaps implying the same person), gives Grāmanī the name of Vaisya Grāmanī, adds Taksha-Rathakārau and inserts Govikarta without interfering with the rest. The Kāthaka-Samhitā[4] only substitutes Govyacha for Govikarta in the above list and omits Taksha-Rathakārau.

The eight Vīras (i.e. heroes, friends of the king) figuring in the Panchavimsa-Brāhmana[5] are Purohita, Mahishī, Suta, Grāmanī, Kshattri and Samgrahītri, adding nothing to the previous lists.

The two persons Brāhmana and Purohita

1 Panchatantra, (F. Kielhorn's ed.) III, slk. 67.
Ibid., slk. 68.
Ibid., slk. 69.
Ibid., slk. 70.

2 Raghuvamsa, sarga XVII, verse 68, on which says Mallinātha : 'Iti chaturvidhām Sāmā dyupayaih iti sesha, rajanitim dandanitim kramat sāmādikramādeva prajunjānah sah rājā tīrthān mantrādyashtādasātmakatīrthaparyantam.....'

3 Sisupālavadha, Sarga XIV, verse 9.

4 See Arthasāstra, Bk. I, Gudhapurushapranidhih, p. 20.

1 I, 8, 9, 1 ff.
2 I, 7, 3, 1 ff.
3 V, 3, 1, 1 ff.
4 Kāthaka-Samhitā, XV, 4.
The lists quoted by Weber in his 'Uber den Rājasuya' (pp. 21, 22) differ in a few places from those cited above, but add no official with a new designation.

Stray references to the above officers occur in many other places as will be evident from the V. I.

5 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, XIX, 1, 4.

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are perhaps the same, signifying the royal priest. It does not appear clearly whether rājanya is a government-official or not. Senānī is the Commander of the Army, Suta, the Royal Equerry. It seems that Suta was not a mere private servant of the king's household but an official charged with the state duty of looking after the management of all the horses kept for the king's personal use as well as for military purposes. In later times, when differentiation of duties had progressed a good deal, we find his place occupied by the Asvādhyaksha (Superintendent of Horses) in the Kautilīya list.

Grāmanī is Village-Headman. His importance as a state official is realized only when we bear in mind that in early times he had military duties to perform, for which he might be called a Troop-leader.[1] It is not clear whether he is the headman of a particular village, in which case, his importance would again be much diminished. It is very probable that he is the head of all the village-headmen in the realm.

Kshattri is the Chamberlain[2]. It is difficult to define his duties, which may have been like those of the official called "Chamberlain" in the later lists.

Samgrahītri appears in the Kautilīya with manifold duties. He has to attend to the collection of revenue and the checking of accounts to the operations of the land survey and the statistical department. He is principally connected with the collection of revenue and may therefore be termed "Collector-General"[3].

Bhāgadugha is variously translated into "dealer out of portions", "distributor of food". Sāyana renders it by "tax-collector" in some places[4], and by "carver" in others[5], thus making him either a revenue officer or a court official. In view of the existence of a principal collector of taxes in the Collector-General (Samgrahītri), the rendering of "Treasurer" appears to be more reasonable, for otherwise there will be an overlapping of functions. The office of a treasurer is found in the later works.

Akshāvāpa [1] was the "Superintendent of dicing." It may be, that the officer like the rest was at first a private servant of the royal entourage, but later on, he was a public official superintending the gambling halls and collecting revenue therefrom. Officers with similar functions are found in subsequent times, e. g., the Dyutādhyaksha in the Kautilīya.[2]

It is doubtful whether Govikartana signifies a "huntsman," or "slayer of cows." Go-vikartana is replaced by Go-vyacha in the lists of a few texts. Sāyana interprets it as a "driver out of cows," while the St. Petersburg Dictionary as "tormentor of cows," Weber [4] as a "knacker of cows," and Eggeling as "one who 'approaches' cows."

If however he be either a huntsman, or "superintendent of the slaughter-houses" (by giving the word "go" the wider signification of "cattle"), we find officers with like functions in the Kautilīya under the names of Sunādhyaksha [6] and Vivītāksha.[7] Slaughter of cows was looked down upon by the Hindus, from very early times. Even if there had been a post for the purpose, it must have ceased to exist as soon as cow-slaughter came to be looked upon with aversion.

Of the Taksha and Ratha-kāra, Taksha (carpenter[8]) had perhaps to do all those works in wood that did not fall within the range of duties of the Ratha-kāra. The latter officer was in the special charge of the construction of chariots which played a pri-

1 See V. I., I, p. 96.

2 Ibid., II, 200.

3 Messrs Macdonell and Keith are not sure about the functions of Samgrahītri whom they render by 'charioteer or treasurer.' The clear definition of his duties in the Kautilīya leaves no doubt that he was a revenue-officer.

4 Taittirīya-Samhitā, I, 8, 9, 2; Taittirīya-Brāhmana, I, 7, 3, 5; III, 4, 8, 1; and Satapatha-Brāhmana, V, 3, 1, 9.

5 Satapatha-Brāhmana, I, 1, 2, 17; See V-I. I., II 100, 200, 416.

1 Messrs. Macdonell aud Keith remark that he may either be professional dicer who plays with the king or watches his play—or a public officer who superintends the gambling halls of the state and collects the revenue as was regularly done later on. Early English history shows similar evolution of household officers into ministers of state. V. I., II 200.

2 Bk. III, pp. 197 ff.

3 V. I., II, 200.

4 Indische Streifen, I, 82, n. 11.

5 S. B. E., Vol. XLIV, 416.

6 Kautilīya, Bk. II, p. 122.

7 Idid., Bk. II, pp. 140, 141.

8 See V. I., I, 297.

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cipal part in the wars of those days. The Kautilīya mentions a superintendent charged with several duties including the construction of chariots for various purposes including the military.

Pālāgala is a courier,—the predecessor, I think, of such important officers as ambassadors in later times.

The Ratnins, among whom figure the aforesaid officers, were called the "king-makers," i. e. though not kings themselves, yet they assisted in their consecration as kings. They no doubt wielded much power in those days, of which, as I have already noted, the making of offerings in their respective houses is an indirect proof. Weber says that they had a hand in the choice of the king through palace-intrigues."[2] Whatever might have been the means, the fact remains that they were important personages in the state.

2 Uber den Rājasuya, p. 23.

LANCASHIRE'S DEFEAT—AND AFTER

By St. Nihal Singh.

To witness the battle fought by Lancashire over the Indian cotton duties in March last was to be profoundly impressed by the vigour and ability with which it arrayed its forces against His Majesty's Government. The fight is not yet over. It is merely suspended for the duration of the war. Lancashire will return to the charge when hostilities are about to cease, and after-war trade policies are being formulated. Every sign extant shows that it will resume the struggle with redoubled energy. It, therefore, behooves every Indian to know why Lancashire was defeated, and to form an intelligent idea of the forces that it will use to turn defeat into victory once the controversy is re-opened.

Out in India, separated as it is from Britain, by thousands of miles, it is likely to appear that the issue was an Indo-British one, that Lancashire resisted the action of the Indian Government because it touched the pockets of the mill-owners and shippers, and that it was defeated because the British democracy was bent upon doing justice to India. Such an impression is given by the orations delivered at the India Office, in Parliament, and from many public platforms, and from articles and notes printed in the British press.

Lancashire's Case.

Lancashire made out that the 4 per cent. increase in the import duty on cotton manufactures would impose upon it an additional burden of £1,000,000 a year. This sum, it was contended, would come out of the pockets of the manufacturers, who could ill-afford to lose it as the trade was carried on under an extremely small margin, especially during the war, when the cost of production had risen all-round and shortage of labour and tonnage had multiplied the difficulties of the millowners. The adverse effects would extend, it was alleged, to the working classes, who might have to be put on short time, or whose wages might have to be cut down.

Spokesmen for Lancashire interests further asserted that the re-arrangement of the cotton position in India would give an advantage to the Indian cotton mills over the English industry. They contended that the Indian manufacturers would have the benefit of a 4 per cent. protective duty —the difference between the new import duty levied on cotton manufactures entering India raised to 7½ per cent., and the Excise duty charged on cotton manufactured in India, kept at the old level of 3½ per cent. Thus shielded, it was claimed, they would oust Lancashire from the Indian market and bring ruin to Lancashire masters and workers alike.

The case was not allowed to rest there. Lancashire contended that its loss was India's loss. It insisted that any arrangement that made cloth imported into India dearer would compel India's millions to pay more for the clothing they wore, and

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that on account of their crushing poverty they could ill afford to bear such increased cost. Why should India's millions be bled, Lancashire piously asked, to enrich the Indian mill-owners, who were already deriving large profits?

The Other Side.

The Secretary of State for India met the Lancashire objections by declaring that financial considerations alone necessitated the increase in the cotton duties, and not the desire to afford protection to the Indian industry. He stated that without taking such action the Government of India could not have made the generous contribution to the War Loan that it did. He regretted that "the free gift of the people of India, made with general goodwill, should become the occasion of strife in this country," and said that he "should be still more sorry if it became the occasion for strife between this country and India." He did not believe that the Indian industry would hurt Lancashire, for, according to his expert, the competition "does not amount to more than 2 per cent. of the whole" Lancashire "trade." He would not, he said, envy anyone in authority who would suggest that the Excise be raised to the level of the new import duty, for that "would be a calamity for India."

At the India Office and in Parliament Mr. Chamberlain used the "Indian opinion" as his trump card. He got His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha to give Lancashire an indication of how Indians felt in regard to the matter. Never before have the walls of the India Office or of St. Stephens heard persons in authority attach so much weight to what Indians thought and felt—the Indians who hitherto have been condemned as a "microscopic minority, who did not know what was good for the Indian masses, and who represented nobody but themselves."

The Times and other newspapers that are usually hostile to Indian aspirations supported the Indian case with similar arguments. No Indian would have exposed the interest that Lancashire feigned in the welfare of India's millions with more bitter sarcasm and greater skill than did these organs of British opinion. They welcomed the defeat of the Lancashire motion in the House of Commons as a great "act of justice to India."

In such circumstances, it would be no wonder if the victory over Lancashire would be considered in India as an Indian victory. It is quite likely that it may even be acclaimed as the beginning of a new era in which Indian opinion will be given the consideration that it deserves, and the Indian Government will be given freedom to arrange its fiscal policy to suit the Indian exigencies, irrespective of how such policies may prejudicially affect British industries.

Not Merely an Indian Issue.

Any Indian who was in England during the time of the controversy and who was capable of looking beneath the surface would certainly not jump to these conclusions. He would know that Lancashire was engaged in a much greater struggle than merely to secure the modification of the recent changes in the Indian tariff. Everyone outside Lancashire who supported its cause realized that the real issue was between Free Trade and Tariff Reform and was not merely a squabble between the Lancashire and Indian mill-owners. Lancashire was defeated because the Free-Traders did not deem it right to press for a decision at this time, and not because Parliament stood in awe of Indian opinion. These aspects of the question must be presented to Indian readers to enable them to view the case as a whole and to avoid cherishing illusions in regard to the future that may be inspired by a partial statement.

First of all, it must be remebered that Lancashire proclaimed, as soon as the increase in the Indian import duties was announced, that the move was the introduction of the thin edge of the Tariff Reform wedge into Britain's Free Trade policy. The Tariff-Reformers, it was asserted, could not make themselves heard during peace-time, for everyone could see that Britain had prospered and was prospering under Free Trade. But they observed that the war had generated heat and hatred, and they were employing the passions that had been roused by inhuman German practices to foist their pet theories upon the unsuspecting public. These charges were made again and again in the course of the controversy, and continue to be made even now.

This attitude was assumed by Free-Traders all over Britain. The cry was taken

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up by Liberals and Labour men who had remained true to Free Trade, and who were not prevented by their alliance with Mr. Lloyd George, or other political motives, from taking part in the controversy.

Lancashire Charges.

Lancashire and the whole body of Free-Traders accused Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Chelmsford of having conspired in the dark to advance the cause of Tariff Reform on the pretence of raising money to enable India to contribute to the war chest. They were charged with breaking the political truce that left, by common consent, all contentious questions to be dealt with after the war. This violation, it was contended, hit Lancashire and Free-Trade "below the belt." If they cried out and hit back, they ran the risk of being called selfish and petty-minded, and lacking regard for Imperial considerations.

Mr. Chamberlain's flat denial did not convince Lancashire, which continues to believe, to this day, that its suspicions are justified. The truth is that Lancashire and its Free-Trade supporters are nervous because they realize that during recent years the Tariff Reform sentiment has been growing in and around Manchester, the Free-Trade stronghold. The war has given a great impetus to the movement, and even the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has been captured by Tariff Reformers.

Indians may, perhaps, have noticed that this Chamber did not take the lead in opposing the increase in the Indian cotton duties. Protests first came, on the contrary, from the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce. The Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce followed only when they found that they could not afford to hold aloof from the concerted action that the whole county was taking. Apologists for Free-Trade try to make out that Manchester's tardiness was not due to the strength that Tariff-Reformers had acquired in its Chamber of Commerce, but that the lead was taken by Blackburn because it is much more interested in the Indian trade than is Manchester. This specious argument at once falls to the ground when the part taken by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in the previous cotton struggle is recalled. Some Liberals do not seek to hide the truth, as is evident from the following extract taken from the *Evening Star* (London) of March 6:

> ".....it is impossible to withhold our most tender sympathy from the Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Last year, by adroit exploitation of the very natural resentment of the Manchester commercial community against the atrocities committed by the German armies, the Tariff Reformers succeeded in capturing that important Chamber.....The Blackburn Chamber of Commerce, which is specially interested in the Indian market, had already taken the lead, and Lancashire manufacturers and operatives were all up in arms. So the Directors of the Manchester Chamber yesterday *toed the line* by passing a resolution strongly protesting against the new duties and urging the British Government to postpone such a controversial measure until after the war....." (Italics are mine.)

Why Free Trade is Needed.

The Lancashire Free-Traders feel that the position that Lancashire has assumed in regard to the Indian cotton industry can be maintained only if Britain continues to maintain her present fiscal system. They argue that so long as Britain remains Free-Trade, they can compel India to remain Free-Trade, on the principle that what is good for England is good for India. But once they choose Protection for themselves, they cannot refuse protection to Indian industries. The rejoinder given by Tariff Reformers is stated later on in the section entitled "claims on India." The point that I wish to emphasize here is that a large section of Lancashire considers that the future of their industry is bound up with the future of the Free-Trade movement.

Outside Lancashire the action taken by the Indian authorities was made a purely Free Trade and Tariff Reform issue. Free-Traders (including Liberals and Labour men) rallied to Lancashire's cause because they felt that any attack made upon it dealt a deadly blow at the vital organs of the Free Trade movement. They fought like men who knew that if the heart of Free Trade was pierced, the whole body would perish.

Free Traders in all parts of Britain would have rushed to Lancashire's aid at any time and in any circumstance. But the action of the Indian authorities came at a time when all uncompromising Free-Traders felt constrained to throw every ounce of weight that they possessed against their common foe—the Tariff Reformers.

Only a few days before the increase in

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the Indian cotton duties was announced, a series of resolutions had been issued by Lord Balfour's Committee on After-the-War-Trade-Policy recommending the substitution of a system of Imperial Preference in lieu of Free Trade. Free-Traders acknowledged that the Tariffists had scored an important victory. They at once set up a noisy agitation. The increase in the Indian cotton duties gave them the very opportunity that they were looking for, and for two weeks or more the Free Trade issue remained dominant. This must be considered a great achievement at a time when the energies of the nation are absorbed in war, an Irish crisis occured and Dardenelles report was issued.

A battle royal was raging when it leaked out that Mr. Asquith and a considerable body of Liberals who have not forsaken Free Trade thought it best to refrain from joining the agitation. It has been suggested that they dared not press for a decision because they would have found the country overwhelmingly in favour of Tariff Reform. It has also been hinted that the Liberals did not dare to force a general election because, if they did so, they would return to the House of Commons in greatly decreased numbers. I incline to the charitable view that Mr. Asquith and the Liberals who stood by him were inspired by patriotic motives to abstain from making a Lancashire grievance interfere with the prosecution of the war.

Lancashire and its supporters profess that they foresaw that the matter would remain undecided. They claim that they sought to register an emphatic protest at the Government breaking the political truce, and making important fiscal alterations to the disavantage of Lancashire and Free Trade.

These expressions may be sincere. But they have left Lancashire and the Free-Traders angry. They feel that they have been "tricked," and they are lying low until they get the opportunity to wreak revenge.

The resentment is not of the kind that disappears in course of time. Lancashire is anxious for the future of its industry, and also for its school of politico-economic thought. Free-Traders know that a great fight over Imperial Preference is impending. They are, therefore, preparing themselves for the struggle, whenever it may come.

Claims upon India.

It seems to me that the Free-Traders expect to further their object by making Indians feel that the Tariff Reformers have nothing to give them. Old speeches of the Right Hon. Andrew Bonar Law, the head of the Tariff Reform Party and the present Prime Minister's right-hand man, have been dug up to show that the Tariff Reformers feel that the British have claims upon India that would justify them in asking India to remain a Free Trade country to Britain even when she imposed tariffs against the rest of the world. The meaning of printing these extracts at this time is plain.

Another effort is being made to inspire Indians with the feeling that the Government is tinkering with the tariff in order to arrest the growth of political freedom in India. I quote an extract from the *Manchester Guardian* of March 13, as a sample of the assertions that are being made:

> "...Why, it may be asked, should the Indian Government favour Protection? Partly because it is part of the education of a gentleman to despise trade and to be ignorant of economics, but still more because the Indian Government looks upon Protection as an alternative to political concessions. It very willingly sacrifices Lancashire in the hope of delaying or averting advances towards self-government. We can think what we like of the wisdom of such tactics, and we can have our own views as to the just limits of the programme of India for Indians and as to the proper way of approximating towards self-government in India. In our opinion tariffs are no substitute for freedom, and the economic injustice of tariffs is not the portal to political justice..."

The Apple of Discord.

The aspersions do not end here. A famous Labour leader, who is known to be India's friend, told me the other day that by raising the cotton question at this time the authorities had thrown "the apple of discord between Indians and the British Democracy." He said that the British workers are the best friends of the Indian aspirants for self-government, but that they can be frightened by the cry that India is going to steal the bread out of their mouths. "Any movement to put on tariffs in India," he continued, "would be regarded by the British workers as an attempt to keep the British exports out of India." He seemed

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to entertain a dread vision of the cheap labour from India invading Britain, after the Indian capitalists had driven out British manufactures.

"Why could we not get together," he asked me, "and agree to take from each other what each is best fitted to give?"

I reminded him that he was not asking anything new. We have been told for decades that India was marked out by Providence to produce raw materials. But Indians felt that they could convert them at home into manufactures, instead of shipping them abroad, and they wanted to be allowed to become a great industrial nation.

The Labour leader did not like the idea of India being exposed to the horrors of industrialism. He wanted to see Indians stick to agriculture and handicrafts. In any case, he wished India would not repeat the mistakes made in this and other countries of capital crushing the worker. I knew he was sincere in his interest in the Indian working man and was not merely urging this point in order to handicap the nascent Indian industries.

My friend advised me that the less Indians talk about 'fiscal autonomy" the sooner they would get "self-government within the Empire." He could not see that self-government without power to protect and to foster industries was not worth the having.

In reading this report of my conversation with the Labour leader in question, the reader must remember that he was in no way connected with Lancashire. How much keener would he have felt on the subject had he hailed from Lancashire and represented a Lancashire constituency!

We must never forget that the Lancashire workman made common cause with the Lancashire mill-owner. No Indian would, of course, censure the English for putting their own interests before that of Indians: but we must know the situation as it exists.

Magnanimity and Self-Interest.

Some English people will have it, however, that the new era, in which British interests are not to over-ride Indian interests, has already dawned, but they are not at all sure that British magnanimity to India is consistent with Britain's existence. Here is an extract from *The Morning Post*, the high Tory paper, in which this opinion is expressed in bombastic terms:

"We are now deliberately giving to India, which we conquered for purposes of trade and hold not by consent but by the sword, an advantage over ourselves. We stand in mingled awe and doubt before such a magnificent experiment. Is a country right to depart from that 'healthy egotism' which some philosophers regard as the secret of life, of national life as much as the life of the individual? Hitherto we have given India peace and firm rule; but we have thrown upon her agriculture a burden too great for one industry to bear, especially as the failure of a monsoon or two monsoons is always a dread contingency for the Indian farmer. Now we say to India: 'Take back your economic freedom: protect yourselves even against us in our greatest industry, which once we took from you.' It is magnificent. But is it life? We shall see."

Indians must also wait and see what happens before they hail the reverse suffered by Lancashire as a promise of fiscal freedom and of industrial expansion.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

P. N. F. Young contributes a thoughtful and dispassionate article to the *Young Men of India* for April on the burning subject of

Race Feeling

in India, in which an analysis of the causes and some practical suggestions for remedying the deplorable state of things are set forth.

The writer is of opinion that there is probably very little real race-feeling at all. "It is by no means common," says the writer, "that dislike or aversion is simply due to difference in the colour of men's skins."

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It is a very difficult thing to challenge the sense of race superiority because, more or less, all races seem to possess it. And surely there is always some ground for it. For it is certainly true, one would think, that in some respect or other every race has a superiority of its own. Unfortunately, people are not content with this and want to claim an all-round superiority, and so friction arises.

The writer goes on to say

The chief difficulty in this country seems to arise from three main causes :—(1) Social diversities ; (2) Differences of national temperament ; and (3) Divergence of political outlook. Let us briefly consider these three in turn.

Social Diversities.

Differences in dress and manners are of course very trivial in comparison with the greater things of life, and yet they exert a disproportionate influence over our minds, because they are what we have been accustomed to from childhood and from childhood have been taught to regard as right and fitting. Further, they are symbols to us of what we understand by civilisation : they have got into our blood. When, therefore, we meet people observing manners different from our own, our natural impulse is to think of them as uncivilized or semi-barbarous. Community in manners is a social bond of no mean strength.

India, for the most part, eats with its fingers : Europe with knives, forks and spoons. Both methods are perfectly justifiable to an unbiased mind ; but Englishmen have been taught from childhood that to eat with one's fingers is a vulgar and unseemly thing. Here is obvious ground for instinctive prejudice. Again, both races practice some mark of respect on entering a sacred building : but the one takes off its hat, the other its shoes ! Indian traditions of hospitality are free and untrammelled ; a guest may come at almost any hour of the day, and expect to be fed at any hour. Western traditions are regulated and formal : we expect a guest to give some notice of his coming, and we give him entertainment at stated times. Matters are further complicated in our social relations with each other by disabilities imposed by the caste regulations as to with whom Hindus may eat, and by the fact that one race is meat-eating and the other vegetarian. Once again, the European sharply separates his time for business from his time for social intercourse ; the Indian custom is to mingle business and social intercourse in a way bewildering to the former, whose precision and rigidity must, on the other hand, seem cold and unfeeling.

One of the most vital and important differences, as we all know, between the East and the West is the difference in ideal as to the position of woman. The whole tradition of the West is that the woman is socially equal to the man, or indeed socially superior. She is the foundation of all social engagements ; it is she who issues invitations ; as hostess she is more important than her husband, the host. This, no doubt offends against the traditions of India. But so, in return, does Indian custom offend against English tradition. And even if it be at times somewhat hypocritically urged, there is, if not generosity, at least justice in the plea of the Englishman, that if Indian gentlemen will not open their doors freely to him, he does not see why he should do so to Indians.

In England, class distinctions are of fundamental importance in social life. There is no getting away from them anywhere. Society is divided into a large number of horizontal grades : the Court and [illegible] higher nobility ; the lesser nobility and those in [illegible] higher professional posts in Army, Navy, Law, [illegible] merce, and Church ; the great grade of the mid[illegible] classes ; the lower middle class, mostly composed [illegible] tradesmen ; the class of the skilled artisan ; that [illegible] the unskilled workers. This classification is [illegible] sarily, from its brevity, rough and crude, but it will suffice for our agreement. None of these ranks is entirely closed to any other—the son of a miner may rise to be Prime Minister and rank socially with the highest in the land. But there is one powerful unwritten law, obtaining everywhere, which lays down that full social intercourse is only fitting among social equals. For instance, a member of the upper middle class will not *normally* invite a member of the lower middle class to dinner with him. No whatever the advantages of this system may be (and it has some great ones), it involves, almost inevitably, the spirit of "snobbishness," or the sense of social superiority, and that among Englishmen themselves. If Indians only understood this, they would not be surprised that Englishmen were snobbish to them ; they would rather wonder how much of it has been broken down.

Differences of National Temperament.

Englishmen are frequently accused of arrogance in India, and it is usually thought that this arrogance is assumed particularly in this country. This, however, is a great misconception. Continental critics have for centuries made the same complaint. It is not race-feeling but national temperament. Would it be wrong, on the other hand, to say that the national temperament of this country was yielding and compliant? But concession and compliance have their limits, and infinite tact is required to prevent two such opposites falling foul of each other. Again, the Englishman is not much of a talker; he is reserved towards those he does not know (what other nation, as somebody once asked, ever seeks for an empty railway carriage ?); and, in odd contrast with his arrogance, he is diffident in social matters and doubtful whether he will be welcome or not. Is it, on the other hand, an untrue characterization to say that Indians are naturally talkative, very friendly and ready to make acquaintance (barring certain well-known exceptions) with any one, and remarkably lacking in what we should call shyness ?

Difference of Political Outlook.

It is certain that the great majority of Englishcivilians quite sincerely believe that their presence here is for the real good of India. Quite certainly many Indians think the opposite.

The following practical suggestions should be carefully read and pondered over by Englishmen and Indians alike:

Reduced to its simplest elements, the problem is one of "superiority" on one side, and suspicion on the other—neither very enviable qualities. They are demons that all men of goodwill must do their utmost to cast out.

Secondly, let us try to avoid the pitfall of "labels." Few things do more harm in human relations than this practice of rough and ready classification of our fellowmen. It is so easy—and so fatal—to dub an Englishman "Anglo-Indian," in the offensive sense, or to hurl the accusation of "seditionist" at the head of an Indian, without troubling to ex-

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what the man really believes and thinks. It is simply an act of pitiful intellectual and moral slovenliness, to say nothing of a lack of common charity.

Next, let us avoid anything in the nature of an obsession on this subject. An exaggerated sensitiveness finds race-feeling in all sorts of innocent actions where nothing of the sort is present. Charity demands that we should put the best construction on other people's actions, and not jump at once to an imputation of evil motive. And the best remedy is, probably, to cultivate a sense of humour in this matter. After all, in most cases they are very small things that cause irritation and annoyance. It is the part of the wise man to laugh rather than to fly into a rage.

In the opening number of the *Mysore University Magazine* A. B. Mackintosh tells us some interesting

Customs of Scotch Students.

We are told that Scotch students are more zealous of the old customs of collegiate life than English students at Oxford or Cambridge. The Scotch students have at their command a large number of student songs which are known to everyone. Their gathering, unlike those of English students, are always enlivened by these popular tunes.

In a way the life of the Scotch student is more picturesque. In the first place he wears, at least at one university, a scarlet gown. Then on his trencher he must wear the emblem of his year. If he is a first year man his tassel will be blue, if second it will be red, if third, yellow. He will not be sorry to exchange the blue for the red, for the life of the "Bejant," or first year man, is by no means unchequered, there are several ordeals through which he must pass. The first is that of "passing over." This delightful proceeding may be seen in full swing at any of the gatherings at the beginning of the term. The dramatic setting is as follows:—Place, a crowded hall; time, any. Enter a first year man, rather abashed. Immediately cries of "Bejant," "Bejant," and then, "Pass him over"; the student is then seized and raised aloft and then, caught in turn by many hands, he achieves a marvellous aerial progress, till at last, very hot and slightly bruised, he is once more restored to *terra firma*. He has learnt something of aviation.

A sterner ordeal now awaits him in the shape of the "trial". It has for long been the custom for the older students to hold a mock trial on all newcomers. It is a most solemn affair, a regular court is composed, which includes a judge, counsel for the prosecution and defence, and a medical officer, who must satisfy himself as to the sanity of the accused before the trial begins. Then some great and sensational charge is brought against the poor shivering Bejant. But often the judge is merciful and the sentence is lenient. Sometimes the prisoner will be sentenced to be dropped into the sea and he will be dropped into a sandpit. During his blindfold passage through the air he may have unpleasant anticipations of the temperature of the North Sea in January.

Then comes raisin-day. On that day the Bejant must present to a third year man, on request, a bag of raisins. On that day the grocer's shops do a sharp trade in raisins. It is not the giving of the raisins that troubles the Bejant. It is the ill-concealed smile of the grocer that he chafes at; for he must buy the raisins himself and is not allowed to send a deputy. If the "tertian" (third year man) is kind hearted he will return a portion of the bag, so that the Bejant may be able to present to his landlady enough raisins for at least one suet pudding.

In most of the Scotch universities in times past there has been some blood spilt between town and gown. This has brought the colleges sometimes into contact with the police authorities. To-day, however, more amicable relations exist between the "peelers" (policemen) and the students. This truce is celebrated in the students' song, "Beloved Peeler" (Beloved Policeman). At the beginning of the year the students hold a banquet and make a torchlight procession. At the end of this they gather in a great mass outside the quadrangle. At this point there is always a policeman on duty. The students surround him in their hundreds, and sing the song "Beloved Peeler." This renews the truce for a year. It is said that, as the particular policeman's nerves may be rather tried by being made for the moment the centre of a universe of shouting and grinning students, he is subsequently presented with a bottle of whisky. But of this there is no official verification.

The Prohibition Movement in the U. S. A.

forms the subject of an important article contributed to the *Wealth of India* for February by St. Nihal Singh.

We are told that the movement to prohibit the manufacture, importation, and sale of spirits and wine in the States incorporated in the American Union, though only twenty years old, has driven the "saloon" out of 85 per cent. of the territory embraced in the United States and already governs the life of 65 per cent. of the American population. As a consequence, Mr. Singh tells us,

Former breweries are now malting milk and producing vinegar and other products. The "saloons" are turned into restaurants, shops, etc. A cinema to which I used to go in one of the "dry" towns in Illinois used to be a liquor shop; and I always doubted that it could have been more successful, even economically, when it retailed whisky and beer, than when it furnished the men, women, and children of the town with innocent amusement.

The writer goes on to say

Americans designate the States where Prohibition reigns supreme as "dry." They are 23 in number, i.e. nearly half the number of the States federated in the American Union are under Prohibition.

In addition to the States and the Territory named, there are parts of America that have abolished the liquor traffic by means of "local option"—that is to

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say, by municipal or county vote, in contradistinction to State-wide vote. The Prohibition area in these partially "dry" States is constantly increasing, and before long it is expected that they will become altogether "dry."

The "dry" States are situated either in the Western or Southern part of the United States. The people in these regions are almost entirely engaged in farming, stock-breeding, mining and the timber industry. A small percentage of them are employed in manufacturing industries, which are rapidly growing in some of these States, especially in the Southern States, which are ambitious to convert cotton and other raw materials, produced by them into finished goods and the territory of Alaska.

The vitality of the movement is shown by its success in South Dakota, Nebraska, and Michigan. They have returned to the Prohibition fold after straying away from it. The liquor interests combined to have the Prohibition laws that were passed years before repealed, and carried on such a powerful agitation that they succeeded in their object. The people, however, realized, in course of time, that they had been tricked, and on November 7, 1916, they took decisive action against the producers and sellers of strong drink.

The success of the Prohibition movement lies in its irresistible appeal to all that is noblest and best in the voters. They are asked to take thought of the havoc wrought by liquor—the poverty, crime, and neglect of duty that follow in the wake of the traffic. They are made to realize the evil effects that result from the State quietly watching the destruction of human life and character, the ruin of fortunes, and the blasting of the bodies and hopes of the rising generation, through indulgence in drink. As a necessary corollary, they are implored to put an end to this policy of *lassaiz faire* and to remove temptation from the path of persons who are weak-willed and stand in need of State protection against their own weakness.

It is not generally known in India that some of the large employers of labour in the United States have, for years, been compelling their men to abstain from strong drink when off duty quite as much as when on duty. Many of the railways will not permit an employee to go aboard a train if he is not a teetotaller. Some companies compel the engine drivers—or engineers, as they call them—to undergo a medical test for sobriety before they are allowed to enter the cabs. Such regulations have been dictated by dire necessity, and have not been imposed in order to satisfy a caprice of the almighty directors. The decrease of accidents and the saving of human life and compensation money have invariably resulted wherever these reforms have been instituted. The homes and family lives of the employees have been bettered, and the hearts of their wives and children gladdened. Surely the State has as much right to promote sobriety amongst the people who constitute it as private corporations have the right to effect that reform amongst their employees.

It used to be a favourite trick in one Prohibition town for persons desirous of obtaining a drink to claim that they have been bitten by a snake, and needed the liquor to neutralise the poison. To do this, an amusing story was told me in America.

A commercial traveller found himself, one day, in a Prohibition town. He tried in every way to obtain some liquor, but was told that the only way he could get it was to be bitten by a snake. Some one whispered to him, however, that, just on the outskirts of the town, there lived a man who had a snake especially for the purpose of biting those persons who wanted a drink. He made haste to find the man with the snake, but was disappointed to learn that the reptile was engaged for three years in advance to bite men who, like him, were desirous of looking upon the wine when it was red.

The Mysore University

came into existence last July. The founding of a university in any part of India is welcome news to all Indians. We quote the following interesting information about the latest born university in India from the February number of the *Mysore University Magazine*:

At Mysore the following buildings are being erected:—Two Lecture Theatres attached to the Maharaja's College, new Hostel blocks, and the University Union. The *Jubilee* building is being transformed into the University Library, and it is contemplated to build in the immediate future a Sanskrit and Oriental Library, Professors' Houses, a Museum, Science House, Gymnasium, and swimming bath. At Bangalore the Central College buildings are to be extended, and additional hostel accommodation provided; a Union building is also to be built, and as far as possible, residences for professors will be built in the vicinity of the site of the Central College.

The special and prominent features of the Mysore University may be summarised as follows:—

A full-time vice-chancellorship; the extension of the High School course by one year, followed by a continuous B.A. course of three years; the special attention paid to the vernaculars; the curtailment and the more practical study of English; the institution of a B.Sc. course; the appointment of a number of tutors and of medically-qualified Physical Directors; increased hostel accommodation, and the supervision and licensing of the lodgings of non-residential students; and the encouragement of the social life by the building of Unions at Mysore and Bangalore.

The university, which is State-supported, has within the few months since it was started, aroused sufficient interest to induce the offer of an encouraging number of endowments. These amount to Rs. 80,000.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tomorrow in India

is the title of an elegantly written article appearing in the *Asiatic Review* for February, from the pen of Lady Katharine Stuart. From a perusal of the article we have been convinced that the erudite writer has not studied the problem she deals with, merely from the surface, but she has dived deep into the heart of things with a singularly unprejudiced and sincere mind and tried to find a solution.

The writer points out at the outset that "India, in claiming independence, and Great Britain, when insisting upon her dependence, have both a little overlooked the real state of things, which is their *interdependence*."

The Indian and the Englishman are to an extraordinary extent complementary and supplementary each to the other. Where one ends the other begins, what one lacks the other supplies, where one falls short the other excels, and so on. So much is this the case that they might almost be two halves of one whole. The average Englishman thinks in straight lines—if one may somewhat clumsily attempt to express in language his fine quality of directness. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action.

Turning now to the Indian, you will find the antithesis of all this. The Indian thinks in graceful curves—if one may venture to thus describe the natural beauty and felicity of his expressions. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and he expresses himself most perfectly upon the field of thought.

The English mind is objective; the Englishman looks *at* things, he takes them at their face value, so to speak. The garland, for example, that some jubilant procession has brought to the station is to him—well, just a garland and no more; the accompaniment of what he would describe as "fuss" is rather more embarrassing than gratifying. Now, the Indian does not look *at* things, he looks *through* them. As the Chinese philosopher put it:

"The true sages, taking his stand upon the beauty of the universe, pierces the principle of things."

True culture! This is the goal of life to an Oriental, not fame or fortune. He aspires to *be* rather than to *do*. The Indian believes firmly that ideas govern the world, and that the greatest thing a man can do for his day and generation is to enrich it with fresh thought. Others may be figureheads, but the real leaders of men are those people who have ideas.

In the West there is a tendency to belittle everything except deeds, and to count as deeds only those wrought on the battle-field or market-place. This conception leaves out of count the toil of thinker and poet, but the Empire has need of both—the man of thought as well as the man of action.

In England *religion is for man*, in India *man is for religion*; and if man, how much more woman! For the masses of India, religion enters into their bathing, their dress, their meals, their sleeping, their conversation. It is to them the very breath of life. Their salutation is a benediction. Every wayfarer is a priest who invokes upon you the blessing of peace.

For generations Indian officials, military authorities, missionaries, and their women-folk, have been "going out to India." But scarcely anybody came where India *was*; all passed by on the other side. And where was India? Standing sentinel over the garnered lore, handed down to her from antiquity by generations. With amazement she realized the Sahib's indifference to this sort of treasure. She hid her feelings behind a stately reserve, and heard the missionaries' kindly meant suggestions to come across to them without much response. At last, however, came a Good Samaritan, and he was an American—Colonel Olcott; but in his footsteps came a British woman, Mrs. Besant. They came to learn and not to teach. They did not expect India to come to them. *They went to India.* The effect was electrical; it was epoch-making! But there still remain people who imagine they are living in India. Not they! They are living in little Englands dotted all over the Peninsula.

India cannot resist beauty. Beauty of form, beauty of expression, beauty of movement above all; for India stands for the soul side of things more than the form. May we not by sharing it double the joy given us by "a thing of beauty"? This fragment, for example, from the last volume of the late Stephen Phillips' poems:

"When Jesus greeted Joan in the after-twilight,
When the crucified kissed the burned,
Then softly they shoke together, solemnly, sweetly,
They two so branded with life.
But they spake not at all of the Cross or of up-
piled flaming
Or the going from them of God;
But He was tender over the soul of the Roman
Who yielded Him up to the priest,
And she was whist with pity for him that lighted
The faggot in Rouen town."

There is no pulpit like the grave; and out of his grave the poet now speaks, bidding us all forgive and forget, and join hands to the outstretching of new heavens and the up-building of a new earth.

In conclusion Lady Katharine Stuart asks English ladies to open up avenues of friendship with Indian ladies. In this way much might be safely accomplished.

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Roumanian Folklore.

A writer in *L'Opinion* (Paris) informs us that Roumanian folklore differs widely from that of the Servians and the Greeks. "Desire the cult of the voluptuous," we are told, "is the dominant theme of the love-poetry of the Roumanians. In Greece or in Servia, contrary to the current prejudice love is above all a matter of the imagination." We are further told that "this sentiment of desire" of the Roumanians, "is very simple, even chaste, and hardly to be called indelicate."

We learn that the legends of Roumania have been lately collected by Demetrius Theodoresco. The following charming extracts will not fail to fascinate our readers on account of the overflowing poetry and irresistible beauty of expression.

"One time there happened what had never happened before and will never happen again. There was a young girl in a village of the mountain who was stopt by the flowers as she passed them; and the flowers said to her: 'Stay with us, O Sister.' And in the morning the sun said to her, 'Give me thy tresses that I may mingle them with my own, and when I spread them over forest and plain, none shall be able to distinguish between my tresses and thy tresses.' And the river said to her: 'Cross my waters, and the very stones shall not be able to tell the lightness of thy feet from the lightness of my waters!'

"But the maiden listed not to the flowers, nor to the sun, nor to the river with its stones and its waters. She would not dance with the stars, nor mingle her locks with the tresses of the sun, nor dip her bare feet in the river that called to her. The young girl desired only love. 'It is love that I want,' she cried. 'I wish for love. . . . If thou wilt wed me I will give thee my lips. Art thou come, thou, whom destiny has pledged me? Come to my arms—come, that I may give thee the honey of my mouth.'"

When she departed, leaving me alone in the garden, I planted the seed of a flower in the print of her foot. I watered it with my tears, and it blossomed. But her hand never plucked it. The forget-me-not withered, I have cast it upon the road; thus, doubtless, has she torn from her heart the memory of me.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Legal Exploitation of India's People."

I quite agree with all Mr. Pramathanath Bose says (on pages 32-37) with regard to the terrible burdens our British Judicial System has imposed upon India, but I take some exception to his preliminary remarks on that much discussed subject, the Poverty of India; because, like so many practised controversialists, he entirely ignores the very considerable amount of evidence there is on the other side. I would venture to refer him to a now fairly well-known Volume entitled "Truths about India" as well as a monumental paper by the late Mr. Charles McMinn entitled "The Wealth and Progress of India: Facts and Fictions," published in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for January 1909.

Mr. Pramathanath Bose's case might have been more convincing if he had first dealt faithfully with them. To ignore the case for the other side is certainly far from convincing.

The startling fact so forcibly related by Mr. Pramathanath Bose that the comparatively few well-to-do people of India can afford to spend *15 millions sterling a year* on lawyers alone, quite apart from the other costs of litigation, seems to shew that there is wealth as well as poverty in India just as there is in this and every other country.

East India Association, Yours truly,
3 Victoria Street, London. J. B. PENNINGTON.

Primary Poverty.

I notice that in the Modern Review for April you quote from a letter which was sent from the Tri... cane Sociological Brotherhood to the Madr... Newspapers on the question of Primary Poverty Madras. You then draw an inference as to Prim... Poverty in Bengal. I venture to think, however, t... in doing so you have made a very serious mista... We came to the tentative conclusion that a family of four receiving in the city of Madras income of less than Rs. 17 per month was in condition of Primary Poverty. Please note how... that we made no reference whatever to village... The conditions of village life in South India are very different from the conditions in the city Madras that we deliberately felt our enquiry be only for Madras city and thought that enquiry into village poverty must be on entir... different lines. I hardly think, therefore, that reasoning from Primary Povery in the city of Mad... to Primary Poverty in a Bengal District can sta... It may be true, but there is no evidence to show it is true. We are anxious that our figures should used only for one purpose—to attempt to estab... the poverty line for the city of Madras. We do think that they can reasonably be taken as a ba... for all the rest of India.

I may add that our figure is not accepted by in Madras as correct—some think it should higher, others think it should be lower. We

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continuing our investigations on the point. Our investigation is not merely theoretical. We want now to try to find roughly at least what proportion of people in Madras city are below the Poverty line and what can be done to lift them above it.

We shall be very grateful for any help from any source in this direction.

Yours faithfully,
D. G. M. LEITH.

The Kellett Institute, Triplicane,
Madras, S. E.
7th April 1917.

MILTON'S CATEGORIES OF PUBLIC LEADERS

THE blind Latin Secretary of Oliver Cromwell lived in an age which was marked by tremendous political upheavals, and when the English Parliament was the one object that claimed all the concentrated attention of the entire continent of Europe. Here was a crisis of constitutional evolution, which called for the fullest and freest display of the leading aptitude of the men, to whose care was committed the guidance of its destiny. It put the leaders of public opinion on their mettle, and afforded an opportunity to almost all the possible types of public idols to claim a niche in the pantheon of the so-called immortals. Milton, as an acolyte to the High Priest of that pantheon, had the best of favourable opportunities to study the psychology of the immortals rather closely. For a considerable part of his life, he moved among one of the most distinguished constellations of the political luminaries, observing and noting their idiosyncracies in the native language of the Muse, and having fully measured their appointed orbits, has left us the record of his observations in the second book of Paradise Lost. The "great consult" described there, is not a mere extravagance of poetic riches, or a daring excursion of Fancy in the limitless realm of speculation, but as approximate a picture of the men and manners of Milton's age as of our own. Moloch and Belial, Mammon and Beelzebub are not improbable figments that owe their existence to an opulent imagination, but are the faithful prototypes of characters as true to life today as they were the day-before-yesterday, and as, in all probability, they will be tomorrow. Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub, and Satan himself will always remain and may be referred to as the categories under which almost all leaders of public opinion fall. The Satanic council, apart from its Mephistophelian character, will ever remain the most suggestive type of a council in any age. A study of these characters from that point of view is well worth the trouble it may involve.

Moloch represents the awe-inspiring personality of a military commander, valiant and imposing, a man to inspire men with respect for the sword, holding war as at once the highest achievement of honourable men and a panacea for all social and political evils, destined to sway the thought of masses by the direct and vigorous expression of his uncompromising determination. In the "high debate" that took place in the lower regions, he was the first after Satan to speak on the difficult question of recommencing hostilities against the powers of Heaven, and declared with the firmness worthy of his determination "My sentence is for open war." The subtle genius of Milton has provided the most perfect definition of a military leader, worthy of the name, in that brief, firm, and frank sentence of Moloch. Could there be anything more honourable, more consistent with the spirit of noble vengeance, or more truly characteristic of the courage and resolution of a genuine soldier than the firm verdict of open war upon the omnipotent powers of Heaven? He adduced vigorous but frank arguments in support of his contention, and refused to see any half-way house between "Victory or Revenge" and abject submission to the autocratic decision of the Almighty, nor would he tolerate the merest suggestion of resigning himself to the latter alternative. No military leader would be worthy of the name if he possessed less self-con-

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dence or less relentlessness. It would be vain to search for a truer type of a soldier, or a genuine one with less tenacity of purpose or without this singleness of aim. But cast among a despicably degenerate people, who were suffering from the soul-vanishing demoralisation of fresh defeats, he only succeeded in drawing expressions of petulant wrath and impotent tears from his hearers, instead of swords from their sheaths. Molochs are the true heroes of conquering nations and are worshipped in their time, but they are the villains of the vanquished and are often cursed in another age. They are the Arjunas, Pratapadityas, Chengez Khans, Musas, Cids, Charles Martels, Napoleons and Washingtons. Even among the modern warriors—those who are now proving this prowess in arms—there are to be found men who are the representatives of Moloch (in no invidious sense), but present company should always be excepted. At times they are also rash, but never infirm, or unbending. They are the heroes and they the villains, but they also vanish in the distance of time.

The next person who spoke in the Council was Belial the popular, "in act more graceful and humane," with a phenomenally oily tongue, almost irresistibly persuasive with his apparently genuine but really hollow counsel for moderation and passivity; one who could make "the worse appear the better reason." He was a contrast to Moloch in almost every respect. To him the hearers would lend their ears no less than their souls, for he was the man of pleasant platitudes, and appealing sentiments. He understood the psychology of the masses, and knew that the inherent tendency of mental activity is to choose the line of least resistance. He found no difficulty in persuading his fallen comrades and followers, (with rare exceptions), to consider their existing state if not a matter for thanksgiving at least one for resignation and contentment, lest their discontent should lead them to "more woe." In his abundantly facile and profoundly cunning manner, he poured ample quantities of oil on the tempestuous sea of passion and bitter vengeance, stirred to its depths by the preceding speaker, and "with words cloth'd in reason's garb counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth, not peace." His was not the shot to miss the mark. The hearers swayed like a reed in the wind o his speech, as he demonstrated to them the folly of any drastic measures, and were finally persuaded that his was the last word on the subject. Now, who is unfamiliar with Belial's breed, which is rampant enough everywhere? Not incapable, nor even unconscious of their duty but disgracefully indolent, and far too fond of ease to pursue their aim with any amount of perseverence, shirking their duty in preference to hardships consequent upon the execution of it, without stamina constantly seeking plausible excuses for want of resolution. But their capability becomes a dangerous weapon to be wielded against the true interests of the people who repose their trust in them. Unwilling to bear hardships themselves even for the sake of right, they persuade others also to forego their right for a life of "ignoble ease."

Mammon, who followed Belial, was no deliberate shirker like his predecessor, but a genuine pessimist. Bereft of hope of success, as against the all-too-stupendous powers of Heaven, the proposal to continue the strife only served to deepen his mental gloom, and he roused his self-sacrificing instinct to the pitch of martyrdom and, therefore, when he rose to speak, he unconsciously and spontaneously lent support to Belial's view, and declared sourly but sagely that "torments also in length of time" become agreeable. He was no believer in rash and radical measures, but was convinced that in "the settl'd state of order" alone could the banished crew of heaven "compose their evils." He saw no sense in hesitating to confess his own impuissance as against the infinite might of God, and, therefore, recognised salvation only in acquiescence in the decree of Heaven, and emphatically advocated peace. To him Progress was synonymous with Peace, and, therefore, the verdict of the military commander seemed to him to have been pronounced in wanton disregard of the good of the Satanic Fraternity. Pessimists may be incapable, but they are never insincere. When they are also capable, it is a case of inordinate obsession with some exaggerated idea that generally takes the wind out of their sails. They mean well and honestly desire to be of service, but labour under disabilities of mental inhibition.

But Beelzebub, the next speaker,

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whom, Satan except, no higher sat", was the man of the moment. A firm, proud, dignified, purposeful, consumately subtle, and capable leader of the people, whose very looks distinguished him from his colleagues as the very antethesis of the myopic rashness of Moloch, the shameful degeneracy of Belial who lacked both sincerity and stamina, and the melancholy martyrdom of Mammon the pessimist. Even in his fallen condition he had not permitted his former glory to be obliterated from his memory, which provided him with a perennial source of bitterness born of wounded pride and unmerited degradation, also the stimulus to act in pursuance of his revengeful purpose. His proud mein at once marked him out as an heir to the imperishable heritage of a resplendent past his eyes reflecting deep hereditary pride, and unmistakable capability. It was neither for the wrath of Heaven, nor his fallen condition to daunt or tame him. He rose, "and in rising seem'd a pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven Deliberation sat and public care." "Majestic in ruin", even his very "look drew audience and attention still as Night or Summer's noon-tide air", when he addressed the "Thrones and Imperial Powers, offspring of Heaven, Etherial Virtues" he artfully questioned "Or these titles now, must we renounce and changing style be called Princes of Hell?" His criticism of the counsel for passivity and contentment was scathing and convincing: to him the very suggestion of acquiescence in so base and revolting a state of slavery was simply outrageous. He was not blind to the infinite resourcefulness of the heavenly power, nor did he discount the wisdom of guarding against any fresh outburst of the Almighty's wrath, but the mere thought of sitting with folded hands, and prattling of peace with the Power that had wrought their ruin was repugnant to him. In the plenitude of his gifted astuteness, and in previous consultation with Satan himself, he had devised the plan calculated to spite the Creator and to avenge the wrongs suffered by the vanquished hosts of heaven. That plan he ingeniously unfolded before the "Synod of Gods." It was only too obvious that any attempt at open warfare would not merely be foiled, but requited fresh horrors and unthought of torments. He was a practical genius indeed! While fully alive to the manifest superiority of the heavenly powers, not yet minimising the obvious futility of open warfare, he focussed the attention of his comrades upon a point in the Kingdom of God, which in virtue of its being situated on the furthest confines was peculiarly exposed to attack, and which at the same time housed the latest and the fairest of His creations——MAN.

"By sudden onset, either with hell fire,
To waste His whole creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive as we were driven
The puny habitants, or if not drive
Seduce them to our Party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works. This would surpass
Common revenge."

It would at least "interrupt his joy." From the point of view of the Allies, the seduction of Ireland (the illustration is irresistible) seems to have been conceived in that spirit. But he was undoubtedly a man of practical sense, and his advice could not fail of effect. "The bold design pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent they vote." It was, however, a tremendous undertaking, and one which was fraught with unheard of perils. They, therefore, fell to thinking as to who should be trusted with the mission. The speaker continued:

....."But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world, whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his aerie flight
Upborne by indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy Isle; what strength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the thick Sentries and Stations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection, and we now no less
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send
The weight of all and our last hope relies."

The attempt was far too perilous for any one to declare his willingness to undertake it.

....."all sat mute
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other's countenance read his own dismay
Astonished:.....
..... till at last
Satan, whom now transcendant glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with Monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth....."

rose and addressed his colleagues and comrades. After enumerating the dangers and depicting the perils of the proposed voyage, he declared in firm tones

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"But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this Imperial Sov'reignty, adorn'd
With splendour, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting."

Milton's Satan was a character true to life, and not in the least exaggerated or poetically embellished. A most deserving and astute leader of the exiled crew of heaven, he knew their weaknesses and foibles, as well as their strength and aspirations, and attuned his activity according to the occasion with a view to maintain "his bad eminence" among them.

He had a surpassing aptitude for leadership, and was pre-eminently fitted to be at the steering wheel of any barque. Thoroughly conversant with the art of winning laurels, displaying his talents to advantage, earning golden opinions of people, exercising consummate tact in retaining the adherence of his colleagues, and finally providing people with excellent opportunities to lionise him—nay deify him, he was an Augustus Cæsar on a considerably larger scale. Perhaps, Milton had Oliver Cromwell himself before him. Not only did he know how to play upon the feelings of the masses, and the egoism of the members of his cabinet, but he was a finished diplomat, and was fully alive to the necessity of steering clear of rivals, and never failed to devise means to stand alone on the pedestal surrounded by admiring multitudes. The moment he had announced to the applauding audience his intention to attempt the perilous voyage, he suspected that some others also might be encouraged to volunteer to go, and that would not be consistent with his position as the unrivalled hero. And realising the importance of forestalling any such rival he bid the banished hosts make merry

".....while I abroad
Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
Deliverance for us all : this enterprise
None shall partake with me."

He would allow no division of honour, but win "the high repute" all by himself "through hazard huge." Each time he seemed to risk his life or power he was hailed by his followers as their true hero, and was lauded by them "for despising his own safety" for their sake. His apotheosis had long been reached in heaven itself, these were only extra feathers in his cap. His deeds, however, so far from being dictated by any altruistic motives were the offsprings of his overweening passion for "Power," which he could enjoy undivided only if he remained as a peerless leader.

These are some of the types described by Milton. The others, the favoured and obedient angels, the Son of God, the disobedient ancestor of Man, and many others are also models, but of a different kind. Nor are the prototypes of Norman Angells, Bernard Shaws, or Robert Blatchfords to be found there; for Illusionists, Positivists, and Chauvinists do not seem to have struck Milton's fancy. But the types of leaders, whose weakness and strength lie in oratory, and whose preposterous lives have nothing but a span of speech to bequeathe to the world, have been almost faultlessly and perhaps circumspectly described by the poet in the persons of Satan, Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and some other minor models. It would be almost impossible to conceive of any public leader who escapes these categories. Genuineness is again embraced under another type—Christ, who comes down on earth to expiate the sins of others, to be crucified for a multitude of sinners. But Christs are not born frequently, in fact, they are the illusions after which people run only to find men of flesh and blood in their place—men palpitating with hot blood, and breathing the same foul air as the seekers do! Yes, men, men indeed, who infest this little planet of ours whose specious deeds descend from "glory.....or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal." From under the well-wrapt cloak of public zeal, the good of humanity, or patriotism, often enough inconveniently protrudes the unholy face of self-seeking, or oftener still, the sour visage of disappointed ambition. They form themselves into a covenanted fraternity of log-rollers, and sprawl on public platforms, and leisurely yawn on hot pulpits. They string a few catch-phrases together, and prate of rights and demands almost *ad nauseam*. But it may be confidently asserted that under cover of pleasant platitudes they dwell in blissful ignorance of their duty. Thoroughly infatuated with themselves, they find a peculiar charm in the phrase "Rights and Demands," and either never tumble to the word Duty or deliberately ignore it. Was it not Giuseppe Mazzini who said that the struggle of the believers

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"Rights" would last only so long as temptations were not put out of their way, but the work of the votaries of "Duty" would cease only with their life. The struggle of the latter shall be unto the bitter end to get wrongs righted, they shall face personal hardships, and perils with an equanimity and resignation worthy of a sainted martyr. Hanging and quartering shall not deter them, crucifixion and burning at the stake shall not daunt or tame them. Theirs is the divine mission, and theirs the eternal cause, and nothing but the fulfilment of their mission shall quench the passion with which they are inspired. They shall defy circumstances, and create their own for the accomplishment of their object. But for all that the Divine spark is essential.

As a matter of general rule leadership has, in the conception of the public, degenerated into a sort of lucrative profession, which attracts a very considerable number of aspirants of a large variety of capability and qualifications. It holds out brilliant prospects to the successful. Not alone does it lead to high honours, public eminence, and the undisputed right to the control and disbursement of public funds, but often enough to a decent pension "in tail" as the lawyer would say. We have only to look round to recognise Belials and Beelzebubs, for they abound in our earth. Molochs are rare, and so are Mammons; genuine soldiers, and honest pessimists are a noble type, but scarce. Satans are born once in a blue moon, for their capabilities are of the highest, and they certainly are the shapers of destinies, and the authors of memorable achievements.

Milton's genius has given the world, among a thousand and one other things, at least one thing of ever fresh importance, and that is his comprehensive definitions of public leaders.

M. ASAF ALI.

GOLD AND INDIAN CURRENCY

By M. S. SESHA AYYANGAR, B.A.

INDIA has world-wide trade. She has to bear her 'Home' charges. Of late, Great Britain and all other civilised countries have changed their currency. Post-War problems are busily discussed. It is time that India should see if, in her interests, under the present altered conditions, her currency—the life blood of industrial circulation—also requires revision.

Ranade, the great scholar and statesman, has, as a result of careful study, said that in the application of economic principles, the historical as opposed to the deductive method of taking account of the past with a view of making a reliable forecast of the future, should be applied. India, since the time when her history is known to rest on solid facts, has been the place upon which time after time foreign nations, ancient, medieval and modern, have invariably fixed their longing eyes. Her commerce has not been inconsiderable.

The value or the relation between two things in utility at a particular time and place, is always expressed in terms of money. India had the use of money for a long time past. It is said in "*Numismata Orientalia*" that in all countries the metal first used for exchange was silver, be it Palestine, Egypt, Greece, or Italy. Sir A. Cunningham the first Archæological Superintendent of India and a great numismatist, dates 1000 B. C. as the time when silver was first coined in India. Later researches place it as 700 B. C.

Prof. H. D. Macleod takes a somewhat different view, at least with reference to India, when he says:

"It is imagined by a not inconsiderable number of persons that silver only has been the currency in India from time immemorial and that the Natives are

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attached to it. This is however entirely erroneous. Silver was first forced upon the entire Native population by the Company in 1818 and it was only in 1883 it has become the exclusive currency of India in consequence of Lord Dalhousie demonetising gold. The Natives themselves greatly preferred their ancient standard gold."

Mr. L. C. Probyn is equally emphatic when he says

"The unit of the Hindu system of currency was of gold, and although the Muhammadan conquest introduced a silver rupee in 1542, gold still formed part of the currency, while in Southern States, where they did not gain their ascendancy, a gold currency continued in force even after the British conquest."

Sir David Barbour opines

"It is beyond doubt that both metals were used simultaneously by the great nations of antiquity—the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans."

Ancient history reminds us that gold was used to be collected from the beds of certain rivers in North India. Professor Macleod finds that the Phœnecians brought vast quantities of silver and exchanged them for the gold dust of the Lower Indus. History further records that

"The Persian king, Darius, who invaded India about 500 B.C., exacted 360 talents of gold dust from the king of Northern India, probably the part now known as the Punjab, as tribute. This gold dust Darius got coined as Dorics."

Coming to mediaeval times, we find that before the Muhammadan invasion, and even sometime after the same, gold was the standard of value. It was the chief current coin, at any rate, in all large transactions. Silver, to a small extent, and copper (for small and trifling transactions) were also coined. Shells (Cowries) were used in exchange in the unprogressive parts of the country. During the Muhammadan era, Altmash it was, the Sultan of Delhi, who in 1233 A.D. first introduced the silver coin *Tanka*; since then silver received a decided impetus; and the standard coin, at any rate, in Northern India where the Muhammadan throne was seated, was silver. India was then a collection of small independent states scattered all round. Railways were unknown. Even trunk roads had not been formed. Internal communications were difficult. Each state issued its own coins. They seldom—there was neither need nor facility—found currency in other neighbouring States. There were, therefore, a great number (about a thousand) of different coins of various metals and sizes. During the Muhammadan rule whose sway extended over considerable portion of the country, rather bold scheme for reforming currency was devised by Mohamad Tulak. His reform was to debase silver coin and to circulate copper pi at the nominal value of silver co This is indeed a prototype in princ of the present paper currency. Ne three centuries elapsed when, during reign of Sher Shah, in 1542, the nam Rupee was given to the coin with its sent weight of 180 grains. An effo though futile it proved to be—at introd ing a uniform standard in this Empire conceived by Akbar. This is perhaps anticipation of the present world-w attempt (this time almost a deci success) at a uniform standard for civilised countries, taking active part international trade. As Southern In was farther from the central authority the Moguls it was left practically unaf ed by that influence and consequently alone maintained her wonted gold standa in currency till the gold pag was displaced by the Company Ru of 1818.

In modern times the East India Co pany on its establishment in India, adop the moghal coinage. In course of tim obtained permission from the indigen rulers to mint native coin at this Co pany's mint with a slight modification. 1806 the bi-metallic basis was accepted the Court of Directors; they denied wish on their part to force silver to exclusion of gold. Anyway, both g and silver were the standard and b kinds of coins found currency, till In first became a silver using country w in 1835 silver coins became legal tender the exclusion of gold. The rupee (1 grains with 165 silver plus 15 alloy) first coined then. The rule was honou more in its breach. Gold mohurs continued to be minted and circulat In 1841 gold currency had to be re nised. But towards the end of 1852 L Dalhousie, being alarmed at the g discoveries of gold in Australia and C fornia and the probable deterioration the value relatively to silver issued historic despatch dated 25th Decem 1852, which declared that "No gold c will be received on account of payme due or in any way to be made to Governments in any public treasury wi

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the territories of the East India Company." Silver, therefore, now became the only legal tender. Later events amply proved that this was a mistake. Silver began to fall in value. European countries trading with India demonitised silver with the result that India suffered in her trade with countries not having the similar silver standard ; and India's burden to pay her home charges—these are always payable in gold in England—became automatically increased. There was no doubt a partial reaction in 1864 when it was made permissible to tender gold sovereigns as the equivalent for ten rupees and to make the Government currency notes change for rupees or sovereigns at that rate. This was felt to be expedient as the popularity of the gold currency could not be interfered with though the Government measures tended to suppress the gold currency. It was also felt that it was really very hard to force India with her abundance of gold to traverse half the globe in search of silver before she could pay for European Commodities. The silver currency was then both inconvenient and unpopular. It aroused public discussion. There was unrest. This led to the appointment of an Indian Currency Commission to deal with the whole subject of currency in this country.

It may not be out of place at this juncture to note that in Pre-British days currency went along the simple and the natural line of full value legal-tender money. There was no token metal. The mints simply tested the metal and cut the same into desirable and convenient sizes. But with the recent altered notions of economic science, new beliefs were entertained and introduced with the result of introducing a degree of artificiality in the currency. Full value legal-tender money was displaced by a token metal and a paper currency. The altered principles of monetary science were introduced in England as a compact whole, whereas, in India partial experiments were made which led to crises now and then. The result of the inauguration of this policy led to the four different Commissions so far : (1) The Indian Currency Commission of 1866-67 (2) ; Lord Herschell's Commission of 1893 ; (3) Fowler's Commission of 1898 and (4) lastly the Chamberlain's Commission of 1913.

It has proposed to deal with each commission separately in so far as it affects the standard of value in India. The '67-Commission found that the demand for the gold currency was unanimous throughout the country, and therefore recommended the acceptance of English and Australian sovereigns in all Government treasuries. The Government of India adopted this recommendation : only the rate of exchange was Rs. 10 and As. 4. This demand for gold currency is only natural ; not only because for ages that state of things obtained in India and that the most advanced nations, France, America, Italy, Germany, Holland and Japan (long considered as the fortress of silver) have, even at a sacrifice, adopted the gold currency ; but also gold as a metal of currency has an admirable intrinsic value all its own. Says Seyd in his "Bullion and Foreign Exchanges" :

"Gold is the noblest of all metals, the king of the metals as the alchemists of old used to call it. It holds this exalted rank by virtue of its precious physical and chemical properties, among which may be mentioned more specially its indestructibility ; its signal power of resisting oxidising influences ; its feasibility ; its permanent ductility and malleability ; its beautiful colour and splendid lustre."

Adam Smith found that in the progress of industry commercial nations used gold for large payments, silver for purchases of moderate value, and baser metals for petty transactions. Chamber found that gold is the substance which, by common consent, people at the utmost extremities of the civilised world have used as their standard currency. Being more valuable, gold is such according to Macleod that "a man might carry about with him as it were a concentrated essence of power of commanding services." J. S. Mill, Ricardo and J. Wilson have made important admissions in favour of gold. Lord Sandhurst prefers gold for its "superior portability, decrease in wastage and the economy in mintage" which he describes as "elements of cheapness which have a marked effect of asserting the superiority of gold." The inconvenience and additional cost of transmission of gold and silver from Australia round by London to India is fitly described thus :

"The extra expense now incurred by the Indian population on account of freight, the loss arising from Indian money being held up in England waiting for purchases of silver, increase the cost of mintage and the rate of wear and tear of silver currency, all of which could be saved if a gold currency were prevalent in India, is generally estimated at nearly one million pound sterling."

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Several responsible Indian ministers such as Sir Richard Temple favoured the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency in India as necessary and expedient. The policy inaugurated in 1883 had the effect of silver falling rapidly in price. Many European countries demonetised silver. The burden of India to pay up her Home charges in England became greatly enhanced. The gold price of silver fell ; for example

In 1872	1 Rupee	=	1s. 11d.
,, 76	,,	..	1s. 8½d.
,, 85	,,	..	1s. 6¼d.
,, 87	,,	..	1s. 4·89d.
,, 92	,,	..	1s. 2·98d.

Silver depreciating so steadily the Indian Government could not meet the home dues without resort to fresh new taxation being resorted to. It was during this period that the Income-Tax Act of 1886, the Salt-Tax Act of 1887 were passed and the revenue raised thereunder made up for the evil effects of the depreciation of the rupee. The Government had to find extra money for the exchange compensation allowance. They wanted to try bi-metallism. It could have been an excellent remedy if all the other trading nations had also consented to the arrangement. They would not and the attempt of the Indian Government failed.

This state of things led to the second or the Herschell Commission. The Commission sat. They were not unanimous in their opinions. Bi-metallism was thought expedient. But England would not change, as average money wages had not fallen though prices of commodities had fallen ; without England, the centre of money market, other countries would not change. There was a good deal of doubt and uncertainty in the minds of the Commissioners. This is seen from the words of Lord Herschell uttered when leaving the last meeting of the Commission : "Well at any rate, our work has had one effect ; it has made all of us more modest than when we began." Accepting the recommendations of this Commission the Indian mints for silver were closed to the free coinage by private persons ; but the Government reserved its right to coin to remedy any shortage. Gold sovereigns or bullion were to be received in the Treasury, and rupee was to be given in exchange at 1s. 4d. a rupee ; though gold was not made legal tender to private persons, yet it was accepted in payment of Government dues Rs. 15 for a sovereign. These measures were adopted no doubt as a preliminary to the introduction of a gold currency in India because it was anticipated that silver would be less imported, gold would enormously flow into the country and thus pave the way for the much desired gold currency and that the rate of exchange of silver would get steady. It was also taken for granted that no further steps should be taken till the results of the closing of the mints will have been fully ascertained.

From 1893 to 1898 was a period of experiment and transition. The difficulty was augmented by the famine of 1896-97 and the war on the North-Western Frontier. The years were years of deficit and surplus alternately. Though the rate of exchange fell, it did not fall in proportion to the fall in the gold price of silver ; and the progress towards the ratio of 1s. 4d. to the rupee was steady as is seen below :

1893-94	1 Rupee	—	1s. 2·546d.
94-95	,,		1s. 1·00d.
95-96	,,		1s. 1·638d.
96-97	,,		1s. 2·45d.
97-98	,,		1s. 3·406d.
98-99	,,		1s. 3·978d.

In 1898 it was thought necessary to facilitate this growth to borrow money to form a gold reserve and to stop relative redundancy of the currency by melting down rupees. This led to the Fowler Commission of '98.

The Act of 1899 based upon the recommendations of this Commission provided that sovereigns were made legal tender to the public and that the Indian mints would be opened for coining sovereigns. Thus the introduction of gold mono-metallism was well-nigh complete ; only the amount of rupees in circulation had to be slowly restricted. The Commissioners further recommended the fixity of the rate of exchange at 1s. 4d. per rupee and that the profit made by the coinage of rupees at this rate of exchange should go to form a fund—the gold standard reserve—to provide a reserve sufficient to convert into sterling such amount of silver as may be for export at any time. Silver also is legal tender. Gold no doubt was our standard for our external trade but a limping standard so to say. That this closing

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mints directly led to the tiding over the crises of 92-93 and also tended to the saving of the Government in its exchange difficulties is the opinion of the official apologists. There is another and a more serious aspect of this experimental measure of the closing of the Indian mints to silver. Indian economics with Dadabhai Naoroji at the head cried that closing the mints or introducing the gold standard would not save anything to the Indian tax-payers in their remittances towards the "Home charges." It was also pointed out that closing the mints and thereby artificially raising the true rupee (bullion worth about 11d. in gold) to the false rupee worth 16d. in gold meant 45 per cent more taxation ; and that it was a violation of all taxation Acts. Also it may be said that the Indian peasants suffered a depreciation of more than a third in the nominal value of their capital—including their silver ornaments—since they could no longer be coined as rupees but had to be sold as bullion at 42 per cent below the price of the coined silver. The taxes paid in India represent more commodities than formerly as the prices in rupee tended to fall. The value of debts contracted during free silver coinage increased. So that this experimental currency legislation affected adversely the Indian Peasant, the Indian Tax-payer and the Indian debtor.

Then a novel system was suggested by Mr. A. M. Lindsay to produce a gold standard in India without a gold currency, the standard being known by the name of the "Gold Exchange Standard." This system was adopted piecemeal by the Government as a result of a series of experiments. Gold was not used largely in the shape of coins. The bulk of the metallic currency was of silver coins which had an artificial value much greater than their intrinsic value. The well known economic law—Gresham's Law—that the inferior money forcibly drives out the superior money or that 'the popularity of a coin varies inversely with the anxiety of the possessor to part with it' was in full operation.

All these things show that the period of 1893-1898 was a period of experiments and that from 1898 to 1907-8 was a period of the after effects of the experiments, the details of which were outlined above. India suffered under the experimental currency measures, which were started even without sufficient notice to those whom they eventually affected ; and she became accustomed to the altered state of things. The Fowler Commission found that India was in a fit state to use gold coins in their daily transactions. This finding is in turn now sought to be explained away. The gold currency is yet far off. In 1910 Sir James Meston from his place in the Government of India said :

"The next and final step is a true gold currency. That, I have every hope, will come in time, but we cannot force it. The final step will come when the country is ripe for it. I trust that will not long be delayed ; for when it comes it will obliterate all the mistakes, all the inconveniences, all the artificialities of our present position."

In 1912 the Government of India in a despatch dated 16-5-1912 pressed for the immediate establishment of a gold currency and they added :

"Our proposal for a gold currency has behind it the overwhelming support of the Indian public opinion, the leaders of which are ready and anxious to extend the every day use of the common coin of the empire and are unable to understand why India should be denied the same minting facilities as have been given to Australia and Canada."

The Home Treasury pronounced that the coinage of gold in India was beset with "legal difficulties." They further suggested the appointment of a Royal Commission on Indian Finances and Currency. The Government of India could not help accepting it. This led to the Chamberlain Commission of 1913. No evidence was collected in India. The foregone conclusion of the Treasury was endorsed by the Commission. One is reminded of the words of Dadabhai Naoroji who said as follows about the appointment of Commissions on another occasion :

"The usual process in such cases is to appoint a commission or a committee, put in members, and have witnesses of their own choice, leaving if possible just a small margin for appearance of independence. Generally they get their own foregone conclusions."

London is the money market where the world's international transactions are settled. The gold stocks of England are poor in proportion to her monetary responsibilities and wide commerce and in the words of Alakh Dhari.

"Short of Gold themselves and alarmed at their large indebtedness to India in the international trade balance account, year in and year out, the financiers of England have contracted a deadly prejudice against India importing any Gold at all and numerous pretexts and excuses have been invented with a

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view to mislead the powers that be and thwart the schemes for the introduction of a Gold Currency."

The Royal Commission found that the efforts to introduce gold in circulation in India proved a failure. This is opposed to popular impressions in India; there would have been greater circulation but for the halting way in which it was introduced. The Commission disregarding all the desire of the people of India for a gold currency, has directed that the Indians should be educated to the use of economical forms of money, silver and paper. The policy of forcing token money when the universal desire is for gold, is not expedient. The Commission does not see its way to recommend the establishment of a gold mint in India. Thus the hopes raised, in the Indian mind of securing the gold currency, the hopes with which they suffered all risks and all inconveniences under the experimental currency measures devised from time to time, have been blighted by a stroke of the pen of the Commission of 1913.

A word about the gold standard reserve will not be out of place. The gold standard reserve that was adverted to previously was conceived in 1900 on the suggestion of the Fowler Commission. The artificial rupee was worth 16d. in gold. Silver bullion was purchased at about 11d. and coined into rupees (token coins) artificially worth 16d. The Government by this process made a net profit of about 5d. for every rupee coined. This was not treated as revenue though it indirectly and eventually meant additional taxation. A fund was thus created consisting of the accumulation of such profits and was placed by as the reserve to safeguard the risks of a fall in exchange and to meet the emergency of converting into sterling of such silver as might seek export at any time. From 1900 to 1906 the whole amount thus set apart was sent to England and spent in the purchase of British Government Securities. It was resolved that a portion of this Reserve should be kept in India in silver the reason not being apparent as the object of the reserve was to ensure stability of the gold value of the rupees. The fund swelled up largely as is seen below :—

On 31st March 1913 the Reserve stood as follows :—

		Cro... abo...
British Securities (at market value)	£15,945,669	2...
Money lent in England for firms at short notice	£ 1,005,664	1...
Gold deposited at the Bank of England	£ 1,620,000	2...
Silver in Indian Branch	£ 4,000,000	6...
	£22,571,333	3...

and on 31st August 1916 it stood as f... lows :—

Gold in India	£ 622,0...
Loan in England at short notice	£ 6,267,6...
British and Colonial Government Securities (value on 31-3-1916)	£11,825,9...
British Government Securities	£ 4,898,5...
Temporary loans to temporary balances in India	£ 4,000,0...
	£27,614,0...

and on 31st October 1916 it stood as f... lows :—

Gold in India	£ 1,7...
Cash placed by the Secretary of State for India at short notice	£ 5,858,6...
Securities held on 30th September 1916	£12,401,6...
British Government Securities since purchased	£ 4,104,5...
Loans to Home Treasury	£ 2,000,0...
Temporary Loan to Treasury Balances, India	£ 4,000,0...
Total	£28,266,3...

Various objections were raised ... Indians from time to time to thus keep... this Indian Reserve in London instead ... in India, to its investment largely in sec... rities which may perhaps not be realis... in times of need without some loss and ... its being lent to borrowers in London ... stead of being lent in India where there ... so much dearth of capital to build indu... tries with. 'India's money for India' is ... sensible cry. It has been pointed out th... this reserve, located in India being ordinar... and legitimate to Indians, might be of ... mense advantage to England in times ... monetary crises there; and Sir F. Wh...

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voiced forth the Indian feeling when he said "that the gold reserve is *our own Indian money* and that as a matter of natural pride it should be in our own country (India) as a visible possession." It must also be noted that under the head of Paper Currency Reserve which is held against the Notes equal to their full value a portion of the reserve is located in London, though the object is the redemption of notes in circulation in India which implies that the whole should be in India. The reserve on 31-3-1913 is as follows :—

Gold in London	9·15 Crores.
Gold in India	29·37 ,,
Silver in India	16·45 ,,
Securities of Government of India	10·00
Securities of British Government	4·00 ,,
Total	68·97

To sum up. The ancient standard of value in India was gold. When the East India Company entered, gold and silver coins were current side by side in North India though in South India gold coins were commonly current. Silver was first forced upon the Indians by the East India Company in 1818 ; Lord Dalhousie made silver the sole standard in 1853. Gold struggled for existence later, suffering demonetisation and revulsion in its favour alternately. From 1866 to 1913 was a period of experiments,—costly they were—and of commissions to inquire into the laws of currency. Silver currency was sought to be abandoned in favour of gold currency by way of saving the situation re falls in exchange necessitating the closing of mints for silver in 1893. Prior to 1893 the people had been accustomed for generations to the full value of coins in currency transactions. Halting efforts were made to introduce the gold currency. Hopes nevertheless were raised that it would soon be achieved, only to be blighted at last by the mandate of the Chamberlain's Commission of 1913. The situation now is this : India has world-wide trade. Her destinies are bound up with those of the British Empire. All the civilised countries except China have changed their standard of value and currency to gold. It cannot be long ere she also changes her standard of value. India's silver currency with its rapid fall of the price of silver is inexpedient. Bi-metallism is out of question as it was not agreed to by other nations. India cannot afford to stand aloof from the world's concert. The only outstanding alternative is the adoption of gold currency as obtaining in England and elsewhere. With this, the rupee will represent a fixed portion of gold. The notes and rupees will "act precisely as if they were bits of gold by being made convertible into gold for foreign payment."

India wants that the result of the experiments made in England for 500 years, be extended to her and that free mints for gold be opened in India, adding to the financial support of the British Empire. No progressing nation could afford to adopt a different standard of value from that of the more civilised and wealthy countries. And any difference in standards of value between two nations having intimate and commercial relations is a great evil. And she ought no longer to be "kept tied down with antiquated and out of date theories of currency and arbitrary notions of state management and control in this respect."

There is no longer any alarm that there may not be enough gold in the world to facilitate the introduction of gold currency in India, as the gold production in the world is £100,000,000 every year and the Mysore Gold Mines alone show a gold out-put of over 3 crores of rupees per annum and as the economists of the world are devising means of finding out a new outlet for the excess output. Nor can it be safely said that there is danger of India hoarding up her gold, as "though gold were not used for a variety of purposes not always useful or artistic in Europe and America as well as in India." Further Gold currency alone would certainly obviate this tendency, if any. Also there is unimpeachable and overwhelming evidence, official and non-official, that gold is extensively used in India in bona fide currency and that the Indian peasant believes in the metallic currency. It is, therefore, fervently hoped that England will yield to the wishes of the people in this matter and that she will permit India to assimilate the Indian currency to hers and that the Indian reserves be mainly allowed to be kept in India so as to facilitate the flow of capital upon which the Indian industries could be founded and successfully built up and with which the Indian Railways and the Indian Irrigation Works could be constructed.

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HOW THE JUST MAN LIVES

ABOUT Habakkuk, one of the "minor" Hebrew prophets, nothing is known. The time when he lived and the occasion which called forth his prophecy are alike uncertain. The very meaning of his short book is open to doubt, for his references to passing events cannot be identified without hesitation, and the text in passages as it has come down to the present day reader is obscure and corrupted. Notwithstanding these disadvantages there remains enough of solid and tangible value in the book of Habakkuk to attract the admiration of Carlyle, and to persuade the scholar Ewald to call Habakkuk "the last pure light of Hebrew prophecy."

The German scholar Ewald is the best of all commentators upon the prophets of the Old Testament. Nobody else succeeds in giving us in quite such a kindling manner as Ewald the personal history of the prophets, the circumstances of the times in which they lived, and the interpretation of their deepest thoughts and meanings. It is scarcely too much to say that without the assistance of Ewald it is impossible to study the ancient Hebrew religious writers intelligently.

I follow Ewald's interpretation of Habakkuk. What does the short piece of writing which bears the prophet's name contain? It contains a problem which is new in the history of prophecy, and it contains an answer to the problem, the best answer which seems humanly possible, but by no means a complete solution of the intellectual difficulty. The problem is this, as Habakkuk states it: "O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? I cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save..... Spoiling and violence are before me and there is strife; and contention riseth up..... The law is benumbed and justice doth never go forth." That is a picture of Jerusalem. The violent and unjust man flourishes, and for aught the prophet can see never gets punished. To this preliminary statement of the problem the Lord answers that the prophet is to look among the nations, and he will see the coming of a punishment for the violent and unjust in Jerusalem. "For lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that rough and restless nation: which march through the breadth of the earth, to possess dwelling places that are not theirs..... Their horses are swifter than leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen bear themselves proudly;.....they fly as an eagle that hasteth to devour."

This answer instead of satisfying the prophet only intensifies his difficulty. Granted that the Chaldeans are coming to punish the Jews, who shall punish the Chaldeans? The Chaldeans are far more violent and unjust than the peoples whom they overwhelm. They exceed in daring and transgression: their strength is their god. In which words Ewald supposes the prophet to allude to the custom the Babylonians seem to have practised along with other peoples of worshipping their weapons. The Scythians described by Herodotus used to sacrifice to their swords, pouring libations of the blood of their captives. To their swords as symbols of the god of war the Scythians used to offer more sacrifices than to any other deity. Habakkuk thinking of the triumph of the Chaldeans can only see another example of the violent and unjust man flourishing. What answer can there be to this deepening of his perplexity?

He will stand upon his watch, and set him upon the tower, and will look forth to see what the Lord will speak concerning his complaint. And what the Lord speaks to Habakkuk is this: "The just man shall live in his faithfulness."

What is the meaning of these words? St. Paul quoted them and interpreted them to mean that the just man shall live by his faith, i.e. by his faith in God and in all that St. Paul held to be the essentials of faith; and this is a very fine light indeed to throw upon the idea and the conduct of life. In belief in God we can find a consolation and compensation for many troubles, and a strong support. But this

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as this idea is, it does not seem to express quite clearly all that was in the mind of the prophet.

For Habakkuk's word is not "faith," but "faithfulness." "The just man shall live in his faithfulness," that is to say in his persistence, in his steadfastness. When things are at their worst, when violence and injustice seem to carry all before them, there remains to a just man his own will and perseverance and tenacity in going on his own way. He must be true to himself even at such a time, when the stock to his faith is even worse than the shock around him to peace and prosperity. And this fidelity is his one support, and the one thing which cannot be taken away from him. "No other consoling prospect," says Ewald, "than faithfulness in the midst of trial."

"The just man shall live in his faithfulness" is the clearest word which Habakkuk can find with which to answer his own difficulties. This word carries us no farther at first sight than the colloquial counsel "to grin and bear it." Those simple words "grin and bear it" have helped many a brave man to be true to his better self in a time of suffering. They do not explain why the suffering comes and they do not imply any prospect of speedy release from endurance. They simply counsel us to endure when we have to endure, and they are sternly truthful, recommending themselves to sternly truthful men. How fine is the word "grin,"—"*grin* and bear it," not "laugh and bear it," laughter being impossible under many circumstances in which a man should try to be as gay as he can. At first sight the words of Habakkuk seem to carry us no farther than the proverb "grin and bear it." But the closing words of the book seem to show us that Habakkuk meant more than this. Faithfulness seems to him to mean faithfulness not only to courage and fortitude and perseverance, but to faith itself which circumstances perplex and obscure, and to hope which seems to be extinguished. In the midst of injustice the will to abide by justice remains still the most precious thing in the world, and this perception is so clear that nothing need take it away. In faithfulness to his perception remains the just man's life. And behind his perception of the unchallengable excellence of justice, Habakkuk feels the force of a conviction that nothing so excellent as justice can be ultimately destroyed. At the close of the prophecy we have these wonderful words which were intended in their literal sense, and not in any merely figurative way of speaking :—

Though the fig tree should not blossom,
Neither shall fruit be in the vines ;
The labour of the olive shall fail,
And the fields shall yield no meat ;
The flock shall be cut off from the fold,
And there shall be no herd in the stalls ;
Yet will I rejoice in the Lord,
I will joy in the God of my salvation.

These are the words of a patriot and a believer in the destiny of his own people when he sees an overpoweringly strong enemy coming up against his native land to destroy the fields and the vineyards and to carry the people into exile. In spite of all that seems to crush his nation he will continue to cherish the hopes that he had entertained for a glorious destiny for the Hebrew people. He cannot give up so dear a part of his life's dream, but will cling to it in spite of every forbidding appearance.

What does this firm attitude of the prophet's mind prove to us but that man's faith in good is indestructible ? The prophet has not been afraid to look at his doubts, he has given them their full weight, and he confesses that he is unable to answer or to dispel them, but in spite of them he finds hope and persistence remaining with him. And so doing, he stands as it were in the very soul of the persevering Hebrew people. The Hebrews as a nation have been remarkable for their faith in good which is to come to victory in spite of a thousand defeats and overthrows. Habakkuk is one of the chosen mouthpieces of the Hebrew national genius, and the faith that was in the Hebrew people and in their prophets is a faith for nations and individual men. A faith for nations—in the good which they can work out by endeavour carried on through many centuries ; a faith for individuals—who have to be encouraged to hope and strive and endure in spite of all that sets itself against them. Look in your heart, cries the prophet, and you will find beneath all depression and woe and despair something that persists in you, and prevents you from giving up finally faith and hope and courage.

This is the lesson I believe which Mr.

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Watts intended to convey in his fine painting of Hope, of which a reproduction was presented not long ago in the Modern Review. In the picture we have a bent human figure, seated upon the globe of the world, crouching over a harp, passionately listening to the one chord of the harp which remains unbroken. Mr. Watts writing his own explanation of the picture says that Hope strives to get all the music out of the one remaining string,—a pathetic account of his meaning which the painter probably felt to be only one aspect of it. The picture means much more than Mr. Watts was able to explain in words. The hope in men's hearts, their ultimate faith, is something far better than a fear lest the last chord of consolation should break in twain. What in the picture means the listening attitude? What means the eagerness of attention? It is the ultimate earnestness of human nature, which solemnised by encroaching fears and by hopes which have perished, listens to its own spirit for the last and deepest voice of courage. In the harp of the human spirit there is always one chord which still vibrates. The painter has painted his own thought of human nature, the answer with which he meets all difficulties and questions and doubts. Listen well to the heart of mankind, he seems to say, and you will find that the profoundest murmur there is still of hope and love and faith and courage. The just man can be stripped of everything but his steadfastness.

Habukkuk is unable to believe in the longevity of injustice. He has questioned himself well in this matter, and for the life of him he cannot believe that the unjust man's prosperity can be of long continuance. He denounces unjust possessions. "Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his—or how long?" Such possessions he will not call property but "heavy debts." The unjust man's creditors will rise up one day and his tormentors will spoil him. "Woe to him that getteth an evil gain for his house, that he may set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the hand of ruin." "For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a city with blood, and establisheth a state by iniquity." These words are an allusion to the Babylonians' passion for building, and compelling conquered nations to build for them. Men only build lastingly when they build justly. Every unjust edifice shall perish in the better days that will come to humanity when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters covers the sea." The forests of Lebanon whose cedars have been hewn down, and the animals hunted from them rest upon the mountain, cry out against the invader. These words and images suggest the prophet's unfaltering faith in justice. The Babylonians have gods who raise no objection to their career of devastation and pillage. "But what profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image, and the teacher of lies, that the maker of his work trusteth therein?... Woe to him that saith to the wood—Awake, to the dumb stone—Move!" Or as we should exclaim today: Woe to him who trusts in false ideas: such a false idea for instance as that justice can be disregarded with impunity to individual or state.

Shall the graven image teach a man anything? "Behold it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it. But the Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him."

Habakkuk there contrasts with inferior forms of thinking his own faith in the part which justice inevitably plays in shaping the destinies of mankind. To this faith he is held in spite of every adverse circumstance. Although he saw his own people overpowered and dragged into exile, although he saw the strong triumph and no apparent check placed upon the strong man's violence, he could not get away from his inward certainty that justice and goodness overrule human destiny. For though injustice prevail, justice still remains better than injustice. It is the invincible knowledge which keeps the just man staunch and enables him to live in his steadfastness or faithfulness solving thus for him the practical problem of his life, though it returns no answer to his speculative questionings.

P. E. RICHARDS.

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THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN

By Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

ONE morning the whole world looked up in surprise, when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant. It was done in such an incredibly short time, that it seemed like a change of dress and not like the slow building up of a new structure. She showed the confident strength of maturity and the freshness and infinite potentiality of new life at the same moment. The fear was entertained that it was a mere freak of history, a child's game of Time, the blowing up of a soap bubble, perfect in its rondure and colouring, hollow in its heart and without substance. But Japan has proved conclusively that this sudden revealment of her power is not a shortlived wonder, a chance product of time and tide, thrown up from the depth of obscurity to be swept away the next moment into the sea of oblivion.

The truth is that Japan is old and new at the same time. She has her legacy of ancient culture from the East,—the culture that enjoins man to look for his true wealth and power in his inner soul, the culture that gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death, acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to man as a social being,—the culture that has given us the vision of the infinite in all finite things, through which we have come to realise that the universe is living with a life and permeated with a soul, that it is not a huge machine which had been turned out by a demon of accidence or fashioned by a teleological God who lives in a far away heaven. In a word modern Japan has come out of the immemorial East like a lotus blossoming in an easy grace, all the while keeping its firm hold upon the profound depth from which it has sprung.

And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shewn her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift and its lock and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with an amazing eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilisation.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed; that we must nakedly take our plunge into the youth-giving stream of the time-flood. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has taught us that we mu[illegible] learn the watchword of the age, in wh[illegible] we live, and answer has to be giv[illegible]ich the sentinel of time, if we must [illegible]en to annihilation. Japan has sent [illegible] escape word over Asia, that the old see[illegible]orth her life germ in it, only it has to [illegible]d has the the soil of the new age. [illegible]e planted in

I, for myself, cannot beli[illegible] has become what she is [illegible]eve that Japan West. We cannot imita[illegible]y imitating the simulate strength for[illegible]ate life, we cannot more, a mere imita[illegible] long, nay, what is weakness. For it [illegible]tion is a source of it is always in our [illegible]ampers our true nature, our skeleton [illegible] way. It is like dressing giving rise [illegible]ith another man's skin, skin and t[illegible]o eternal feuds between the

I hav[illegible]d bones at every movement. ing in[illegible] not had the opportunity of comform[illegible] intimate touch with Japan and [illegible]g my own opinion of what she truly

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is, where is her strength and where lie her dangers. For a person like myself belonging to the East, her present problems and her methods of solution of those problems are matters of utmost interest. The whole world waits to see what this great Eastern nation is going to do with the opportunities and responsibilities she has accepted from the hands of the modern time. If it be a mere reproduction of the West, then the great expectation she has raised will remain unfulfilled. For there are grave questions that the Western civilisation has presented before the world but not completely answered. The conflict between the individual and the state, labour and capital, the man and the woman; the conflict between the greed of material gain and the spiritual life of man, the organised selfishness of nations and the higher ideals of humanity; the conflict between all the ugly complexities inseparable from giant organisations of commerce and state and the natural instincts of man crying for simplicity and beauty and fullness of leisure,—all these have to be brought to a harmony in a manner not yet dreamt of.

We have seen this great stream of civilisation choking itself from debris carried by its innumerable channels. We have seen that with all its vaunted love of humanity it has proved itself the greatest menace to Man, far worse than the sudden outbursts of nomadic barbarism from which men suffered in the early ages of history. We have seen that, in spite of its boasted love of freedom, it has produced worse forms of slavery than ever were current in earlier societies,—slavery whose chains are unbreakable, either because they are unseen, or because they assume the names and appearance of freedom. We have seen the sordidness, under the spell of its gigantic heroic idea, man losing faith in all the great. s of life which have made him

Therefore y accept the moder cannot with a light heart tendencies, metho civilisation with all its dream that they ar ds and structures, and apply your Eastern inevitable. You must strength, your love ind, your spiritual recoguition of social obli implicity, your to cut out a new path ration, in order unwieldy car of progress, shi this great loud discords as it runs. Yo ing out its mise the immense sacrifice ust mini- and freedom that it claims in n's life every movement. For generations you h and thought and worked, have and worshipped in your own manner; and this cannot be cast old clothes. It is in your blood, marrow of your bones, in the te your flesh, in the tissue of your and it must modify everything y your hands upon, without your k even against your wishes. Once solve the problems of man to yo satisfaction, you had your philos life and evolved your own art o All this you must apply to the situation and out of it will arise creation and not a mere repeti creation which the soul of your will own for itself and proudly offer world as its tribute to the welfare o Of all countries in Asia, here in Jap have the freedom to use the materia have gathered from the West accord your genius and your need. Yo fortunately not hampered from the therefore your responsibility is greater, for in your voice Asia shall the questions that Europe has su to the conference of Man. In yo the experiments will be carried which the East will change the as the modern civilisation, infusing where it is a machine, substituting heart for cold expediency, not ca much for power and success as for nious and living growth, for tru beauty.

I cannot but bring to your mind days when the whole of Eastern As Burma to Japan was united with l the closest tie of friendship, the o tural tie which can exist between n There was a living communicati hearts, a nervous system evolved t which messages ran between us abo deepest needs of humanity. We stand in fear of each other, we had arm ourselves to keep each other in our relation was not that of selfis of exploration and spoliation other's pockets; ideas and ideals changed, gifts of the highest lo offered and taken; no difference o ages and customs hindered us in ap ing each other heart to heart; of race or insolent consciousness superiority, physical or mental, our relation; our arts and literatur forth new leaves and flowers

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influence of this sunlight of united hearts; and races belonging to different lands and languages and histories acknowledged the highest unity of man and the deepest bond of love. May we not also remember that in those days of peace and goodwill, of men uniting for those supreme ends of life, your nature laid by for itself the balm of immortality which has helped your people to be born again in a new age, to be able to survive its old outworn structures and take on a new young body, to come out unscathed from the shock of the most wonderful revolution that the world has ever seen? I cannot help thinking that it is only the divine in man that can perform this miracle of transmuting the old into the new, the weak into the strong, the insult into a glorious victory. And that divine in you was born, not in these sordid days of screeching machinery and gigantic selfishness, not amidst the blatant lies of statecraft and the smug self-satisfaction of prosperous hypocrisy, but in the dawn-light of that heroic manhood when heaven came nearer the earth, and man had faith in his own soul and the soul whose revelation is the world.

What has impressed me most in this country is the conviction that you have realised nature's secrets, not by methods of analytical knowledge, but by sympathy. You have known her language of lines and music of colours, the symmetry in her irregularities, and the cadence in her freedom of movements; you have seen how she leads her immense crowds of things yet avoids all frictions; how the very conflicts in her creations break out in dance and music; how her exuberance has the aspect of the fullness of self-abandonment, and not a mere dissipation of display. You have discovered that nature reserves her power in forms of beauty; and it is this beauty which, like a mother, nourishes all the giant forces at her breast, keeping them in active vigour, yet in repose. You have known that energies of nature save themselves from wearing out by the rhythm of a perfect grace, and that she with the tenderness of her curved lines takes away fatigue from the world's muscles. I have felt that you have been able to assimilate these secrets into your life, and the truth which lies in the beauty of all things has passed into your souls. Mere knowledge of things can be had in a short enough time, but their spirit can only be acquired by centuries of training and self-control. Dominating nature from outside is a much simpler thing than making her your own in love's delight, which is a work of true genius. Your race has shown that genius, not by acquirements, but by creation; not by display of things, but by manifestation of its own inner being. This creative power there is in all nations, and it is ever active in getting hold of men's natures and giving them a form according to its ideals. But here, in Japan, it seems to have achieved its success, and deeply sunk into the minds of all men, and permeated their muscles and nerves. Your instincts have become true, your senses keen, and your hands have acquired natural skill. The genius of Europe has given her people the power of organisation, which has specially made itself manifest in politics and commerce and in coordinating scientific knowledge. The genius of Japan has given you the vision of beauty in nature and the power of realising it in your life. And, because of this fact, the power of organisation has come so easily to your help when you needed it. For the rhythm of beauty is the inner spirit, whose outer body is organisation.

All particular civilisation is the interpretation of particular human experience. Europe seems to have felt emphatically the conflict of things in the universe, which can only be brought under control by conquest. Therefore Europe is ever ready for fight, and the best part of her attention is occupied in organising her forces. But Japan has felt, in her reverent the touch of some presence, and of her evoked in her soul a feeling which she brings, adoration. She does not bring offerings of mastery of nature, but to whom the world is with infinite care and joy and of heart. This love. Her relationship she has established the deeper relationship with the country, with the sea spiritual bond of love with the forests in all with the hills of her and varied physiog- and the streams; she has taken into her their flowery whispering whispers and sighing nomy of branches and sobbing of the heart and the sun and the moon she has studied of the wood modulations of their lights and waves; and she is glad to close her shops ed in all the seasons in her orchards and shades, and cornfields. This opening of gard

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the heart to the soul of the world is not confined to a section of your privileged classes, it is not the forced product of exotic culture, but it belongs to all your men and women of all conditions. This experience of your soul, in meeting a personality in the heart of the world, has been embodied in your civilisation. It is civilisation of human relationship. Your duty towards your state has naturally assumed the character of filial duty, your nation becoming one family with your Emperor as its head. Your national unity has not been evolved from the comradeship of arms for defensive and offensive purposes, or from partnership in raiding adventures, dividing among each member the danger and spoils of robbery. It is not an outcome of the necessity of organisation for some ulterior purpose, but it is an extension of the family and the obligations of the heart in a wide field of space and time.

And this has made me all the more apprehensive of the change, which threatens Japanese civilisation, as something like a menace to one's own person. For the huge heterogeneity of the modern age, whose only common bond is usefulness, is nowhere so pitifully exposed against the dignity and hidden power of reticent beauty, as in Japan.

But the danger lies in this, that organised ugliness storm the mind and carries the day by its mass, by its aggressive persis-[illegible]nce, by its power of mockery directed [illegible]inst the deeper sentiments of heart. [illegible]arsh obtrusiveness makes it forcibly [illegible] to us, overcoming our senses,—and [illegible] to its altar sacrifices as does a [illegible] the fetish which appears power-[illegible] of its hideousness. Therefore [illegible] and [illegible] things that are modest and [illegible] have the subtle delicacy of [illegible]ded.

I am [illegible] that there are men in your nati[illegible] are not in sympathy with your [illegible] ideals; whose object is to gain, and [illegible] grow. They are loud in their boast, th[illegible] have modernised Japan. While I a[illegible] with them so far as to say, that the sp[illegible] the race should harmonise with the sp[illegible] of the time, I must warn them that [illegible] Wernising is a mere affectation of modern[illegible] just as affectation of poesy is poetising. [illegible] is nothing but mimicry,—only affectation [illegible] under than the original, and it is too [illegible] One must bear in mind, that those [illegible] have

the true modern spirit need not modern[illegible] just as those who are truly brave are [illegible] braggarts. Modernism is not in the d[illegible] of the Europeans; or in the hideous str[illegible]tures, where their children are inter[illegible] when they take their lessons; or in [illegible] square houses with flat straight wall-[illegible] faces, pierced with parallel lines of [illegible]dows, where these people are caged in th[illegible] lifetime; certainly modernism is not [illegible] their ladies' bonnets, carrying on th[illegible] loads of incongruities. These are [illegible] modern, but merely European. T[illegible] modernism is freedom of mind, not slav[illegible] of taste. It is independence of thought [illegible] action, not tutelage under Europ[illegible] school-masters. It is science, but not [illegible] wrong application in life,—a mere im[illegible]tion of our science teachers who redu[illegible] into a superstition absurdly invoking [illegible] aid for all impossible purposes.

I do not for a moment suggest, th[illegible] Japan should be unmindful of acqui[illegible] modern weapons of self-protection. [illegible] this should never be allowed to go bey[illegible] her instinct of self-preservation. She m[illegible] know that the real power is not in [illegible] weapons themselves, but in the man [illegible] wields those weapons; and when he, [illegible] his eagerness for power, multiplies [illegible] weapons at the cost of his own soul, th[illegible] it is he who is in even greater danger th[illegible] his enemies.

Things that are living are so ea[illegible] hurt; therefore they require protecti[illegible] In nature, life protects itself wi[illegible] coverings, which are built with life's o[illegible] material. Therefore they are in harm[illegible] with life's growth, or else when the t[illegible] comes they easily give way and [illegible] forgotten. The living man has his t[illegible] protection in his spiritual ideals, wh[illegible] have their vital connection with his [illegible] and grow with his growth. But, [illegible] fortunately, all his armour is not living [illegible] some of it is made of steel, inert [illegible] mechanical. Therefore, while making us[illegible] it, man has to be careful to protect him[illegible] from its tyranny. If he is weak enough [illegible] grow smaller to fit himself to his cover[illegible] then it becomes a process of grad[illegible] suicide by shrinkage of the soul. [illegible] Japan must have a firm faith in the m[illegible] law of existence to be able to asse[illegible] herself, that the Western nations [illegible] following that path of suicide, where [illegible] are smothering their humanity under [illegible] immense weight of organisations in [illegible]

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to keep themselves in power and hold others in subjection.

Therefore I cannot think that the imitation of the outward aspects of the West, which is becoming more and more evident in modern Japan, is essential to her strength or stability. It is burdening her true nature and causing weakness, which will be felt more deeply as time goes on. The habits, which are being formed by the modern Japanese from their boyhood,—the habits of the Western life, the habits of the alien culture,—will prove, one day, a serious obstacle to the understanding of their own true nature. And then, if the children of Japan forget their past, if they stand as barriers, choking the stream that flows from the mountain peak of their ancient history, their future will be deprived of the water of life that has made her culture so fertile with richness of beauty and strength.

What is still more dangerous for Japan is not this imitation of the outer features of the West, but the acceptance of the motive force of the Western civilisation as her own. Her social ideals are already showing signs of defeat at the hands of politics, and her modern tendency seems to incline towards political gambling in which the players stake their souls to win their game. I can see her motto, taken from science, "Survival of the Fittest," writ large at the entrance of her present-day history—the motto whose meaning is, "Help yourself, and never heed what it costs to others"; the motto of the blind man, who only believes in what he can touch, because he cannot see. But those who can see, know that men are so closely knit, that when you strike others the blow comes back to yourself. The moral law, which is the greatest discovery of man, is the discovery of this wonderful truth, that man becomes all the truer, the more he realises himself in others. This truth has not only a subjective value, but is manifested in every department of our life. And nations, who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism, will end their existence in a sudden and violent death. In past ages we had foreign invasions, there had been cruelty and bloodshed, intrigues of jealousy and avarice, but they never touched the soul of the people deeply; for the people, as a body, never participated in these games. They were merely the outcome of individual ambitions. The people themselves, being free from the responsibilities of the baser and more heinous side of those adventures, had all the advantage of the heroic and the human disciplines derived from them. This developed their unflinching loyalty, their single-minded devotion to the obligations of honour, their power of complete self-surrender and fearless acceptance of death and danger. Therefore the ideals, whose seats were in the hearts of the people, would not undergo any serious change owing to the policies adopted by the kings or generals. But now, where the spirit of the Western civilisation prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood, to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means,—by the manufacture of half-truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them, by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountain-head of humanity. It is discrediting the ideals, which were born of the lives of men, who were our greatest and best. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world. We can take anything else from the hands of science, but not this eli[illegible] of moral death. Never think fo[illegible] moment, that the hurts you inflict [illegible] other races will not infect you, [illegible] enmities you sow around your h[illegible] be a wall of protection to you f[illegible] to come. To imbue the minds [illegible] people with an abnormal [illegible] own superiority, to teach i[illegible] in its moral callousness [illegible] wealth, to perpetuate [illegible] feated nations by exhi[illegible] from war, and usi[illegible] order to breed in [illegible] tempt for other[illegible] where she has [illegible] swelling is a s[illegible] its vitality.

Our food [illegible] our sust[illegible] of select[illegible] which [illegible] lives [illegible] of

[illegible] in her [illegible] con- [illegible] again [illegible] one of her [illegible] out in her [illegible] she describes [illegible] or black. And [illegible] we in the East [illegible] our guilt and own [illegible] en as great, if not [illegible] insulted humanity by [illegible] er disdain and cruelty [illegible] ed to a particular creed, [illegible] It is really because we [illegible] our own weakness, which [illegible] to be overcome by the sight [illegible] that we try to substitute for it [illegible] weakness which makes itself blind [illegible] glories of the West. When we truly [illegible] the Europe which is great and good,

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of weeds; but it is easy, by process of neglect, to ruin your food crops and let them revert to their primitive state of wildness. Likewise the culture, which has so kindly adapted itself to your soil,—so intimate with life, so human,—not only needed tilling and weeding in past ages, but still needs anxious work and watching. What is merely modern,—as science and methods of organisation,—can be transplanted; but what is vitally human has fibres so delicate, and roots so numerous and far reaching, that it dies when moved from its soil. Therefore I am afraid of the rude pressure of the political ideals of the West upon your own. In political civilisation, the state is an abstraction and relationship of men utilitarian. Because it has no roots in sentiments, it is so dangerously easy to handle. Half a century has been enough for you to master this machine; and there are men among you, whose fondness for it exceeds their love for the living ideals which were born with the birth of your nation and nursed in your centuries. It is like a child, who, in the excitement of his play, imagines he likes his playthings better than his mother.

Where man is at his greatest, he is unconscious. Your civilisation, whose mainspring is the bond of human relationship, has been nourished in the depth of a healthy life beyond reach of prying self-analysis. But a mere political relation-[illegible] is all conscious; it is an eruptive in-[illegible]ation of aggressiveness. It has dead a[illegible]burst upon your notice. And the er truth [illegible]ome, when you have to be rous-such care[illegible] consciousness of the truth by greed, but [illegible]e, so that you may not be It would be a[illegible]. The past has been God's and to Europe, [illegible]t the present, you must nated the mode[illegible]ice.

mere exhibition o[illegible]ot you have to put to the smoke of cannon[illegible]t 'Have we read the the light of her mora[illegible]our relation to it bright, and she has brou[illegible]man nature? Is of ethical freedom, whose [illegible]ght, where she deeper than social conventi[illegible] behind the province of activity is world-[illegible]st of hu-

The East has instinctively [illegible] through her aversion, that she [illegible] is [illegible]ccent deal to learn from Europe, no[illegible] literssed about the materials of power, but [illegible]se wh[illegible] its inner source, which is of mind and

own side she can be safe, while the [illegible] of the world trembles. The vital amb[illegible] of the present civilisation of Europe [illegible] have the exclusive possession of the d[illegible] All her armaments and diplomacy [illegible] directed upon this one object. But th[illegible] costly rituals for invocation of the [illegible] spirit lead through a path of prosperity [illegible] the brink of cataclysm. The furies [illegible] terror, which the West has let loose [illegible] God's world, come back to threaten her [illegible] and goad her into preparations of m[illegible] and more frightfulness; this gives her [illegible] rest and makes her forget all else [illegible] the perils that she causes to others [illegible] incurs herself. To the worship of this d[illegible] of politics she sacrifices other countries [illegible] victims. She feeds upon their dead [illegible] and grows fat upon it, so long as [illegible] carcasses remain fresh,—but they are [illegible] to rot at last, and the dead will take th[illegible] revenge, by spreading pollution far [illegible] wide and poisoning the vitality of [illegible] feeder. Japan had all her wealth [illegible] humanity, her harmony of heroism [illegible] beauty, her depth of self-control [illegible] richness of self-expression; yet the West[illegible] nations felt no respect for her, till [illegible] proved that the bloodhounds of Satan [illegible] not only bred in the kennels of Europe, [illegible] can also be domesticated in Japan and [illegible] with man's miseries. They admit Japan [illegible] equality with themselves, only when th[illegible] know that Japan also possesses the key [illegible] open the floodgate of hell-fire upon the [illegible] earth, whenever she chooses, and [illegible] dance, in their own measure, the de[illegible] dance of pillage, murder, and ravishm[illegible] of innocent women, while the world g[illegible] to ruin. We know that, in the early sta[illegible] of man's moral immaturity, he only fe[illegible] reverence for the god whose malevolen[illegible] he dreads. But is this the ideal of m[illegible] which we can look up to with pride [illegible] After centuries of civilisation nation[illegible] fearing each other like the prowling w[illegible] beasts of the night time; shutting the[illegible] doors of hospitality; combining only f[illegible] purpose of aggression or defence; hidin[illegible] in their holes their trade secrets, sta[illegible] secrets, secrets of their armaments; makin[illegible] peace offerings to the barking dogs of ea[illegible] other with the meat which does not belo[illegible] to them; holding down fallen race[illegible] struggling to stand upon their feet; coun[illegible] ing their safety only upon the feebleness [illegible] the rest of humanity; with their rig[illegible] [illegible] dispensing religion to weak[illegible]

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peoples, while robbing them with their left,—is there anything in this to make us envious? Are we to bend our knees to the spirit of this civilisation, which is sowing broadcast over all the world seeds of fear, greed, suspicion, unashamed lies of its diplomacy, and unctuous lies of its profession of peace and good-will and universal brotherhood of Man? Can we have no doubt in our minds, when we rush to the Western market to buy this foreign product in exchange for our own inheritance? I am aware how difficult it is to know one's self; and the man, who is intoxicated, furiously denies his drunkenness; yet the West herself is anxiously thinking of her problems and trying experiments. But she is like a glutton, who has not the heart to give up his intemperance in eating, and fondly clings to the hope that he can cure his nightmares of indigestion by medicine. Europe is not ready to give up her political inhumanity, with all the baser passions of man attendant upon it; she believes only in modification of systems, and not in change of heart.

We are willing to buy their machine-made systems, not with our heart, but with our brains. We shall try them and build sheds for them, but not enshrine them in our homes, or temples. There are races, who worship the animals they kill; we can buy meat from them, when we are hungry, but not the worship which goes with the killing. We must not vitiate our children's minds with the superstition, that business is business, war is war, politics is politics. We must know that man's business has to be more than mere business, and so have to be his war and politics. You had your own industry in Japan; how scrupulously honest and true it was, you can see by its products,—by their grace and strength, their conscientiousness in details, where they can hardly be observed. But the tidal wave of falsehood has swept over your land from that part of the world, where business is business, and honesty is followed in it merely as the best policy. Have you never felt shame, when you see the trade advertisements, not only plastering the whole town with lies and exaggerations, but invading the green fields, where the peasants do their honest labour, and the hill-tops, which greet the first pure light of the morning? It is so easy to dull our sense of honour and delicacy of mind with constant abrasion, while falsehoods stalk abroad with proud steps in the name of trade, politics and patriotism, that any protest against their perpetual intrusion into our lives is considered to be sentimentalism, unworthy of true manliness.

And it has come to pass, that the children of those heroes, who would keep their word at the point of death, who would disdain to cheat men for vulgar profit, who even in their fight would much rather court defeat than be dishonourable, have become energetic in dealing with falsehoods and do not feel humiliated by gaining advantage from them. And this has been effected by the charm of the word 'modern.' But if undiluted utility be modern, beauty is of all ages; if mean selfishness be modern, the human ideals are no new inventions. And we must know for certain, that however modern may be the proficiency, which clips and cripples man for the sake of methods and machines, it will never live to be old.

But while trying to free our minds from the arrogant claims of Europe and to help ourselves out of the quicksands of our infatuation, we may go to the other extreme and blind ourselves with a wholesale suspicion of the West. The reaction of disillusionment is just as unreal as the first shock of illusion. We must try to come to that normal state of mind, by which we can clearly discern our ow[illegible] danger and avoid it, without being un[illegible] towards the source of that da[illegible] There is always the natural tempta[illegible] us of wishing to pay back Euro[illegible] own coin, and return contempt [illegible] tempt and evil for evil. But [illegible] would be to imitate Europe [illegible] worst features which con[illegible] behaviour to people who [illegible]e, and then as yellow or red, brow[illegible]n the sky, and this is a point on whi[illegible] at the meeting have to acknowledge [illegible] gliding by, fisher- that our sin has [illegible] the liquid, caressing greater, when we [illegible] water through the treating with u[illegible]e evening the calming men who belo[illegible] expanse of the waters colour or ca[illegible]e a child lulled to sleep, are afraid [illegible]tars in the boundless open allows its [illegible]ch; then, as I sit up on wake- of power [illegible] sleeping banks on both sides, anothe[illegible] broken only by the occasional to the[illegible] jackal in the woods near some kno[illegible]

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we can effectively save ourselves from the Europe which is mean and grasping. It is easy to be unfair in one's judgment when one is faced with human miseries,—and pessimism is the result of building theories while the mind is suffering. To despair of humanity is only possible, if we lose faith in the power which brings to it strength, when its defeat is greatest, and calls out new life from the depth of its destruction. We must admit that there is a living soul in the West which is struggling unobserved against the hugeness of the organisations under which men, women and children are being crushed, and whose mechanical necessities are ignoring laws that are spiritual and human, —the soul whose sensibilities refuse to be dulled completely by dangerous habits of heedlessness in dealings with races for whom it lacks natural sympathy. The West could never have risen to the eminence she has reached, if her strength were merely the strength of the brute, or of the machine. The divine in her heart is suffering from the injuries inflicted by her hands upon the world,—and from this pain of her higher nature flows the secret balm which will bring healing to those injuries. Time after time she has fought against herself and has undone the chains, which with her own hands she had fastened round helpless limbs; and though she forced poison down [illegible]e throat of a great nation at the point [illegible]he sword for gain of money, she herself [illegible] up to withdraw from it, to wash [illegible]ds clean again. This shows hidden [illegible]of humanity in spots which look [illegible]barren. It proves that the deep-[illegible]er nature, which can survive [illegible]f cruel cowardliness, is not [illegible]rence for unselfish ideals. [illegible]gether unjust, both to us [illegible] say that she has fasci-[illegible] Eastern mind by the [illegible]er power. Through [illegible]nd dust of markets [illegible]nature has shone [illegible]t to us the ideal [illegible]oundation lies [illegible]s and whose [illegible]ide.

Early [illegible] bed, I he[illegible] place sendi[illegible] Ulu !* The [illegible] though it is d[illegible]

Perhaps su[illegible] in mind of the g[illegible] ivity which goes [illegible] most of which the [illegible] connection. What a[illegible] what a vast concourse [illegible] how few has one any re[illegible] tant sounds of life, wafted [illegible] the tidings of unknown hom[illegible] individual realise that the grea[illegible]

felt, even [illegible] a great [illegible] merely [illegible] bout [illegible] of

* A peculiar shrill cheer given by women [illegible] picious or festive occasions.

the moral nature of man. Europe [illegible] been teaching us the higher obligations [illegible] public good above those of the family [illegible] the clan, and the sacredness of law, wh[illegible] makes society independent of individ[illegible] caprice, secures for it continuity of pr[illegible] gress, and guarantees justice to all [illegible] of all positions in life. Above all thi[illegible] Europe has held high before our mi[illegible] the banner of liberty, through centur[illegible] of martyrdom and achievement,—liber[illegible] of conscience, liberty of thought and acti[illegible] liberty in the ideals of art and literat[illegible] And because Europe has won our deep [illegible] pect, she has become so dangerous for [illegible] where she is turbulently weak and false [illegible] dangerous like poison when it is served alo[illegible] with our best food. There is one safe[illegible] for us upon which we hope we may cou[illegible] and that is, that we can claim Euro[illegible] herself, as our ally, in our resistance to [illegible] temptations and to her violent encroa[illegible] ments; for she has ever carried her o[illegible] standard of perfection, by which we c[illegible] measure her falls and gauge her degrees [illegible] failure, by which we can call her befo[illegible] her own tribunal and put her to shame [illegible] the shame which is the sign of the tr[illegible] pride of nobleness.

But our fear is, that the poison may [illegible] more powerful than the food, and what [illegible] strength in her to-day may not be t[illegible] sign of health, but the contrary; for [illegible] may be temporarily caused by the ups[illegible] ting of the balance of life. Our fear is th[illegible] evil has a fateful fascination, when [illegible] assumes dimensions which are colossal [illegible] and though at last it is sure to lose i[illegible] centre of gravity, by its abnormal di[illegible] proportion, the mischief which it creat[illegible] before its fall may be beyond reparation.

Therefore I ask you to have the streng[illegible] of faith and clarity of mind to know [illegible] certain, that the lumbering structure [illegible] modern progress, riveted by the iron bol[illegible] of efficiency, which runs upon the whee[illegible] of ambition, cannot hold together for long [illegible] Collisions are certain to occur; for it h[illegible] to travel upon organised lines, it is to[illegible] heavy to choose its own course freely; an[illegible] once it is off the rails, its endless train [illegible] vehicles is dislocated. A day will com[illegible] when it will fall in a heap of ruin an[illegible] cause serious obstruction to the traffic [illegible] the world. Do we not see signs of th[illegible] even now? Does not the voice come to [illegible] through the din of war, the shrieks [illegible] hatred, the wailings of despair, throu[illegible]

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the churning up of the unspeakable filth which has been accumulating for ages in the bottom of this civilisation,—the voice which cries to our soul, that the tower of national selfishness, which goes by the name of patriotism, which has raised its banner of treason against heaven, must totter and fall with a crash, weighed down by its own bulk, its flag kissing the dust, its light extinguished? My brothers, when the red light of conflagration sends up its crackle of laughter to the stars, keep your faith upon those stars and not upon the fire of destruction. For when this conflagration consumes itself and dies down, leaving its memorial in ashes, the eternal light will again shine in the East,—the East which has been the birth-place of the morning sun of man's history. And who knows if that day has not already dawned, and the sun not risen, in the Easternmost horizon of Asia? And I offer, as did my ancestor rishis, my salutation to that sunrise of the East, which is destined once again to illumine the whole world.

I know my voice is too feeble to raise itself above the uproar of this bustling time, and it is easy for any street urchin to fling against me the epithet of 'unpractical.' It will stick to my coat-tail, never to be washed away, effectively excluding me from the consideration of all respectable persons. I know what a risk one runs from the vigorously athletic crowds to be styled an idealist in these days, when thrones have lost their dignity and prophets have become an anachronism, when the sound that drowns all voices is the noise of the market-place. Yet when, one day, standing on the outskirts of Yokohama town, bristling with its display of modern miscellanies, I watched the sunset in your southern sea, and saw its peace and majesty among your pine-clad hills,—with the great Fujiyama growing faint against the golden horizon, like a god overcome with his own radiance,—the music of eternity welled up through the evening silence, and I felt that the sky and the earth and the lyrics of the dawn and the dayfall are with the poets and idealists, and not with the marketsmen robustly contemptuous of all sentiments,—that, after the forgetfulness of his own divinity, man will remember again that heaven is always in touch with his world, which can never be abandoned for good to the hounding wolves of the modern era, scenting human blood and howling to the skies.

LETTERS

Extracts from old letters of Rabindranath Tagore.

(*Specially Translated for the Modern Review*).

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(55)

On the way to Goalundo,
21st June : 1892.

have been sailing along the whole day. It surprises me that, though I have so often passed this way and enjoyed the peculiar pleasure there is in floating along between the two banks of a river, yet a few days on shore makes it impossible to recall it exactly.

This sitting all by myself and gazing on and on, as an endless variety of pictures of sand banks, fields of crops and villages

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come into sight on either
pass away ; clouds floating
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men catching fish, ar
sounds made by
livelong day ; in
down of the bro
into stillness, l
while all the
sky keep wa
ful nights
the silen
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ating to the men
or the mast might
own on their heads)
nick of time, hurried
took me off, and then
our boat by towing at
te direction. Meanwhile
imped off, with the end of a
eth, and swam to the bank,
e tugged the boat away from
with the assistance of the crowd
d assembled.
all said that Allah had saved us ;

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village, and the splash made by fragments of the high cliff-like bank which tumble into the water, as the keen current of the Padma cuts its way further and further underneath ;—these ever-changing pictures flit by, while a corresponding stream of fancy flows within, banked on either side with picture after picture of fresh desire.

Not that the outside view is always of particular interest,—a yellowish sandbank, innocent of grass or tree, stretches away ; an empty boat is tied to its edge ; the bluish water, of the same shade as the hazy sky, flows past ;—yet I cannot tell how it moves me. I suspect that the old desires and longings of my servant-ridden childhood,—when in the solitary imprisonment of my room I pored over the Arabian Nights, and shared with Sindbad the Sailor his adventures in many a strange land,—are not yet dead within me and these became roused into activity at the sight of the empty boat tied to the sandbank.

If I had not heard fairy tales and read the Arabian Nights and Robinson Crusoe in my childhood, I am sure views of distant banks, or the furthest edge of fields, would not have stirred me so,—the whole world, in fact, would have had for me a different aspect.

What a maze of fancy and fact becomes tangled-up within the mind of man ! How the different strands—petty and great—of story and event and picture get knotted together !

56

Shelidah,
22nd June : 1892.

Early [illegible] bed, I he[illegible]is morning, while still lying in place sendi[illegible] the women at the bathing Ulu !* The [illegible]forth joyous peals of Ulu ! though it is d[illegible]nd moved me curiously,

Perhaps su[illegible]ult to say why.

in mind of the gr[illegible]yful outbursts put one ivity which goes [illegible] stream of festive actmost of which the [illegible]n this world, with connection. What a[illegible]idual man has no what a vast concourse [illegible] immense world, how few has one any re[illegible]men, yet with tant sounds of life, wafted [illegible]ionship ! Distant the tidings of unknown hom[illegible]ear, bearing individual realise that the grea[illegible] make the [illegible]r part of

* A peculiar shrill cheer given by women [illegible] picious or festive occasions.

[illegible]on aus-

the world of men does not, cannot, o[illegible] know him ; then he feels so deserte[illegible] loosely attached to the world, occup[illegible] so little room in so remote a corner ; a vague sadness creeps over him.

Thus these cries of Ulu ! Ulu ! made life, past and future, seem like a long, road, from the very ends of which sounds were coming to me. And this ing colours for me the beginning of day.

As soon as the manager with his and the *ryots* seeking audience, come the scene, this faint vista of past future will be promptly elbowed out, a very robust present will salute and before me.

(57)

Shazadpu[illegible]
27th June : 1[illegible]

Yesterday, in the afternoon, it cam[illegible] so threateningly, I felt a sense of te[illegible] I do not remember ever to have seen be[illegible] such angry looking clouds.

Swollen masses of the deepest in[illegible] blue were piled, one on the top of the o[illegible] over the edge of the sky looking like puffed out moustaches of some ra[illegible] demon.

Through the jagged edges of the cl[illegible] where they met the furthest line of horizon, there shone forth a blood-glare, as from the eyes of a monstr[illegible] sky-filling bison with tossing mane head lowered in fury to strike the earth

The crops on the fields and the leave[illegible] the trees trembled for fear of impen[illegible] disaster ; shudder after shudder through the waters ; the crows flew w[illegible] about, distractedly cawing.

(58)

Shazadpu[illegible]
25th June : 1[illegible]

In to-day's letters there was a to[illegible] about A———'s singing, which made heart yearn with a nameless longing. E[illegible] of the little joys of life, which remain appreciated amid the hubbub of the to[illegible] send in their claims to the heart when from home. I love music so, and there no dearth of voices and instruments Calcutta, yet I turn a deaf ear to th[illegible] But, though I may fail to realise it at time, this needs must leave the h[illegible] athirst.

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As I read to-day's letters, I felt such a poignant desire to hear A———'s sweet song, I was at once sure that, of the many suppressed longings of creation which cry out for fulfillment, this was one. Our lives are famished for want of neglected joys within our reach, while we are busy pursuing chimerical impossibilities. . . .

The emptiness left by easy joys, untasted, is ever growing in my life. And the day may come when I shall feel that, could I but get back the past, I would strive no more for the unattainable, but drain to the full these little, unsought, everyday joys which life has to offer.

(59)

Shazadpur,
29th June : 1892.

I wrote yesterday that I had an engagement with Kalidas, the poet, for this evening. As I lit a candle, drew my chair up to the table, and made ready, not Kalidas, but the postmaster, walked in. A live postmaster cannot but claim precedence over a dead poet, so I could not very well tell him to make way for Kalidas, who was due by appointment,—he would not have understood me had I made such a request. Therefore I offered him a chair and gave old Kalidas the go by.

There is a kind of bond between this postmaster and me. When the post office was in a part of this estate building, and I used to meet him every day, I wrote my story of The Postmaster one afternoon in this very room. And when the story was put in the *Hitabadi*, he came to me with a succession of bashful smiles, as he deprecatingly touched upon the subject. Anyhow, I like the man. He has a fund of anecdote which I enjoy listening to. He has also a sense of humour.

Though it was late when the postmaster left, I started at once on the *Raghuvansa*,* and read all about the *Swayamvara*† of Indumati.

The handsome, gaily adorned princes are seated on rows of thrones in the assembly hall. Suddenly a blast of conch-shell and trumpet resounds, as Indumati, in bridal robes, supported by Sunanda, is ushered in and stands in the passage between them. It was delightful to dwell on the picture.

Then as Sunanda introduces to her each one of the suitors, Indumati bows low in loveless salutation, and passes on. How beautiful is this humble courtesy! They are all princes. They are all her seniors, for she is a mere girl. Had she not atoned for the inevitable rudeness of her rejection by the grace of her humility, the scene would have lost its beauty.

(60)

Shelidah,
20th July: 1892.

I nearly lost my life a while ago.

I was coming from Panti to Shelidah. There was a good breeze to which the boat was sailing along at a great rate. The river was an immense sheet of water, at the height of the rainy season, and big waves rolled by which I was watching from time to time and then going on with my work.

At about half-past ten, the Gorai Bridge came in sight, and the crew began speculating whether there was sufficient headway for the mast to get through. They were not anxious; for we were going against the current, and the boat could easily be stopped by simply lowering the sail, should the mast eventually prove too high.

But as we came up we discovered not only that the mast would not clear the bridge, but that a whirl had been set up which reversed the current on this side of the river. It was evident that we were in a critical situation, but there was no time even to think. Before we could stir, the boat was on the bridge, and the mast, which had fouled the girder, creaking and groaning with the strain, was making the boat heel over.

As I kept helplessly shouting to the men to get out of the way (for the mast might at any moment crash down on their heads) a passing boat, in the nick of time, hurried up to the rescue and took me off, and then eased the strain on our boat by towing at it in the opposite direction. Meanwhile the boatman jumped off, with the end of a rope in his teeth, and swam to the bank, from which he tugged the boat away from the bridge with the assistance of the crowd which had assembled.

They all said that Allah had saved us;

* A drama by Kalidas, who is perhaps best known to European readers as the author of *Sakuntala*.

† An old Indian custom according to which a princess chooses among assembled rival suitors for her husband by placing a garland round the neck of the one whose love she returns.

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for the boat did not appear to have any chance of surviving the shock. That is just the way with material forces. There was the contact of wood and iron overhead, and the push of water underneath, and but one conclusion seemed inevitable; for neither would the water stop for a moment, nor the mast lower its height by a hair's breadth, nor the iron bridge yield an inch from its position, in spite of all our complaining and protesting.

(61)

Shelidah,
21st July: 1892.

I arrived at Shelidah last evening and am off this morning to Pabna. The river is in full flood. It is racing along like a wild horse, with tossing mane and waving tail, and its swelling waves are rocking us along. The motion is delightfully exhilarating.

The abounding wealth of sound of this brimming, rushing river is impossible to describe. It is beside itself with irrepressible liquid gurglings, as though overcome by the first impetuous onrush of youth. And yet, so far, it has only been the *Gorai;* we have yet to fall into the *Padma*, whose banks must be utterly out of sight. That hoyden is doubtless still more mad, and there is no holding her within any sort of bounds. She reminds me of Kali, the goddess, with dishevelled locks, out to dance the dance of destruction.

The rains have given the current a new "edge", says the boatman,—a very apt description; for it is like nothing so much as keen steel, hacking away at its banks as destructively as the whirling blades on the wheels of the war chariots of the ancient Britons.

Yesterday's accident was indeed a serious one. I actually said 'how d'you do' to King Yama*. We do not realise that death is a next-door neighbour, till we come across an event of this kind. Even the event itself is not much good as a reminder, for I have already forgotten the face of him whom I caught a glimpse of yesterday.

Though we do not think of Death till he is actually an unwelcome guest, he is always inquiring after us from behind the scenes. However, I beg leave to tell him, with my *salaams*, that I do not care a rap whether he raises waves from beneath, blows a storm down from the sky; sail will be up! His worst is well kn —let him do it; I refuse to make an ou

(62)

Shelidah,
3rd Bhadra (August): 1

Ah, the beautiful autumn morn how they pour honey on the senses! breeze is as sweet as the song of the bi

To see the golden sunshine over smiling, rain-washed country along brimming river, makes one feel that resplendent god is courting this beaut earth of ours in the first blush of youth; and for that shines this sun, the breeze blows, and thrills pass thro the fields and the leaves of the trees. that, too, is this depth of fullness in river, this softness of verdure over land, this pure brilliance of blue in the and this prevailing spirit of half dre half ecstacy.

As love makes even the biggest conc of the world dwindle into insignificanc in the presence of the presiding spiri this place the hustle and bustle, the h and worry of Calcutta seem so trivia very distant. The sky, the light, the the song, which surround me here, s to be etherialising me and drawing me themselves, as if One had taken up whole of me on His brush and was t with giving one more touch of colo the gorgeous autumn scene, addin rapturous flush to all this blue and g and gold. I am enjoying it all so muc

'*I know not what my heart wants,*' line I feel ashamed to repeat, and w not have repeated in Calcutta. But it is somehow different, and though it sound like unmitigated poetizing, seems no harm in saying it. Many old poems, which in Calcutta seem fit to be thrown into the fire of ridi blossom out, when brought here, into bud and leaf and flower.

63.

Shelidah,
20th August: 1

"If only I could live there!" is ofte thought when looking at a beautiful scape painting. That is the kind of ing which is satisfied here, where one as if living in a brilliantly coloured pi with none of the hardness of re

* God of death.

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When a child, illustrations of woodland and sea, in Paul and Virginia, or Robinson Crusoe, would waft me away from the everyday world; and the sunshine here brings back to my mind the feeling with which I used to gaze on those pictures.

I cannot account for this exactly, or explain definitely what kind of longing it is which is roused within me. It seems like the throb of some current flowing through the artery connecting me with the larger world. I feel as if dim, distant memories come to me of the time when I was one with the rest of the earth; when on me grew the green grass, and on me fell the autumn light; when a warm scent of youth would rise from every pore of my vast, soft green body at the touch of the rays of the mellow sun; and a fresh life, a sweet joy, would be half-consciously secreted and inarticulately poured forth from all the immensity of my being, as it lay dumbly stretched, with its varied countries and seas and mountains, under the bright blue sky.

My feelings seem to be those of our ancient earth in the daily ecstacy of its sun-kissed life; my own consciousness seems to stream through each blade of grass, each sucking rootlet, to rise with the sap through the trees, to break out with joyous thrills in the waving fields of corn, in the rustling palm leaves.

I feel impelled to give expression to my blood tie with the earth, my kinsman's love for her; but I am afraid I shall not be understood by all,—they will think it a grotesque idea.

64.

Boalia,
18th November: 1892.

I was wondering where your train has got to by now. This is the time for the sun to rise over the ups and downs of the treeless, rocky region near Nawadih station. The scene around there must be brightened by the fresh sunlight through which distant blue hills are beginning to be faintly visible. Cultivated fields are scarcely to be seen, except where the primitive tribesmen have done a little ploughing with their buffaloes; on each side of the railway cutting there are the heaped up black rocks; the boulder-marked footprints of dried up streams; and the fidgety black wag-tails, perched along the telegraph wires. A wild, seamed and scarred nature lies there in the sun, as though tamed at the touch of some soft, bright, cherubic hand.

Do you know the picture which this calls up for me? In the *Sakuntala* of Kalidas there is a scene where Bharat, the infant son of King Dushyanta, is playing with a lion cub. The child is lovingly passing his delicate, rosy fingers through the shaggy fur of the great beast, which lies quietly stretched in trustful repose, now and then casting affectionate glances out of the corner of its eyes at its little human friend.

And shall I tell you what the dry boulder-strewn water courses put me in mind of? We read in the English fairy tale of the Bades in the Wood, how the little brother and sister left a trace of their wanderings, through the unknown forest into which their step-mother had turned them out, by dropping pebbles as they went. These little streamlets are like lost babes in this great world, into which they are sent adrift, and that is why they leave stones, as they go forth, to mark their little course, so as not to lose their way when they may be returning. But for them there is no return journey!

65.

Natore,
2nd December: 1892.

What depth of feeling and breadth of peace there is in a Bengal sunset amidst the trees which fringe the endless solitary fields, spreading away to the horizon.

How lovingly, and sadly withal, does our evening sky bend over and meet the earth in the distance! The mournful light, which it casts on the earth it leaves behind, gives us a taste of the divine grief of the Eternal Separation; and eloquent is the silence which dwells over earth, sky and waters.

As I gaze on in rapt motionlessness, I fall to wondering,—if ever this silence should fail to contain itself, if the expression it has been seeking from the beginning of time should ever pierce its way through, then what a profoundly solemn, what a poignantly moving, music would rise from earth to starland!

With a little steadfast concentration of effort, we can translate for ourselves, into music, the grand harmony of light and colour which permeates the universe. We have only to close our eyes and receive

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with the ear of the mind the vibrations of this ever-flowing panorama.

But how often shall I write of these sunsets and sunrises? I feel their renewed freshness every time; but how am I to get such renewed freshness for my attempts at expression?

(66)

Shelidah,
9th December: 1892.

I get back my peace of mind after many days, now that I am once more in my boat, alone. We are going along with the tide and a good breeze also fills our sail.

The winter's day has been slightly warmed by the afternoon sun. There is not another boat on the river. The distant sandbank is looking like a yellow streak between the blue of the sky and the blue of the water. I am reclining by the open window, enjoying the gentle breeze playing over my head.

I am feeling weak and relaxed after my painful illness, and in this state the ministrations of nature are sweet indeed. I feel as if, like the rest, I too am lazily glittering out my delight at the rays of the sun, and my letter writing progresses but absent mindedly.

Every time I start for my journey on the *Padma*, I have a great fear lest it should have become stale. But as soon as the boat casts off, and the ripples lap up all round it, then a tremor in light and air, a murmur of sound in the sky, a spread of blue, a line of fresh green, a veritable riot of song and dance and beauty is disclosed on every side and my heart is captivated afresh.

The world is ever new to me, like a loved old friend of this and former births, the acquaintance between us being both long and deep.

I can well realise how, in ages past, when the earth in her first youth came forth from her sea bath, and saluted the sun in prayer, I must have been one of the trees sprung from her new-formed soil, spreading its foliage in all the freshness of first life.

The great sea was rocking and swaying, and smothering, like a foolishly fond mother, its first-born land with repeated caresses; while I was drinking in the sunlight with the whole of my being, quivering under the blue sky with the unreasoning rapture of the new-born, holding fast and sucking away at my mother earth with all my roots. In blissful joy all my leaves burst forth and my flowers bloomed; and when the dark clouds gathered, their grateful shade would comfort me with a tender touch.

From age to age, thereafter, have I been differently reborn on this earth. So whenever we now sit face to face, alone together, various memories of the old days, one after another, gradually come back to me.

My mother earth sits to day in the cornfields by the river side, in her raiment of sunlit gold, and near her feet, her knees her lap, I roll about and play. Mother of a multitude of children, she attends both absently to their constant calls upon her with an immense patience, but also with a certain aloofness. And so, to day, my mother earth is seated there, with her face away look towards the edge of the afternoon sky, while I keep chattering on untiringly.

(67)

Balia,
Tuesday, February: 1893.

I feel I do not want to wander about any more. I am pining for a corner in which to nestle down snugly, away from the crowd.

India has two aspects,—being in one a *Grihasta*, in the other a *Sannyasin*.* The former refuses to budge from his corner in his home, the latter has no home at all. I find both these within me. A cosy corner attracts me; yet I respond to the call of the world outside. I want to roam about and see all the wide world, yet I also yearn for a little sheltered nook, like a bird with its tiny nest for a dwelling, and the vast sky for flight.

I hanker after a corner only because it serves to bring calmness to my mind. My mind really wants to be incessantly busy, but in making the attempt it knocks up so often against the crowd at every step, that it gets utterly frenzied and keeps buffetting me from within its cage. If only it is allowed a little leisurely solitude, it can look about, think away to

* Grihasta is the stage of Householder in Hindu life, Sannyasin the stage of the homeless Ascetic.

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its heart's content, and express its feelings to its own satisfaction.

This freedom of solitude is what my mind is fretting for, day and night; it would be alone with its imaginings, as the Creator broods over His own creation.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIMCHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

KRISHNAKANTA'S death was lamented by young and old; for although like most rich men he was proud of his wealth and power, he was charitable, kind and well-meaning, and always ready to help any one in trouble. So his death, as might be expected, produced a great sensation in the village. A great man had passed away, said some. Others declared that the village had lost in him a friend and protector. There was one, an old man, who in somewhat poetic language observed that in time of trouble he was their chief refuge while generally speaking he might be compared to the charitable banian whose thick foliage and long out-spreading branches afford a cool shade to weary and sun-smitten travellers on the way.

Krishnakanta's loss was greatly felt by his relations; most of all by Bhramar. She was sent for by her mother-in-law a day or two after this sad event, for she must not now be allowed to stay away at her father's. When she arrived she wept aloud for Krishnakanta.

On any other occasion Bhramar would have resolved to have that unpleasant matter—the matter touching Rohini—out of her husband even though it might have been thought likely to lead to a scene, but this was not the time, and her heart was full of sorrow. On her arrival she was crying, and she cried bitterly when she saw her husband. Gobindalal too shed tears plentifully, for by his uncle's death the family sustained a heavy domestic loss.

Both Bhramar and Gobindalal concluded that before the matter could be settled they must wait until the customary period of mourning was over. "Bhramar," said Gobindalal one day in tones of great regret, "I want to talk to you, but we must wait a few days."

She felt as though she would cry. With an effort, however, she checked her emotion. "Just as you please," she only said.

That day passed. The sun rose and sank and rose and sank again, and many times after that. But no one perceived that a change had come over Bhramar. No one knew that a cloud hung over her mind, that a cankerworm had got into her to eat into her vitals. She was very different from what she used to be. On her face was missed that smile which was once her own. Yet she smiled, and Gobindalal smiled. But where was the smile which belonged to them in the days past, and which seemed to spring from the very core of their hearts? Where was the smile which at one time seemed to say they were very happy and could never be more happy? Then Bhramar was proud that she had a husband so handsome and so very kind and loving. Then Gobindalal was thankful and happy in the thought that he had a wife so devoted and so very good. But these feelings were replaced by a coolness to which they had been strangers before.

They were not what they used to be. There was something strange in their behaviour in all things. They talked little if at all, and were often at a loss to know what to say, though not long before they had a world of things to say, and never tired of talking. There was now to be marked an absence of that love which was strikingly noticeable in all their actions before. Often from his gloom, which was so trying to him, Gobindalal loved to seek refuge in the comforting thought of Rohini. Poor Bhramar! she in her anguish called

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upon Death to take her, for she had no peace, no happiness in her.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Krishnakanta's *sraddha** went off happily. It was performed in a grand style. Heaps of money were expended. Feasts were held for days together, and largesses were given to Brahmans in a bountiful manner. To poor people cloths were distributed, and lots of money were given away in alms. Those who were friends of Krishnakanta declared that not less than a lac of rupees was spent; some again, who were not very well disposed towards him, observed that the expenditure could not have exceeded twenty thousand rupees, even taking the most liberal view of it. The actual sum expended, however, was a little over fifty thousand.

For some days there was great bustle and excitement in the village. Haralal had come home; and being the eldest son of his father, according to the rule the *sraddha* ceremony was gone through by him.

After it was over Haralal wanted to look at the fresh will made by his late father. The will was read out in the presence of a few friends and relations. Although it seemed that Haralal had a design, there were so many witnesses to the will that it was useless for him to try to carry it out. So one day without any more ado he left the house and was gone.

"I bring you good news," said Gobindalal to his wife.

"What good news?" asked Bhramar as she looked up, wondering what was coming.

"You have had the half share of the property. It has been given you by will."

"No! You are the lord of it."

"Properly speaking I have nothing to do with it," said Gobindalal.

"But what is mine is yours, and what is yours is mine; you cannot deny it," she said.

"It won't do for you to talk like this, Bhramar. There is a deal of difference between you and me nowadays."

"Oh, how could you say so!" she said. "You pain my heart to talk like this."

"But the property is yours," he said. "I will not live on your bounty. I will not be a burden on you, I say."

His words pained her extremely; but presently she felt a pride swelling in her heart. "What do you mean to do then?" she said, looking up to his face.

"I will earn my own bread," said Gobindalal.

"Earn your bread! what do you mean?"

"I mean I will work for my bread, and I do not mind going to any distant part of the world to earn it."

"But the property," said Bhramar, "was acquired by your father, and as you are his heir, not I, your uncle had no right to dispose of it in the way he had done. The will is illegal and cannot stand. I do not speak my own views on the subject, but this is the opinion of my father who asserted that the will was illegal."

"Why, do you mean to say that my uncle's procedure was illegal and wrong? I am sure he knew better. And since he has given the property to you, it is properly and legally yours, and I have no right whatsoever to it."

"Well, if you think so I am ready to make it over to you in writing," she said.

"And am I sneakingly to accept the gift at your hands?"

"Sneakingly! Oh, what is this you say! You know that I am but your servant."

"It is all very fine to say that; but words will not mend matters now, I tell you."

"Oh, what have I done! I was given in marriage to you when I was a little girl, and now I am seventeen. And all these years I have been with you, knowing nothing but you. Under your tender care I have grown, and you have been ever so fond of me. What have I done that you are so hard upon me? Oh, tell me what I have done."

"You know—you remember it well," said Gobindalal.

"Oh, I am very sorry I went to my father's. I went because I was angry with you—my own husband. But I am very sorry for it. I ask a thousand pardons. Will you not forgive me? Oh, I know nothing beyond you."

And Bhramar fell at her husband's feet and wept.

Gobindalal spoke not a word. There was his wife a supplicant at his feet

* A rite or ceremony in which balls of rice are offered to the dead man, and a feast is given to fellow-castemen and others.

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entreating him to take pity and forgive her, but he spoke not a word. He was thinking of Rohini. How beautiful and clever she was! And what was Bhramar by her side? What recommendation had she save that she was a good and gentle girl? But he did not mean to forsake her; he wanted only to live apart from her for a time. And Rohini—he could throw her over any moment when he had got tired of her.

"Oh, have pity on me," entreated Bhramar, her eyes bathed in tears. "Speak a kind word, oh, do. O God! and this was in store for me!"

Her appeal surely rose to heaven, but Gobindalal paid no heed to it.

"Oh, speak but one kind word," she urged again. "Will you not?"

"I want to leave you," said Gobindalal deliberately, and steeling his heart against all pity.

She was stunned. She said no more. She rose from her lowly position; paused; moved up to the door. Going out she stumbled, fell down and swooned away.

CHAPTER XXIX.

"What have I done that you want to leave me?" This question Bhramar never put to Gobindalal, but after the scene described in the preceding pages this was upon her mind night and day. Gobindalal too asked himself what her fault was. Bhramar was surely in the wrong, he thought, for she ought to have considered before she wrote such a sharp letter to him. We will, however, give the debate that he had with his conscience.

Gobindalal. Her fault is she was jealous. And isn't it quite as bad as anything?

Conscience. Hadn't she a good reason to be jealous? You cannot deny your illicit connection with Rohini.

G. When she first had her suspicions I was quite innocent.

C. Yes; but in your mind you knew you were guilty. And since by your conduct you gave your wife reason to be jealous as much before as after committing yourself to evil, could she have been anything but jealous?

G. But it seems to me that had she not been jealous I should never have gone wrong. Do we not sometimes drive an honest man to go astray by giving him a bad name?

C. The fault then, in your opinion, lies not at the door of him who goes to the bad, but him who gives him a bad name. Nice argument this!

G. Nice or not nice, I am sure she ought never to have gone to her father's since she was told that I was coming home and was on the way. Besides I think she could never have found it in her heart to write such a stinging letter to me if she had had the least regard for my feelings.

C. If she knew that she had had good grounds for her suspicion she was perfectly justified in acting as she had done. Can a wife see her husband go wrong and not resent it?

G. But she knew nothing for certain; and she acted on a mere rumour, which she should not have done. She ought to have asked me.

C. And did you care to ask her?

G. I did not.

C. Then how could you hold her wrong for never telling her suspicions to you? But that's not it. I will tell you what it really is.

G. And that is?

C. It is just this. You took a fancy to Rohini, and so you wished in your mind to get her. But why did Krishnakanta give your share of the property to your wife? Because, besides feeling sure she would soon want to make it over to you, he hoped that such a step might open your eyes to your folly and win you back from the path you are treading.

G. She does want to make it over to me, but I will not accept it, not I.

C. Why? The property is yours. It was acquired by your late father, and you are his heir.

G. But since my uncle, on his deathbed, bestowed it upon her, it is no longer mine.

C. Your uncle had no right to bestow it upon your wife. He knew that very well; but he did so, thinking it might disenchant you, as I have said, and make you turn from the path you are pursuing.

G. But I will not stoop to accept a gift from my wife. I had much rather starve than do so.

C. In other words you would sooner give up your wife and give up your property than lose Rohini. Well, then go your way. If you are resolved upon your ruin no one can help it.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Gobindalal's mother had heard of her son's irregularities. She had noticed his apathetic behaviour to his wife, but she cared not to try to set things to rights again. The fact was she had become jealous and illdisposed towards her daughter-in-law for the reason of her son's share of the property being made over to her. She might have cared to do everything for her had she been able to see that in disposing, as he had done, of Gobindalal's share of the property Krishnakanta had been actuated by nothing but an anxious earnestness to correct his nephew. She thought that henceforth she was to be dependent on her daughter-in-law; that she was to have no will of her own, but to bend in all things to hers, which she could never bear. For this reason she resolutely made up her mind to pass the remaining days of her life in the holy place, Benares. On another occasion when she had expressed a desire to go and live there Gobindalal had opposed. Now when she spoke her mind to him he readily and gladly consented to take her up there.

On the very day that she had a talk with her son, Bhramar went to her father's for a few days. When she expressed her wish to go on a visit to her parents her mother-in-law made no objection, but willingly consented to her going. While his wife was away Gobindalal raised upwards of a lac of rupees by disposing of a few jewels of his own, and also by effecting, under the rose, the sale of a small estate, which he held in his own name. Afterwards having fixed an auspicious day for their departure he wrote to inform his wife of it, asking her to come at once. Bhramar made not a day's delay, but came directly on receipt of her husband's letter. On her arrival she entreated her mother-in-law with tears in her eyes not to leave her alone. She said she was but a raw and ignorant girl and knew nothing of housekeeping, and that if she went she should keenly feel her absence in all things. Her mother-in-law by way of comforting her said that after she was gone her daughter would take care of her and help her with her advice in all household affairs. "Besides," she added, "you have now become the mistress of the house, and you must not flinch from your duty however onerous it may at first seem to you. Come, dry your tears, and don't make yourself miserable for nothing." But Bhramar kept crying and would not be comforted.

Presently she rose and went to seek her husband. A vague fear that this might be their last meeting troubled her very much. Finding him, and falling at his feet, weeping, she said, "You are going to accompany mother; tell me, oh, tell me, I pray, when I may expect you back."

"That I cannot tell. But I have a very great mind to return," he said.

She stifled a pang. She gulped down a sob that rose in her throat. "What do I care?" she said to herself, springing to her feet abruptly. "I can take poison and get rid of my trouble for ever."

The day on which they were to start soon came. The railway station where they were to take train was about two miles from their village. The auspicious hour for their departure was at hand, and the porters were busied in taking out the trunks and other baggage to carry them to the station. Such of the servants as were to accompany their mistress were ordered to keep ahead and walk with the porters. The women of the neighbourhood were assembled to see Gobindalal's mother depart; and they shed tears with her daughter because she was going to leave them and her home for ever. It was soon time to depart. She went and bowed down before their household god; and great was her emotion when, kissing her daughter, and bidding her neighbours farewell, she seated herself in the palanquin to be borne to the station, leaving Gobindalal to follow.

Meanwhile Gobindalal went to take leave of his wife. On entering her room he found her in tears. "Bhramar," said he, "I am going to accompany mother."

She quickly brushed away her tears. "Mother is going to live permanently at Benares. And you—are you not going to return?" she said.

Gobindalal made no answer; he was rather surprised at the manner of her putting the question. His wife, receiving no answer, said again, "You have often told me there is nothing like being truthful. Tell me truly when you will be back. I am sure you will not tell a falsehood."

"Well, I don't like to hoax anyone," said. "Truth to say, I have no mind to return."

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"Why have you no mind? Will you not tell me?"

"Since you ask me I must tell you that I hate to be a hanger-on."

"Oh, how you pain me to talk like this!"

"Maybe I do. But did you ever care to think that you were taking an unadvised step when you went to your father's?"

"I didn't, and I repented for it afterwards. I fell at your feet and craved your pardon. Oh, is it such a great offence that it cannot be forgiven? Will you not forgive and forget? To forgive is divine: you said it yourself."

"Yes; but you are the possessor of the half share of the estate. I shouldn't wonder if you think that you are now free to do as you like."

"Oh, you wrong me to talk like this. But you do not know what I have been doing. Look at this paper, do."

Through her father's help Bhramar had made over the half share of the property to her husband, and the paper she now placed in his hand was a deed of conveyance duly executed and registered.

When Gobindalal had glanced over it he tore up the paper. "I will not accept a gift from you," he said.

"It is useless to destroy it," she said. "There is a copy of it at the Registrar's office, my father has told me."

"I don't care. I will not accept a pie at your hands, that's all. Now good-bye."

"When do you come back?" she asked again.

"I don't know. I may not."

"Oh, how can you be so cruel?"

"I tell you seriously I have no mind to return."

"Is there not One above!" she gasped forth in a piteous wailing tone.

"Spare now your sermon, please. It is getting late,—I must be off."

His words smote heavily on her heart. She felt as if some one had struck her a deadly blow. Tears started to her eyes, but by an uncommon effort she quickly mastered them and sent them back to the source from which they sprung. "Go," she said with agony in her eye, "and return not if that, as you say, be your intention. I am innocent, you know I am, and yet you want to forsake me. But remember there is a God! Remember you will have to repent one day! If you think you can find one who can love you as truly and devotedly as I love you, you are greatly mistaken. But you will find your mistake one day, I am sure you will. Then you will seek me, and you will know the agony of remorse when you think what a grave wrong you have done me. Go; say you will not come again if you like. But if I have been ever faithful to you, as faithful in thought as in deed, I say you will seek me; you will come to me again, and you will call me by my name as fondly as you used to do, and weep bitter tears."

Here her feelings choked her. She could say no more. She fell on her knees, stooped to kiss his feet, then rose and left the room.

CHAPTER XXXI.

At one time when she was very happy with her husband, Bhramar had lost a child, a boy, at her lying-in, and now the reminiscence of that sad incident served to add fuel to the flame of her grief. She bolted herself into her room and bewailed the loss of her child, throwing herself down on the bare floor. "O my child, my baby," she wailed, "where are you gone? Had you been alive could your father have ever thought of leaving me? For your sake he would have borne with me even if I had been a bad and quarrelsome woman. He would have overlooked for your sake a hundred faults in me. Come, my sweet one, oh, come and be the comforter of your poor unhappy mother. Oh, pity and return! Cannot one, who is dead, be restored to his sorrowing mother?"

With bended knees and joined palms she implored God why He could be so cruel to her. "Say Thou, O God," she continued, "what I have done to deserve this punishment. My child I have lost, my husband has left me! Oh, why could his heart be turned against me who loved him better than life itself! How happy we were, how well we loved each other. His love had turned our home into an Eden, and I thought myself the happiest of women in the world. Oh, it is so hard!—so hard! To have won the greatest joy that life can give—and then to lose it all!"

It seemed to her that God was cruel, and she could do nothing but weep. So she wept and cried, and she prayed God to end her sorrows by putting an end to her existence.

Leaving his wife Gobindalal walked pensively to the outer house. He felt the

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sting of his conscience. How happy he had been with her! The thought of it was enough to draw a tear from his eye. He could not but feel that he was doing her a great wrong. Her unselfish love, which was ever eloquent in her eyes—eloquent equally in everything she did or said, he remembered. He could feel that what he was going to leave he could nowhere have again. He thought he would go back to her and tell her that he would soon return, and that he was ashamed of his unjust behaviour to her and was sorry. But he lacked the moral courage to go back to her and say it. S he thought he must go now, for he wa not going to leave her for good, and co come back whenever he liked. Th thinking he mounted his horse which wa just then brought in saddled, and wa soon off. In a minute he dismissed a painful thoughts from his mind; and as rode on he found himself thinking Rohini whose beautiful face floated bef his mind's eye.

End of Part I.

(*To be continued*)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. Ro

THE LOST JEWELS

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

MY boat was moored beside an old bathing ghat of the river, almost in ruins. The sun had set.

On the roof of the boat the boatmen were at their evening prayer. Against the bright background of the Western sky their silent worship stood out like a picture. The waning light was reflected on the still surface of the river, in every delicate shade of colour from gold to steel blue.

A huge house with broken windows, tumble-down verandahs and all the appearance of old age was in front of me. I sat alone on the steps of the ghat which were cracked by the far-reaching roots of a banyan tree. A feeling of sadness began to come over me, when suddenly I was startled to hear a voice asking:

"Sir, where have you come from?"

I looked up and saw a man who seemed half-starved and out of fortune. His face had a dilapidated look such as is common among my countrymen who take up service away from home. His dirty coat of Assam silk was greasy and open at the front. He appeared to be just returning from his day's work and to be taking a walk by the side of the river at a time when he should have been taking his evening meal.

The new-comer took his seat beside me on the steps. I said in answer to his question:

"I come from Ranchi."

"What occupation?"

"I am a merchant."

"What sort?"

"A dealer in cocoons and timber."

"What name?"

After a moment's hesitation I gave name, but it was not my own.

Still the stranger's curiosity was satisfied. Again he questioned me:

"What have you come here for?"

I replied:

"For a change of air."

My cross-examiner seemed a little tonished. He said:

"Well, sir, I have been enjoying the of this place for nearly six years, and it I have taken a daily average of fift grains of quinine, but I have not not that I have benefited much."

I replied:

"Still you must acknowledge th after Ranchi, I shall find the air of t place sufficient of a change."

"Yes, indeed," said he. "More than bargain for. But where will you st here?"

Pointing to the tumble-down ho above the ghat, I said:

"There."

I think my friend had a suspicion th had come in search of hidden treas However he did not pursue the subj

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He only began to describe to me what had happened in this ruined building some fifteen years before.

I found that he was the schoolmaster of the place. From beneath an enormous bald head his two eyes shone out from their sockets with an unnatural brightness in a face that was thin with hunger and illness.

The boatmen, having finished their evening prayer, turned their attention to their cooking. As the last light of the day faded the dark and empty house stood silent and ghostly above the deserted ghat.

The schoolmaster said :

"Nearly ten years ago, when I came to this place, Bhusan Saha used to live in this house. He was the heir to the large property and business of his uncle Durga Saha, who was childless.

But he was modernised. He had been educated, and not only spoke faultless English but actually entered Sahibs' offices with his shoes on. In addition to that he grew a beard ; thus he had not the least chance of bettering himself so far as the sahibs were concerned. You had only to look at him to see that he was a modernised Bengali.

In his own home too he had another drawback. His wife was beautiful. With his College education on the one hand, and on the other his beautiful wife, what chance was there of his preserving our good old traditions in his home ?

Sir, you are certainly a married man, so that it is hardly necessary to tell you that the ordinary female is fond of sour green mangoes, hot chillies, and a stern husband. A man need not necessarily be ugly or poor to be cheated of his wife's love, but he is sure to be too gentle.

If you ask me why this is so, I have much to say on this subject, for I have thought a good deal about it. A stag chooses a hardwood tree on which to sharpen its horns, and would get no pleasure in rubbing them against a banana tree. From the very moment that man and woman became separate sexes woman has been exercising all her faculties in trying by various devices to fascinate and bring man under her control. The wife of a man who is, of his own accord, submissive is altogether out of employment. All those weapons which she has inherited from her grand-mothers of the untold centuries, are useless in her hands : the force of her tears, the fire of her anger, and the snare of her glances lie idle.

Under the spell of modern civilisation man has lost the God-given power of his barbaric nature and this has loosened the conjugal ties. The unfortunate Bhusan had been turned out of the machine of modern civilisation an absolutely faultless man. He was therefore neither successful in business, nor in his own home.

Mani was Bhusan's wife. She used to get her caresses without asking, her Dacca muslin saris without tears, and her bangles without being able to pride herself on a victory. In this way her woman's nature became atrophied and with it her love for her husband. She simply accepted things without giving anything in return. Her harmless and foolish husband used to imagine that to give is the way to get. The fact was just the contrary.

The result of this was that Mani looked upon her husband as a mere machine for turning out her Dacca muslins and her bangles—so perfect a machine indeed that never for a single day did she need to oil its wheels.

Bhusan's wife did not talk very much, nor did she mix much with her neighbours. To feed Brahmans in obedience to a sacred vow, or to give a few pice to a religious mendicant was not her way. In her hands nothing was ever lost ; whatever she got she saved up most carefully, with the one exception of the memory of her husband's caresses. The extraordinary thing was that she did not seem to lose the least atom of her youthful beauty. People said that whatever her age was she never looked older than sixteen. I suppose youth is best preserved with the aid of the heart that is an ice chest.

But as far as work was concerned Manimalika was very efficient. She never kept more servants than were absolutely necessary. She thought that to pay wages to anyone to do work which she herself could do was like playing the pickpocket with her own money.

Not being anxious about anyone, never being distracted by love, always working and saving, she was never sick nor sorry.

For the majority of husbands this is quite sufficient, not only sufficient, but fortunate. For the loving wife is a wife who make it difficult for her husband to forget her and the fatigue of perpetual

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remembrance wears out life's bloom. It is only when a man has lumbago that he becomes conscious of his waist. And lumbago, in domestic affairs, is to be made conscious, by the constant imposition of love, that you have such a thing as a wife. Excessive devotion to her husband may be a merit for the wife, but not comfortable for the husband,—that is my candid opinion.

I hope I am not tiring you, Sir? I live alone, you see; I am banished from the company of my wife and there are many important social questions which I have leisure to think about, but cannot discuss with my pupils. In course of conversation you will see how deeply I have thought of them."

Just as he was speaking, some jackals began to howl from a neighbouring thicket. The schoolmaster stopped for a moment the torrent of his talk. When the sound had ceased and the earth and the water relapsed into a deeper silence, he opened his glowing eyes wide in the darkness of the night and resumed the thread of his story.

"Suddenly a tangle occurred in Bhusan's complicated business. What exactly happened it is not possible for a layman like myself either to understand or to explain. Suffice it to say that, for some sudden reason, he found it difficult to get credit in the market. If only he could, by hook or by crook, raise a lakh and a half of rupees, and only for a few days rapidly flash it before the market, then his credit would be restored and he would be able to sail fair again.

So he began to cast about to see whether he could not raise a loan. But, in that case, he would be bound to give some satisfactory security, and the best security of all is jewelry.

So Bhusan went to his wife. But unfortunately he was not able to face his wife as easily as most men are. His love for her was of that kind which has to tread very carefully, and cannot speak out plainly what is in the mind; it is like the attraction of the sun for the earth, which is strong, yet leaves immense space between them.

Still even the hero of a high class romance does sometimes, when hard pressed, have to mention to his beloved such things as mortgage deeds and promissory notes. But words stick, and the tune does not seem right, and shrinking of reluctance makes itself felt. The unfortunate Bhusan was totally powerless to say, "Look here, I am in need of money, bring out your jewels."

He did broach the subject to his wife at last, but with such extreme delicacy, that it only titilated her opposition without bending it to his own purpose. When Mani set her face hard and said nothing, he was deeply hurt, yet he was incapable of returning the hurt back to her. The reason was that he had not even a trace of that barbarity, which is the gift of the male. If anyone had upbraided him for this, then most probably he would have expressed some such subtle sentiment as the following:—

'If my wife, of her own free choice, is unwilling to trust me with her jewelry, then I have no right to take them from her by force.'

What I say is, has God given to man such ferocity and strength only for him to spend his time in delicate measurement of fine-spun ideals?

However that may be, Bhusan, being too proud to touch his wife's jewels, went to Calcutta to try some other way of raising the money.

As a general rule in this world the wife knows the husband far better than the husband ever knows the wife; but extremely modern men in their subtlety of nature are altogether beyond the range of those unsophisticated instincts which womankind has acquired through ages. These men are a new race, and have become as mysterious as women themselves. Ordinary men can be divided roughly into three main classes, some of them are barbarians, some are fools, and some are blind; but these modern men do not fit into any of them.

So Mani called her counsellor for consultation. Some cousin of hers was engaged as assistant-steward on Bhusan's estate. He was not the kind of man to profit himself by dint of hard work; but by help of his position in the family he was able to save his salary, and even a little more.

Mani called him and told him what had happened. She ended up by asking him 'Now what is your advice?'

He shook his head wisely and said: "I don't like the look of things at all."

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fact is that wise men never like the look of things.

Then he added : 'Babu will never be able to raise the money, and in the end he will have to fall back upon that jewelry of yours.'

From what she knew of human nature she thought that this was not only possible, but likely. Her anxiety became keener than ever. She had no child to love, and though she had a husband, she was scarcely able to realise his very existence. So her blood froze at the very thought that her only object of love,—the wealth which like a child had grown from year to year,—was to be in a moment thrown into the bottomless abyss of trade. She gasped : 'What then is to be done ?'

Modhu said : 'Why not take your jewels and go to your father's house ?' In his heart of hearts he entertained the hope that a portion, and possibly the larger portion, of that jewelry would fall to his lot.

Mani at once agreed. It was a rainy night towards the end of summer. At this very ghat a boat was moored. Mani wrapped from head to foot in a thick shawl, stepped into the boat. The frogs croaked in the thick darkness of the cloudy dawn. Modhu, waking up from sleep, roused himself from the boat and said : 'Give me the box of jewels.'

Mani replied : 'Not now, afterwards. Now let us start.'

The boat started, and floated swiftly down the current. Mani had spent the whole night in covering every part of her body with her ornaments. She was afraid that if she put her jewels into a box they might be snatched away from her hands. But if she wore them on her person then no-one could take them away without murdering her. Manimalika did not understand Bhusan, it is true ; but there was no doubt about her understanding of Modhu.

Modhu had written a letter to the chief steward to the effect that he had started to take his mistress to her father's house. The steward was an ancient retainer of Bhusan's father. He was furiously angry, and wrote a lengthy epistle full of misspellings to his master. Although the letter was weak in its grammar, yet it was forcible in its language and clearly expressed the writer's disapproval of giving too much indulgence to womankind. Bhusan on receiving it understood what was the motive of Mani's secret departure. What hurt him most was the fact that, in spite of his having given way to the unwillingness of his wife to part with her jewels, in this time of his desperate straits, his wife should still suspect him.

When he ought to have been angry Bhusan was only distressed. God has so arranged it, that man, for the most trifling reason, will burst forth in anger like a forest fire, and woman will burst into tears like a rain cloud for no reason at all. But the weather cycle seems to have changed, and this appears no longer to hold good.

The husband bent his head and said to himself: 'Well, if this is your judgment, let it be so, I will simply do my own duty.' Bhusan, who ought to have been born five or six centuries hence, when the world will be moved by psychic forces, was unfortunate enough not only to be born in the nineteenth century, but also to marry a woman who belonged to that eternal primitive age which persists through all time. He did not write a word on the subject to his wife, and determined in his mind that he would never mention it to her again. What an awful penalty!

Ten or twelve days later, having secured the necessary loan, Bhusan returned to his home. He imagined that Mani, after completing her mission, had by this time come back from her father's house. And so he approached the door of the inner apartments, wondering whether his wife would show any signs of shame or penitence for her undeserved suspicion.

He found the door shut. Breaking the lock, he entered the room and saw that it was empty.

At first Bhusan did not trouble about his wife's absence. He thought that if she wanted to come back she would do so. His old steward however came to him and said : 'What good will come of taking no notice of it ? You ought to get some news of the mistress.' Acting on this suggestion messengers were sent to Mani's father's house. The news was brought that up to that time neither Mani nor Modhu had turned up there.

Then a search began in every direction. Men went along both banks of the river making enquiries. The police were given a description of Modhu, but all in vain. They were unable to find out what boat

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they had taken, what boatman they had hired, or by what way they had gone.

One evening, when all hope had been abandoned of ever finding his wife, Bhusan entered his deserted bed-room. It was the festival of Krishna's birth, and it had been raining incessantly from early morning. In celebration of the festival there was a fair going on in the village, and in a temporary building a theatrical performance was being held. The sound of distant singing could be heard mingling with the sound of pouring rain. Bhusan was sitting alone in the darkness at the window there which hangs loose upon its hinges. He took no notice of the damp wind, the spray of the rain, and the sound of the singing. On the wall of the room were hanging a couple of pictures of the goddesses Lakshmi and Saraswati printed at the Art Studio; on the clothes' rank a towel and a bodice, and a pair of saris were laid out ready for use. On a table in one corner of the room there was a box containing betel leaves, prepared by Mani's own hand, but now quite dry and uneatable. In a cupboard, with a glass door, all sorts of things were arranged with evident care,—her China dolls of childhood's days, scent bottles, decanters of coloured glass, a sumptuous pack of cards, large brightly polished shells, and even empty soap boxes. In a niche there was a favourite little lamp with its round globe. Mani had been in the habit of lighting it with her own hands every evening. One who goes away leaving everything empty, leaves the imprint of a living heart even on lifeless objects.

In the dead of night when the heavy rain had ceased and the songs of the village opera troupe had become silent Bhusan was sitting in the same position as before. Outside the window there was such an impenetrable darkness that it seemed to him as if the very gates of oblivion were before him reaching to the sky,—as if he had only to cry out to be able to recover sight of those things which seemed to have been lost for ever.

Just as he was thinking thus, the jingling sound as of ornaments was heard. It seemed to be advancing up the steps of the ghat. The water of the river and the darkness of the night were indistinguishable. Thrilling with excitement, Bhusan tried to pierce and push through the darkness with his eager eyes,—till they ached, but he could see nothing. The more anxious he was to see, the denser the darkness became and the more shadowy the outer world.

The sound reached the top step of the bathing ghat and now began to come towards the house. It stopped in front of the door, which had been locked by the porter before he went to the fair. Then upon that closed door there fell a rain of jingling blows, as if with some ornament. Bhusan was not able to sit still another moment, but making his way through the unlighted rooms and down the dark staircase he stood before the closed door. It was padlocked from the outside so he began to shake it with all his might. The force with which he shook the door and the sound which he made woke him suddenly. He found he had been asleep and in his sleep he had made his way down to the door of the house. His whole body was wet with perspiration, his hands and feet were icy cold, and his heart was fluttering like a lamp just about to go out. His dream, broken, he realised that there was no sound outside except the pattering of the rain which had commenced again.

Although the whole thing was a dream Bhusan felt as if for some very small obstacle he had been cheated of the wonderful realisation of his impossible hope. The incessant patter of the rain seemed to say to,—'This awakening is a dream, This world is vain.'

The festival was continued on the following day, and the doorkeeper asked had leave. Bhusan gave orders that the hall door was to be left open all night.

That night, having extinguished the light, Bhusan took his seat at the open window of his bedroom as before. The sky was dark with rain clouds and there was a silence as of something indefinite and impending. The monotonous croaking of the frogs and the sound of the distant songs were not able to break that silence but only seemed to add an incongruity to it.

Late at night, the frogs and the crickets and the boys of the opera party became silent, and a still deeper darkness fell upon the night. It seemed that now the time had come.

Just as on the night before, a clattering and jingling sound came from the ghat by the river. But this time Bhusan did not look in that direction, lest, by his own

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anxiety and restlessness, his power of sight and hearing should become overwhelmed. He made a supreme effort to control himself, and sat still.

The sound of the ornaments gradually advanced from the ghat and entered the open door. Then it came winding up the spiral staircase which led to the inner apartments. It became difficult for Bhusan to control himself, his heart began to thump wildly and his throat was choking with suppressed excitement. Having reached the head of the spiral stairs the sound came slowly along the verandah towards the door of the room, where it stopped outside with a clanking sound. It was now only just on the other side of the threshold.

Bhusan could contain himself no longer, and his pent-up excitement burst forth in one wild cry of, 'Mani', and he sprang up from his chair with lightning rapidity. Thus startled out of his sleep he found that the very window-panes were rattling with the vibration of his cry. And outside he could hear the croaking of the frogs and patter of rain.

Bhusan struck his forehead in despair.

Next day the fair broke up, and the stallkeepers and the players' party went away. Bhusan gave orders that no-one should sleep in the house that night except himself.

In the evening he took his seat at the window of the empty house. That night there were breaks in the clouds, showing the stars twinkling through the rain-washed air. The moon was late in rising, and as the fair was over there was not a single boat on the flooded river. The villagers, tired out by two nights' dissipation, were sound asleep.

Bhusan, sitting with his head resting on the back of his chair, was gazing up at the stars.

As he watched them they one by one disappeared. From the sky above and from the earth beneath screens of darkness met like tired eyelids upon weary eyes. To-night Bhusan's mind was full of peace. He felt certain that the moment had come when his heart's desire would be fulfilled, and that Death would reveal his mysteries to his devotee.

The sound came from the river ghat just as on the previous nights, and advanced up the steps. Bhusan closed his eyes and sat in deep meditation. The sound reached the empty hall. It came winding up the spiral stairs. Then it crossed the long verandah, and paused for a long while at the bedroom door.

Bhusan's heart beat fast; his whole body trembled. But this time he did not open his eyes. The sound crossed the threshold. It entered the room. Then it went slowly round the room stopping before the rack where the clothes were hanging, the niche with its little lamp, the table where the dried betel-leaves were lying, the almirah with its various nicknacks, and last of all it came and stood close to Bhusan himself.

Bhusan opened his eyes. He saw by the faint light of the crescent moon that there was a skeleton standing right in front of his chair. It had rings on all its fingers, bracelets on its wrists and armlets on its arms, necklaces on its neck, and a golden tiara on its head,—its whole body glittered and sparkled with gold and diamonds. The ornaments hung loosely on the limbs, but did not fall off. Most dreadful of all was the fact that the two eyes, which shone out from the bony face, were living,—two dark moist eyeballs looking out with a fixed and steady stare from between the long thick eyelashes. As he looked, his blood froze in its veins. He tried hard to close his eyes, but could not; they remained open staring like those of a dead man.

Then the skeleton, fixing its gaze upon the face of the motionless Bhusan, silently beckoned with its outstretched hand, the diamond rings on its bony fingers glittering in the pale moonlight.

Bhusan stood up as one who had lost his senses, and followed the skeleton which left the room, its bones and ornaments rattling with a hollow sound. The verandah was crossed. Winding down the pitch-dark spiral staircase, the bottom of the stairs was reached. Crossing the lower verandah, they entered the empty lampless hall. Passing through it, they came out on to the brick paved path of the garden. The bricks crunched under the tread of the bony feet. The faint moonlight struggled through the thick network of branches and the path was difficult to discern. Making their way through the flitting fireflies, which haunted the dark shadowy path, they reached the river ghat.

By those very steps, up which the sound had come, the jewelled skeleton went down,

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step by step, with a stiff gait and hard sound. On the swift current of the river, flooded by the heavy rain, a faint streak of moon-light was visible.

The skeleton descended to the river, and Bhusan, following it, placed one foot in the water. The moment he touched the water, he woke with a start. His guide was no longer to be seen. Only the trees, on the opposite bank of the river, were standing still and silent; and overhead the half-moon was staring as if astonished. Starting from head to foot Bhusan slipped and fell headlong into the river. From the midst of dreams he had stepped, for a moment only, into the borderland of waking life,—the next moment to be plunged into eternal sleep."

Having finished his story the schoolmaster was silent for a little. Suddenly, the moment he stopped, I realised that except for him the whole world had become silent and still. For a long time I also remained speechless, and in the darkness he was unable to see from my face what was its expression.

At last he asked me, "Don't you believe this story?"

I asked, "Do you?"

He said, "No,—and I can give you one or two reasons why. In the first place Dame Nature does not write novels, she has enough to do without all that."

I interrupted him and said, "And, in the second place, my name happens to be Bhusan Shaha."

The schoolmaster, without the least sign of shame, said, "I guessed as much. And what was your wife's name?"

I answered, "Nritya-Kali."

Translated by
W. W. Pearson

POPULATION AND DEPOPULATION

(Reflections suggested by a monograph, by Mr. P. K. Wattal, M.A., on The Population Problem of India,.....Bennet, Coleman & Co., Bombay.)

By Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S.

THE sore need for man-power, or Human Capital, is not a sequel to the present-day perturbations, but an economic phenomenon, persisting from generation to generation, and strikingly manifest in a very modern form.

The Population-problem in the East, and the Depopulation-problem in the West, are not two diametrically opposed propositions, but two peculiar aspects of one and the same root-question, which going deeper than Malthusianism, Neo-malthusianism, Eugenism, or other Reform movements,—surface-effects all!—shakes to the rock-bottom all the stratifications of accepted society.

The question turns upon the Conservation of society.

The principle of Conservation is the counter-pole to the principle of Preservation or of purely active or passive defence. This second principle has, by now, secured uncontested recognition, even under the most adverse conditions:—where the Individual Unit, through heredity, tradition and training, would normally have chafed against the unrestricted enforcement of this, or of any, principle. But the Individual Unit emerges from Egoism, accepts the Collective Cause, and welcomes conscription in advocacy of that Cause.

The second principle of Conservation is reached by the same chain of reasoning. If Man-power is conscribed in the interests of the Defence of Society, why should not all the human capital be equally conscribed in the interests of the Perpetuation of that Society? If it is a duty to defend the Country of the Present, it is a still higher duty to defend the Country of the Future. If want of preservation is crime, want of perpetuation is a sin, &c.

Such, and many more, in varying language, are the variants on the same central theme.

It is precisely from the view-point of the future country as against the present-country—of the people-that-is as against the people-that-shall-be—that the problems of population and of depopulation sink into their proper places and admit of a study in the true perspective: the perspective namely of two homologous aspects of a much larger issue.

This fusion of aspects is not fortuitous, but to respond to the bi-polarity of the subject. Where there is a population-problem, there is also a depopulation-problem; and inversely. The two can be enunciated in terms of a common factor:—

The *population problem* is briefly this:

Large Families are an Evil.

They continually drift down the scale of comfort.
They tend towards the margin of subsistence.
They pass beyond that margin into the region of Elimination through pauperism, starvation, disease and death.

The *depopulation-problem*, in the same language, runs:

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Small Families Are an Evil.

They continually drift down the scale of comfort. (For with the law of increasing wants the standard of pleasure is perpetually on the rise; pleasure is never synonymous with comfort; deferred pleasure may be, and unattained pleasure is, positive discomfort).

They tend towards the margin of subsistence. (For a small family, with its elaborate and multiplied wants, and consisting, say, of father, mother, and a child, cannot afford another child—a curious but none the less deniable fact. Such an increment would drive them towards their margin of "subsistence").

They pass beyond that margin into the region of Disintegration through Divorce, Separation, Segregation, Denaturisation, Alcoholism, and Social, followed by individual, extinction.

(Above stages sum up the actual facts, and their sequence. Unhappy marriages need not be all childless, but childless marriages generally are unhappy. Divorce is the next step. The parties separate, the child going with the one or the other, into a state of semi-segregation, so far as that other is concerned. The feeling of father, mother and child are reciprocally denaturised. Alcoholism is sure, if partial, relief. Extinction, then, becomes a question of more or less time.)

Surveying the same from a higher stand-point, that of the State and Society :—

Under the *first Regime* there is a wastage of Manpower and a dissipation of Human Capital, through,—

Excessive Infantile Mortality or Infructuous Investments } On the one hand;
And Low Expectation & Vitality or Diminishing Returns } On the other.

Under the *second Regime* there is a dearth of Manpower and an insufficiency of Human Capital, seen in,—

Unfavourable Vital Statistics or Deterioration of Capital } On the one hand;
And Dilution of Labour or Dispersion of Capital } On the other.

Thus the larger the view, and the wider the issue, the more closely do the two problems converge into the one general question—the coping-stone of all social economics—the Question, How Shall We Husband Our Human-Capital ?

Mr. Wattal, in his monograph, which has been a powerful stimulus to the present enquiry, develops a solution for "the population-problem of India." There is a commendable freshness about his "Census-study": it does not smell of midnight oil, and it is not crumpled under the weight of archives. Parenthetically, it is quite unlike the average Census-study, being no more meticulous mole-work through archives.

He aims, and with success, at the resentment, based on a due appreciation of facts and borne out by figures where necessary, of the kaleidoscopic picture of Over-population in the country, and advances certain views as correctives to the popular misconceptions. These corrective suggestions can be summed up thus :—

Depress the high birth-rate, and the high death-rate will fall of itself.

Raise the marriage-age and the full force of fecundity will exert itself, and produce healthier progeny.

Practise in earnest what you preach with Malthus. &c. &c.

Such are the primary correctives. Their efficacy is beyond doubt; their morality, beyond scruple. To exhaust the list, and complete the picture, let us cast a glance at the cognate problem of depopulation. It is, as is well-known, most acute in France.

The theorist might be tempted to try experiments with the Laws of Inheritance, and so to spoke the driving-wheel of society,—if, at all, it is possible for arm-chair effort to spoke such mastodontic machinery! Nevertheless, eminent thinkers like Tocqueville and Le Play have called for radical change in the scheme of succession, which imposes an artificial check on natural fecundity. Thus: Who can blame the father of a small family if he take warning from the evils of a large one ? —if he shudder at the prospect of an eventual parcelling and frittering away of his small hoard among his numerous progeny, should he chance to indulge himself in that luxury ? It is immaterial what shape that hoard may take: the field, house, workshop, factory, or trade-interest. For such a one convert the single small family group into a large joint family system, and you find straight-away a partial solution to the problem of depopulation. That it is also a very general solution has been recognised in France, long before her present need became acute. After persistent efforts in the press committee and conference, definite propositions were advanced tending towards the step-wise inauguration of what might be termed a subcastal, joint-family system. Evidently such a revolutionary step could not be taken in the running of day. But a casual reference will show a certain stage of practical development actually reached. General Toutee proposed so to remould the Scheme of Succession as to multiply the share of any inheritor with the number of children in his family. Other suggestions run on parallel lines, all tending to establish the homogeneity of the family hoard.

The cause of De-population in Over-populated countries calls for specific provisions on analogous, but opposed lines. It would be too much of a digression, at this stage, to anticipate and fix their shape, but such efforts will naturally have to supplement the correctives which Mr. Wattal has so clearly established in his monograph.

It is not necessary to resort to the trammels of law alone; both means are equally within reach; what is more to the point have been actually at work over a long stretch of time. The sociological picture of the transition stage can be caught in the fewest of pen-strokes.

The old-fashioned family-home is fast breaking up. There is a persistent drift of population from the country to the town, and from the town into the Great Beyond—using the phrase in its purely physiographic, not ecclesiastic sense. For there is not only a rural, but an over-sea exodus as well. The *Tapu*, the lands of the Black-water have proved—whether in fact, or by report, or both, it is not pertinent to pause and enquire—Eldorados in little. This statement is to be constructed under all reserve, for statistics will advance the counter-statement that for everyone who comes to the top, there are scores, and scores, and yet more scores who go under. But he who comes to the top, and returns to his native heath—the heath is more literary than literal, I should say usar—counts more through his success than the multiple scores through their failure. He is a cyno-

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sure in the eyes of the village hopefuls, and a potent stimulus to adventure in fresh fields and pastures new. The imaginative child of the usar, little recking the call of ancestral acres, catches the wander-thirst, and his erstwhile happy home starts drifting towards dissolution. The multiple family-knot begins to loosen ; and the forces which held the joint-house, to lose cohesion. The joint-family system is no longer the perfect pale of settlement it used to be, and its disintegration will only be a function of time.

In this connection, another corrective is equally worthy of note, the corrective of hedonism. The happy home of the Young Adventurer is a thing of the past. He has definitely turned away from the happy home in the village to the haunt of pleasure into town. There he rubs shoulders with a higher type of humanity,—townsmen and foreigners. New sights, new impressions ; new impressions lead to new wants ; and new wants establish a rising scale of pleasure. Hedonism and egotism are close of kin, and this growth of egotism marks a prominent phase of social reconstitution. Whatever the young adventurer may do after his wander-years are over, he is not to be expected to go back into the old rut and to perpetuate his species at the same old level of life. And when he does propagate a sub-species it will be in consonance with the Spencerian maxim :—Individuation and reproduction are antagonistic. Which, in simple parlance, implies that his will be a smaller family than his father's, consisting of more individualised units.

No mental effort is necessary to lush on to the extreme of Over-individuation, and of Under-reproduction—the limiting case in France. Whether the Frenchman, the man in the street, not the Boulevard, is a phenomenon of such over-individuation, in other words over-individualised, need not detain us. Certain it is that the country is afflicted with depopulation, an affliction without a positive cure.

Where commissions have sat, and parliaments pondered, it would be heresy to rush in with airy suggestions which are generally the poor products of first-thoughts. But certain scenes, caught first-hand are more eloquent than minutes, reports or analyses. What is their lesson ?

The normal French home is not absolutely childless, but the number of children is confined to one or at best two. A family of three is already a family nombreuse, a large family. While eminent French Sentimentalists with great-hearted Hugo on the one hand and the sensitive Lamartine on the other, have tried to interpret the supreme needs of man, and urged the imperative necessity, æsthetical-social-psychological, for children ; children are, if then density of the family is at all an index, fast becoming more a luxury than a necessity. And the senseless irony of fate has to be faced in all seriousness, the irony that the one people, which has best understood children should be the least blest with them. Why is this ?

Infecundity alone, if at all, is not the cause. For the average Frenchman is not a boulevardier, but an intensely home-loving family father. And yet his family, for all his love and devotion, is comparatively childless. The reason is that in France the child after a certain early stage in the evolution of the family, ceases to be a necessity and becomes a luxury. The extra child, beyond the normal, is reminded at every step that it has blundered into the world, before its time, and without a place. From the very start, difficulties in regard to the most elementary matters hamper and handicap him. First and foremost comes the housing difficulty. Of course there is no problem in a cetain class of cases money can command almost anything and for well-to-do there is no problem. But for the strata of society, the upper labouring classes, lower middle classes, the main bulk of the classes, and, in a certain measure also the middle classes, the extra child will not be wholly un-mixed blessing. The old household will have be re-organised on a broader basis. It will shifting into a new flat, and appartments for families are scarce. Indeed, most of the only able and suitable tenement-blocks bear the ugly brazen devise : "No Dogs ; No Cats ; No Babies and the prohibition can not be easily ignored. first sensible impulse should be to blame the cierge, who has the inhumanity to display such notice, much less enforce to the last letter. But is only an instrument, not the author, of the evil. and his patron have to consult the convenience the adjacent childless homes in the same block inhabited by small and quiet families. Sentimentalism apart, it would be bad business to placate few, and to estrange the many. The importunate lodging-seeker is helped out of the couloir with gentle but firm hand, and whatever he may be civil life—small industrial, artisan, trader, professional, or even civil servant—he becomes in caserne or union one more recruit for socialism, one more focus of class-hatred. The immediate result is that he has to shift his large family into more expensive apartments, when he can less afford it. The usual way out of the impasse is for the family to split up for the present, and to be more careful and malthusian in future. It may be urged that there is the creche for housing the extra child and it is true that the lower-class mother does profit by that semi-charitable and home-wrecking institution. But the great bulk of those not desperately necessitous are sooner content with any other alternative, and very largely prefer not to gather the ripe fruits of fecundity to the full. And the housing problem remains as acute as before.

Equally acute is the problem of nursing. And it affects all the strata of society impartially. From the Mondaine to the Midinette, from the Grande Dame to the Petite Menagere, from the Lady of rank and fashion to the sweated sempstress,—all are alike helpless in the face of the nursing problem these through necessity and those through habit. For the bourgeoise will not, and working-woman cannot mind her own baby ; the former consults her prestige in the eyes of her sex and engages a nurse, the latter is distracted by work for a living and worry over the baby and she surrenders the rights of motherhood to the drudgery of the hand-to-mouth existence. Often enough there are ladies with red-cross training who recognise the supreme need of the times, and establish private nursing-homes for infants. These should, one might imagine, be a definite solution of the nursing-problem ? But no ! The directress of such an institute has a very anxious time of it. Weekly or oftener, she has, in anticipation of a surprise visit from the government inspector, to see to it that not more babies meet the sharp eyes of that over-zealous official than *three to a nurse* ! Now that limit is always exceeded for two very obvious reasons :—night and day nurses are too expensive to be engaged in sufficient numbers, and the large-hearted directress cannot always refuse admission to babies in listress. So, at the psychological moment lest she should be caught transgressing the rule and lose her license, the worthy lady tries to dispose

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the superfluous babies by relegating them to all manner of hiding places from the familiar cup-board to the more risky house across the street. So, then, the highly commendable application of the rules of hygiene to the art of bringing up a baby develops into a farcical game of hide-and-seek! The private nursing home is voted a failure, and the nursing problem still awaits solution.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to marshall all the manifold problems which beset the organised effort at child-culture, and hamper state initiative just there where it is most wanted. All the problems can be synthesised under one or the other of the following two :—High living and General dislocation. Of these, the latter is, at worst, an ephemeral phase of the abnormal times through which we are passing; the former, a permanent heir-loom which we shall be leaving to posterity. This, then, merits the most consideration.

A good long while before the present-day perturbations set in, the cost of living had been steadily in the rise. But attention, instead of being concentrated on that main point, had been needlessly diffused over its multiple surface-effects. Thus, much of the pre-War legislation, social and economic, in France, had turned upon this question, and then upon that, in the order in which they became acute, but there was no comprehensive effort, breathing of a broader spirit, at a systematic synthesis of all the diversified needs of the times, great or small, pressing to-day or pressing to-morrow. Instead, the apostles of Analysis—an intellectual machinery which had gathered the brain-momentum of nearly a century and half—kept on criticising, analysing, pulverising, until great problems became small and small ones microscopic. Latterly, with the awakening of a higher consciousness in the country, there has been a break with the great mental pre-occupation of the past, and Synthesis is now the one channel into which the undirected thought-currents are steadily converging together. So, the wrangles of class gave way to the cherte des vivres, and this led on to the all-important Vie Chere, with the result that, at this day, La Vie Chere is a permanent institution of the press.

The problem of De-population is being solved from two ends. On the one hand, it is sought to depress the rising cost of living by reorganising, on a more economical basis, consumption, distribution and supply. And on the other hand, a process of race-fusion is also at work. The neglected metisse is coming into his own. Issues of mixed marriages are incorporated with facility. And so the synthesising has set in.

The problem of population, too, is at root similar to that of De-population as has been shown already at an earlier stage. It, too, is a problem of re-adjustment of the main economic agencies concerned. But first the result of such re-adjustment in countries where the need is more pressing will have to be awaited. The experiment being made there will be of more than local or national interest.

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS

By Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar.

X

Section I.

THE USEFULNESS OF HYPOTHESES WHICH AFTER SATISFYING THE NECESSARY TEST DEVELOP INTO THEORIES.

Man's desire to probe into all problems however obscure prompts him to frame hypotheses for the explanation of phenomena even where the means of direct perception of the conditions that bring them about are absent. These hypotheses are very useful inasmuch as they often enable him at length to find out the right cause for the phenomenon, of which an explanation is sought. Many of the present acquisitions to the domain of human knowledge had to pass through this hypothetical stage before they could be accepted as established theories after their passage of the necessary tests.[1] We make hypotheses of all sorts in our daily life and these fulfil more or less satisfactorily the objects for which they are framed. The hypotheses of systematized thought however have to be tested as accurately as possible till they satisfy all the demands made upon them as explanations of phenomena.

THE TESTS VARY.

The tests are not the same in all cases but vary with the nature of the phenomenon required to be explained. A physical reality that admits of observation, accurate mathematical calculation, and quantitative measurement, that repeats itself and can be subjected to experiments, will necessarily allow appli-

1. The word 'theory' is sometimes loosely used for 'hypothesis', but logically, a theory is an established hypothesis.

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cation of various tests which may not be possible for one of a different kind.

THE PHENOMENON TO BE EXPLAINED.

The phenomenon with which we are at present concerned is the evolution of kingship, i.e., how the supreme political power in a community first fell into the hands of a single man giving rise to the primitive monarchy in the place of the previous political organizations such as government by elders, or still laxer systems, such as, the leaderless unions of little bands of Bushmen for hunting or plunder.

It should be particularly noted that the 'rise of kingship' being a single expression does not in the strict logical sense stand for a single effect from a single cause. It is a general expression for several phenomena which, from the logical stand-point, are different and attributable to different totalities of conditions. To make it clear by an example: the expression 'rise of kingship' resembles the word 'death' in its relation to causes. Just as logically there cannot be *death in general*, but must always be some particular kind of death, e.g., death caused by a bullet should be distinguished from that by drowning, similarly kingship reached through military prowess should be distinguished from that secured by any other means. From this, it will be clear that one particular hypothesis for the rise of kingship can speak of only one of the many ways thereto, and many such hypotheses propounding different ways need not be mutually exclusive; for they are concerned with really different phenomena though classed under the same general expression. Any two or more of these ways, if their nature permits, may work in combination through the same king, their strength being increased through this combination, while there may be others that may not be operative even in neighbouring localities or in distant parts of the same country.[1]

It should also be kept in view that we are here concered (i) with the primitive ways of elevation to the throne and not with those utilized by subsequent aspirants thereto; (ii) with the determination of such of the ways as were operative among the primitive ancestors of the Indo-Aryans.

THE TESTS FOR VERIFYING THE HYPOTHESES.

Many hypotheses have been framed to account for the first rise of kingship. The tests applicable to them must needs differ at least in some respects from those for verifying hypotheses about a different element of reality. The first rise of monarch does not admit of observation, calculation, or experiment. It may be objected that as history is said to repeat itself, the emergence of kingship should admit of experiments on the new monarchies that come into being. It should be borne in mind that these repetitions have only superficial and nominal resemblance and take place in conditions far from identical with the primitive conditions of the first monarchies. If China for instance relapses into a monarchy, would it be such an exact replica of the past verity that inference from its observation might be applicable *toto* to the latter. Far from it. Many elements and forces, political, social, religious or otherwise now at work might not at all have come into existence then, or even if existent were not perhaps in the same state of relative strength and development. This makes a good deal of difference. The present totality of conditions might be taken as an additional road to the throne but this might not or perhaps owing to essential differences could not be one of those resorted to by the first kings. If we leave aside this example from a modern civilized country and turn to one to the lowest savages now on earth, we would not perhaps fare better. Many of the conditions operative among them might approach in similarity those of the past and might thus have a suggestive or explanatory value; but it would be hazardous to treat them as reproductions of the particular conditions of the past and take them as eligible for experiments. I shall have occasion to dwell upon this point hereafter; suffice it to say that the rise of monarchy does not by its very nature admit of experiment. What then are the names of verifying the hypotheses relating thereto? The answer lies perhaps in these conditions of a valid hypotheses:—

(1) It should be reasonable, self-consistent, and in harmony with the laws included in the contemplated system of reality.

1. I have received here some suggestions from certain works on logic, particularly Welton's.

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(2) It should furnish a basis for rigorous deductive inference of consequences.

The first condition requires that the new supposition should be in agreement with the accepted laws. It may happen that a supposition inconsistent with the received conceptions is proved to be true demanding a revision of the latter, as was the case with the new Copernican hypothesis of the heavens, which conflicted with the accepted Ptolemaic theory but instead of being rejected had to be substituted for the latter. Such instances are rare and the probability for such a radical revision of the received conceptions is growing lesser with the advance of science.

These conditions would be followed throughout the subsequent portion of this chapter for the rejection or acceptance of the hypotheses, some of which, as will be found hereafter, were discussed long ago and found faulty, while some others already obtain as 'theories'. The rejected hypotheses will be but referred to in passing, those newly propounded, if any, *would be discussed, while the 'theories'* would be recorded not without a critical eye thereon.

Section II.

Whether the Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures contain any hints on the evolution of kingship.

The Mahābhārata as pointed out by Prof. Hopkins,[1] speaks of a three-fold origin of kings according to the more ancient Sāstras (codes, viz., (I) good family (satkula), (II) personal bravery (sūratvam), and (III) skill in the leadership of armies (senā-prakarshanam[2].) The prince Duryodhana cites the above sāstric passage to justify his installation of Karna to the throne of the Anga kingdom, in order to make him eligible to fight Arjuna by putting the former on a par with the latter in a tournament.

The Mahasammata in the Jatakas.

The tradition about the Mahāsammata (Great Elect) in the Jātakas relates that he was the first king in the Vivatta[1] of the first Kappa (cycle), elected by the people from among themselves to remove their want of a ruler which they had been keenly feeling.[2] The elect was "handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect."[3]

The Mahasammata in the Mahavastu Avadanam.

The above legend is much more detailed in the Mahāvastu Avadānam: "Then, O, Bhikshus! the men (lit. beings) hastened and assembled; after doing so, they held a consultation: we should select that person from among ourselves present here, who happens to be the most pleasing (sarva prāsādiko) and powerful (sarva-mahesākhyo), and who can punish those deserving punishment and support those worth supporting. Tell us the quantity of paddy on each of our paddy-fields. Then, O, Bhikshus! the men selected the person who was the most pleasing and powerful. (You) punish among ourselves that person who deserves punishment and support him who is worth supporting. We select you as the foremost of all beings; we give you a sixth of the produce of each of our paddy-fields. Selected as he was by a large collection of people, he was termed the Great Elect (Mahāsammata)."[4]

Review of the above legends.

This Buddhist tradition emphasizes the selection by the people at large of a competent ruler and ignores the aspiration and

1. J. A. O.S., xiii, pp.99, 100.
2. MBh., Adi-Parva, ch. 136, slk. 35.
Āchāryya trividha yonī rājnām sāstra-vinischaye,
Satkulīnascha sūrascha yascha senām prakarshati.
("O, Teacher! kings have a three-fold origin according to the sastras, viz., from the positions of an aristocrat, a hero, and a commander of armies.")

1. Third division in which the process of renovation of the world begins.
2. See Tikā on the word 'devadhammā' of a verse in the 'devadhammajātaka' in the Jātaka (ed. by V. Fausboll), vol. I (text), p. 132; also R. C. Childers' Pāli-English Dictionary under 'Mahāsammata'.
3. See the Jātaka (transl. by W. H. D. Rouse and ed. by E.B. Cowell), vol. ii, p. 242 (ulūka-jātaka).
4. Mahāvastu Avadānam (ed. by E. Senart, 1882), vol. I, pp. 347, 348. The above passage ends thus "Worthy as he was of the share of the produce of paddy-fields, he was called king (Rāja). For protecting and maintaining adequately, he was called 'a kshatriya be-sprinkled on the head' [(Kshatriya mūrdhnābhi shiktah). The lacuna here has been supplied in the light of the subsequent portion of the passage]. Standing as he did as a parent to the people of the town and the country, he was called the 'repository of strength and energy to the people' (Janapada-sthāma-vīrya-prāpto).
There is a brief allusion to this tradition and some of its details in the Chatuhsatikā by Aryyadeva (ed. as a Memoir of the A. S. B. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasād Sāstrī, M.A., C.I.E.), ch. iv., p.461.

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exertion on the part of the would be ruler himself to make his way to the throne by dint of his virtues. This has given an artificial appearance to the elevation of the first king to the throne. What seems more plausible is that the person who towers over his fellows in the qualities more appreciated in a particular society, as for instance, ability in sea-faring in the race living on the sea-coast, or strength, fleetness of foot, sureness of mark &c., in a community of hunters, becomes gradually their chief.[1] It is not probable that the people felt the want of a ruler as the pinch of hunger for a few days, and met together to choose the best among themselves as their head. Such deliberate and collective choice of a ruler may have been possible in later stages of evolution, when kingship had already become a firm institution of the society, when the vacant throne was felt as ominous and undesirable. The "natural" races may not have felt it much, for living in small detached, headless groups was so far in a line with their temper as not to have been to them a source of inconvenience and anxiety. They had not yet moreover, any experience of the conveniences of corporate life under a chieftain likely to excite their cravings therefore by contrast with their chiefless condition. The only truth therefore that the legend may furnish is that the first Elect had extraordinary personal virtues which influenced his elevation. The account from the Jātakas does not, however, mark out any special virtue or combination of virtues. He is no doubt described as "commanding" which may be taken to suggest that he was brave, physically strong and so forth ; but an all-round perfection is next claimed for him, which drowns all suggestions as to the reality in its legendary megalogue.

The account from the *Mahāvastu Avadānam* fares better in this respect. The first elect is powerful, which enables him to reward and punish. The quantity of paddy on each field is ascertained before his election, which shows that should there be any dispute between the field-owners relating thereto, justice could be sought from the Elect, who would be helped by this previous knowledge of the quantity of paddy owned by each. The Elect is also 'pleasing' and hence popular to the people. It is not specified what words and deeds gained him popularity before his selection, for which he came to be 'pleasing,' and in what circumstances those words were uttered and deeds done. The only facts that stand out are that the Elect was the most powerful of all ; and hence the advantages that could be expected from a powerful man could be used for the people's benefit. He was expected to be just, and as he was 'pleasing', it may be inferred that he had given indications to the people that he would not be unjust in the use of his great power and administer justice among the people properly which would be one of the factors for maintaining his future popularity. Justness alone could not perhaps have gained chiefship for a person devoid of other virtues at least, as will appear from subsequent discussion, no one has yet claimed it for the quality. 'Powerful' which may import bravery, physical strength, military skill and so forth, have been described hereafter as sufficient for securing chieftainship, though of course these qualities would very often in actual operation be found to be operating together and not singly.

Hints from the *Mahābhārata*.

The hints from the *Mahābhārata* are much more definite and tangible. The qualities mentioned are *good family*, *personal bravery and skill in* the leadership of armies. The first attribute is comparatively obscure for the elements upon which the nobility of a family was considered to depend are not enumerated. They may have been wealth, seniority of stock, or any other factors, taken separately or combined. The second and the third attributes are clear enough. There is nothing in the three qualities that stands in the way of their union in the same person. The object, therefore, of making three-fold the origin of kingship seems to be that each of these operating in isolation from the other two may secure for its possessor the rulership over a community. It is not clear how far back this tradition of the three-fold origin of kingship dates. It is cited from the *sāstras* obviously more ancient than the time of their citation, though it cannot be asserted that the tradition was as old as the rise of the first Aryan kings.

1. Cf. Prof. F. Ratzel's History of Mankind, vol. I, p. 131.

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Herbert Spencer's mention of the second and the third attributes.

The second and the third attributes are mentioned by Herbert Spencer[1] along with other king-making qualities of primitive times. The political headship in his opinion was acquired by one whose fitness asserted itself in the form of superior prowess, greater physical strength, stronger will, wider knowledge, quicker insight, greater age, larger wealth.

His enumeration of the above as well as other attributes.

The first-named quality includes both personal bravery and military skill,—the very attributes mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Good family, may, as I have already said, depend upon various factors among which wealth may be reckoned as one. I have some doubt as to whether wealth alone could procure kingship.

Whether unaided wealth is sufficient?

It may create an influeuce which may not be in the direction of political headship. Spencer says that wealth (largeness of possessions) is an indirect mark of superiority and a direct cause of influence, and confirms his view by instances, two of which need be noticed: "With the Tacullies, any person may become a *miuty* or chief who will occasionally provide a village feast",[2] and "among the Tolewas in Del Norte County, money makes the chief."[3] Wealth combined with one or a few personal virtues may be of help to the operation of the latter, but whether, unaided, it can achieve the aforesaid end is a question about which I have doubts. Even if the reports of the above two instances be correct, we cannot, I think, apply them to the early societies without further evidences showing that the temper of the primitive savage was such that it could unhesitatingly welcome a man though devoid of all recommendations but that of his wealth to the chiefship of his community. There may be positive hindrances to the transpiration of such a state of things; for it is very likely that a *man possessed of wealth along with other virtues* may be the rival of the *man with mere wealth*. It would not be difficult for the former to beat the latter down and secure for himself what was passing into another's hand.

Should we suppose that the primitive man of wealth was always endowed in those days with some or other of the aforesaid qualities, we have to make another assumption that the acquisition of possessions by heredity did not yet begin. If this be true, the wealthy man would always be a maker of his own fortune and hence endowed with many qualities involved in its acquisition, which may count among them some of those requisite for elevation to the headship.

Seniority.

The greater experience generally accompanying old age commanded deference in early societies, though old men with senile incapacity were killed or left to die. The most energetic senior of a tribe could wield political superiority.

The other qualities.

Of bravery, skill in leadership, and superior bodily strength, the first and the third may often be found together; and these when joined with the second become a powerful combination. The remaining attributes of stronger will, wider knowledge, and quicker insight could be more effective when co-operating with one or some of the qualities already mentioned; and it would be perhaps difficult for them to make headway in absolute isolation from one or other of the above group of attributes.

The actual operation of the above qualities may imply the existence of many subsidiary ones, e.g., the leadership of armies requires endurance. It contemplates also the creation of many favourable circumstances, the timely use of those already favourable, the occurrence of many unexpected events helping the purpose in view and so forth. All these taken together would be the totality of conditions constituting the cause for the elevation of a person to the throne. The attributes, single or grouped, as the case may be, are the dominating forces in the field and have therefore been specially mentioned. War and unrest may be favourable

1. See his Principles of Sociology.

2. Herbert Spencer's Principles of Sociology (1902), Vol. II, p. 334.

The manifestations of the abstract qualities or their combinations may be various, and impossible to be exhaustively enumerated.

3. Ibid.

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for the play of some of them, while peace or other states of affairs for the rest.

Thus far about the personal attributes. There may be other forces *which may also be speci lly mentioned* and which may be said to lie more in the beliefs or institutions of the early societies than in the men availing themselves of those forces; though of course the utilization of the forces may require the possession of particular attributes by those men.

The Patriarch becomes a Chief.

Such a force may lie for instance in the patriarchal institution. When men, says Herbert Spencer, passed from the hunting stage into the pastoral and wandered in search of food for their domesticated animals, they fell into conditions favouring the formation of patriarchal groups. The growth of simple groups into those compound and doubly-compound acknowledging the authority of one who unites family headship with political superiority has been made familiar by Sir Henry Maine and others as common to early Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Slavs, and Hindus.[1] The joint undivided family, wherever its beginning is seen in the Aryan communities, springs universally out of the patriarchal family, a group of natural or adoptive descendants held together by subjection to the eldest living ascendant, father, grandfather, or great-grandfather. In the more extensive assemblages of kinsmen constituting the joint family, the eldest male of the eldest line is never the parent of all the members, and not necessarily the first in age among them. There is always the impression that the blood of the collective brotherhood runs more truly and purely in some one line than in any other. Among the Hindus, the eldest male of this line, if of full mental capacity, is generally placed at the head of the concerns of the joint family. If he is not deemed fit for his duties, a worthier kinsman is substituted for him by election, and the longer the joint family holds together, the more election gains ground at the expense of birth. The whole process may be described as the gradual transmutation of the patriarch into the chief, the general rule being that the latter is elected with a strong preference for the eldest line. Sometimes, he is assisted by a defi... council of near kinsmen, and sometim... this council takes his place. On the wh... where the body of kinsmen formed on t... type of the joint family is a purely civil ... stitution, the tendency is towards grea... disregard of the claims of blood. But ... those states of society in which the broth... hood is a political, militant, self-sustain... group, we can perceive from actually exta... examples that a separate set of causes co... into operation and that the chief as milita... leader sometimes more than regains the p... vileges lost through the decay of the tradit... connecting him with the common root of a... the kindred. Thus all the branches o... human society may or may not have be... developed from joint families but wherever ... was an institution of the Aryan race,[1] we s... that the patriarch could rise into politi... headship.

The Matriarchate.

The "maternal system" is held by so... to have preceded the paternal, but there a... doubts as to this priority. "If patriarch... reasons are enough to account for the custo... as we find it," says Sir Frederick Pollock, "... can hardly assume that in a given case it wa... formerly matriarchal, merely because for a... we know, it might have been so. This wou... be to assume the very thing to be prove... namely, that the society in question was ... fact maternal at some earlier time."[2]

Under this system, however, women ha... no personal power. If it at all converg... political power on any person like the pate... nal system, it is on a male rather than on... female. In many societies, again, in whi... this system is the rule, an exception is ma... in the case of the political head.[3]

The Influence of the Medicine Man as an Origin of Kingship.

Spencer mentions another influence as t...

1. Herbert Spencer, op.cit., pp. 342, 343.

1. See Sir Henry Maine's Early History of I... stitutions (1905) pp. 115-118. I have retained ... language as far as possible, with changes or omissi... for the sake of brevity or adaptation to the press... context, in order to allow him to state his own ca... with its necessary details. (See also his Ancient La... ch. v, and its Note on patriarchal theory by S... Frederick Pollock.).

2. See Note K on ch. v, Maine's Ancient L... p. 178.

3. Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th ed., vol. ... p. 889; H. Spencer, op. cit., pp. 344, 345.

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origin of political headship. It operates alone in some cases and conjointly with that of military prowess in other cases. But "that this arises as early as the other can scarcely be said ; since until the ghost-theory[1] takes shape, there is no origin for it. But when belief in the spirits of the dead becomes current, the medicine-man professing ability to control them and inspiring faith in his pretensions is regarded with a fear which prompts obedience."[2] Spencer has not elaborated the hypothesis by showing the various steps by which the medicine-man can acquire political superiority. He also remarks that the operation of the influence of the medicine-man depends upon the ghost-theory which comes into being later than the 'attribute"—origin of chieftainship but how long later, he does not state. The supposed aid of supernatural powers as a strengthener of political authority already acquired by some means or other cannot be denied. But how a magician (medicine-man) can make way to the throne requires to be shown. This has been done by Dr. Frazer in his *Golden Bough* with an industry in the compilation and presentation of materials that is indeed admirable. We shall postpone our remarks on it until we have glanced over his whole position.

(*To be continued*).

1. I.e., the fear of the ghosts of powerfulmen. Where many tribes have been welded together by a conqueror, his ghost acquires in tradition the pre-eminence of a god. (See H. Spencer, op. cit., p. 363).

2. H. Spencer, op. cit., p. 338.

THE COMING RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE*

THIS pamphlet is the outcome of the agitation which followed the publication in the *Bombay Chronicle* of Mr. Lionel Curtis' letter to the Secretary of the Round Table a short while ago. Mr. Curtis explains his own position as well as his political views on India, and also the object of the Round Table groups started by him all over the empire for the study of Imperial problems. He admits that he has often enough been wrong in his opinions, and writes with refreshing candour and sympathy, and we confess that this little work throws an altogether new light on his activities. The reason of the misunderstanding between him and educated Indians is explained by Mr. Curtis himself. He truly says that the most dangerous of all chasms in India is that which divides English officials from educated Indians, and that they stand opposed like two political parties. That being so, it was a tactical blunder on the part of Mr. Curtis to associate too closely with officials, when his object, as it now appears, was to learn the Indian point of view on imperial problems. He wanted to form Round Table groups in India with the aid of non-official Europeans, with a view to bring together educated Indians and European officials, and his project fell through, when almost on the point of fruition, owing to the controversy raised over his letter. This is indeed unfortunate, for the object of the Round Table groups appears to be to bring together members *because* they differ, and Mr. Curtis' experience is that in discussing their differences they come to understand and think better of each other. "When people have talked things over, a host of misunderstandings vanish, unexpected points of agreement begin to appear, and the real points of difference are defined and brought into true proportion." It is interesting to note that the idea of visiting India to study the problem on the spot was first suggested to Mr. Curtis by Sir James Meston in a letter written so far back as in 1909 in which Sir James "urged that most of the standard books on India, by Strachey and others, were out of date. In the last twenty years, he said, political thought in India had been moving at a pace unexampled in its previous history. He warned me against the danger of attempting to study India at a distance, and advised that I should visit the country for the purpose of hearing what Indians and especially the Nationalists themselves had to say on the subject." Mr. Curtis complains that he has not obtained sufficient credit for his sympathetic pronouncements on Indian claims in his book on the Problems of the Commonwealth, where he says that the people of India must be gradually schooled to the management of their national affairs, and that the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can ; and he also advises us to be satisfied with the utterances of statesmen of the front rank who think that we are right in seeking to attain self-government, but differ from us as to the means. In reply, we may say that history is strewn with the graves of pious promises issuing in reactionary deeds ; even among the Spanish followers of Pizarro and Cortez there were men in authority who were full of benevolent sentiments towards the Incas and the Aztecs, but

* *A Letter to the People of India : by Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co. Price 12 annas. Wheeler & Co.'s bookstalls and principal booksellers. Profits to be paid to the Servant of India Society. Pp. 81.*

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that did not prevent the effacement of those people from the political history of the globe; and utterances breathing sympathy with our final goal have been showered on us by so many statesmen and administrators of the first rank, ever since the foundation of British rule in India in the age of the Munros and Elphinstones, down to the days of Lord Morley and the latest Public Services Commissioners, and yet they have had so little effect in shaping actual policy of our rulers, that mere professions of good will often raise in us the suspicion that they are used as a convenient cloak under which 'the task of preparing for freedom' the subject-races of India may continue to be the white man's pleasant burden for evermore. The time has indeed come when it is absolutely necessary for those who pose as friends of India to have the courage to prescribe, as the Americans have done in the Philippines, a limit to the period during which this task of preparation is to go on; for it is evident that otherwise the most generous sentiments need not have anything more than an academic value, as has hitherto been the case. And our objection to the task of preparing us for self-government being shared by the Dominions and the Colonies, where Indians are subjected to the most humiliating treatment, is so obviously reasonable that it need not strike anyone as in the least degree surprising.

In a recent * speech Lord Curzon spoke of "the larger reconstruction of the governing bodies of the Empire which might be called for after the War." Mr. Curtis in the book under review frames such a scheme which seems to have the approval of the important organisation which he represents. Such a reconstruction, Mr. Curtis shows, will be urgently called for by the greatly changed financial position of the mother-country after the War. The charges on the war-debt will greatly exceed the total revenue of the United Kingdom before the War, and it will be wholly unable to bear the strain of properly equipping and maintaining an Imperial army and navy. Mr. Curtis therefore proposes that Great Britain should have a Parliament for purely domestic government like the Dominions, and that there should be a Great Imperial Parliament for all the communities of the British Commonwealth, which will be divided into an Upper and Lower House, both of which will contain Indian representatives. "As to the representation of India on both those Houses the appointment of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner to represent the Princes of India at the present Imperial Conference, and of Sir S. Sinha has created a precedent which will, I believe, never be reversed." The lower house must be a purely elective assembly, and the spokesmen of India would be eligible for seats in the Ministry. Mr. Curtis leaves us to think out for ourselves whether the British Parliament as at present constituted, or the Imperial Parliament under his scheme, on which India will be represented, is more likely to give a favourable decision in regard to the two questions which most affect India, e.g., (1) by what means should she reach responsible government, (2) how fast can those steps be taken. And in this connection Mr. Curtis would ask us to remember that there is nothing which the Dominions less desire than to control Indian affairs. ". . . the factor which impressed me most in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia was the rooted aversion which these people have to any scheme which meant their sharing in the government of India . . . The feeling against such propo[illegible] was overwhelming and the reason is not far to [illegible] To these young democratic communities the prin[illegible] of self-government is the breath of their nostrils [illegible] is almost a religion. They feel as if there were so[illegible] thing inherently wrong in one people ruling anoth[illegible] It is the same feeling as that which makes the Americ[illegible] dislike governing the Philippines and decline to rest[illegible] order in Mexico. My first impressions on this sub[illegible] were strongly confirmed on my recent visit to th[illegible] Dominions. I scarcely recall one of the numer[illegible] meetings I addressed at which I was not asked [illegible] India was not given self-government and what st[illegible] were being taken in that direction." Mr. Cu[illegible] thinks that the Feudatory chiefs, representing [illegible] quarter of the population of India, and the '[illegible] cosmic community' of Mahomedans, the princ[illegible] centres and authorities of whose faith lie outside [illegible] Empire, should have representatives in the Up[illegible] House of the Imperial Parliament. He has no vie[illegible] to offer at present as to the basis upon which [illegible] various communities of the Empire should be rep[illegible] sented on the Lower House, but that is a detail, [illegible] important though it is, which may be worked [illegible] subsequently if the main principles of his scheme [illegible] approved.

We shall close by quoting some of Mr. Curt[illegible] views and opinions, which, so far as they go, seem [illegible] be unexceptionable. It is a pity that these views w[illegible] not put forward in print at the time Mr. Curtis f[illegible] landed in India, as they would undoubtedly have cl[illegible] ed the atmosphere of the fog of suspicion wh[illegible] hampered his subsequent work. Speaking of re[illegible] gious divisions, he says: "It is in the nature [illegible] despotisms to foster such divisions, and a free sys[illegible] of government which seeks to build on such qu[illegible] sands will surely come to grief." "My stay here [illegible] made me realise that we in England have fallen i[illegible] a habit of writing in one way, when we are talking [illegible] fellow-citizens in the Dominions, and in another w[illegible] we are talking of our fellow-citizens in India a[illegible] Egypt." "Personally I do not flinch from say[illegible] that I look forward to a time [but how long ahea[illegible] —that is the important point for Indians to k[illegible] now] when in all these provinces, and also in [illegible] capital of India itself, elective legislatures will [illegible] with executive wholly consisting of the leaders w[illegible] for the time being command a majority and re[illegible] the moment they cease to command it.....That is [illegible] end to which I am looking, and which can, I belie[illegible] be attained, if the goal is first clearly perceived [illegible] the steps towards it are carefully thought out, [illegible] sufficient time is taken in making such steps, and a[illegible] *if each step is taken in time.* [The italics are ou[illegible] I should find it difficult to suggest whether In[illegible] has more to fear from overhaste or procrasti[illegible] tion. And this I say, knowing that so wise, [illegible] perienced and advanced a democrat as Lord Mo[illegible] has spoken of that goal as one which may ne[illegible] be reached in India. With all due respect to [illegible] authority so weighty, I believe that it can, m[illegible] and will be reached, and nothing which I have s[illegible] in India has shaken or is likely to shake that faith."

Mr. Curtis might perhaps be disposed to arg[illegible] that Indians would get responsible government [illegible] soon as they are fit, not a moment sooner or lat[illegible] and that to put a time-limit to the period of prep[illegible] ation would therefore be a useless exercise of [illegible] imagination. But it is really not so. It is a mista[illegible] view, most common among those in authority wh[illegible] vested interests are bound to suffer in the proc[illegible] that every advance in political growth must pro[illegible]

* Reuter's telegram, May 4.

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step by step along the old lines, just as much as it would be to suppose that one who wishes to fly in the air must begin with the primitive baloon before he can be allowed to try a modern æroplane. And by leaving the attainment of the goal to a vague future, we prevent the goal from being clearly perceived and the steps towards it from being clearly thought out; for this purpose, which Mr. Curtis rightly thinks to be so essential, it is absolutely necessary to think of the ideal as one within the region of practical politics, and not as a far-off divine event, which reduces the whole discussion to futile barrenness. It behoves all friends of India, therefore, to lay down a practical programme of the results to be achieved within a definite period. This is a task which the bureaucracy shirks from, as we have seen in the case of the late Mr. Gokhale's Universal Education Bill, where there was no end to liberal professions of sympathy, though the government would not accept the twenty year's limit proposed by Mr. Gokhale. And this is at the root of the reason why, in spite of their generous sentiments, the European officials fail to command our confidence.

POL

WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

CHAPTER IX.

MEG'S BRIDESMAID.

"ONE and one."

"Two and one."

"And over the juice, miss."

Such were a few of the remarks which were addressed to Gladys on the first day of her engagement at the fried fish shop.

She had been at work since ten o'clock, helping in the premises behind the shop with the various articles that required cleaning and attending to, such as knives and forks, pepper-boxes, salt-cellars, vinegar bottles, all of which needed to be cleaned and filled, and this work was in her department.

The fish had been prepared for cooking out in the back yard by two elderly women who received sixpence an hour for their work. Gladys arrived just in time to see them finishing their task, and she shuddered as she watched them cleaning and scraping the fish, their hands all the while in a long zinc trough, through which constantly poured a stream of water from a tap, this washing the refuse down into a receptacle at the sloping end. It was chilly, wet, horrible work Gladys thought, and she noticed that the poor old things only had on thin, worn boots, and the water had of course spilt over them, and they were standing in the wet all the time they worked, chopping and cutting and opening the fish with sharp knives with marvellous rapidity.

"Hard work, isn't it?" she ventured to remark to one of them as she was preparing to go, after receiving her pay.

"Well, yes, I suppose it is 'ard," said the old woman, "but, bless you, I'm glad to get it. There ain't much room for us old women in the world, so we must take what we can get and be thankful. You've got your years before you, I can see, my dear. Make the best of them while you can. And don't turn up your nose at a nice young man if 'e comes along. I did, and I've 'ad to keep myself all my life instead of sittin' by the fire while some big, strong man goes out to work for me. But there, I don't grumble. I've got good 'ealth, thanks be to God, and I 'aven't a bad tooth in my 'ead, and there's not many can say that at my age."

And the cheerful old woman, who had doubtless all her life never been able to earn more than fourteen or fifteen shillings a week and considered herself lucky in that, chuckled as she went away, leaving Gladys thinking and wondering over what is nothing less than the heroism of the really poor, who can still find something in their drab lives to laugh at and be thankful for. Thankful for sixpence an hour, earned at what most people would

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call a repulsive occupation ! That kept on coming back to Gladys as she tried to become accustomed to the smell from the boiling fat in which the fish was being fried in large tanks. It was a peculiar, rather sickly smell to be constantly standing over—for part of her duty was to keep the boiling, sizzling mass moving, to notice when the pieces of fish were done, and to take them out and place them in a wire tray just behind the tank where they would keep warm and be ready to serve. The potatoes were cooked in the same way, and at twelve o'clock the first rush of customers came in.

Working girls from the pickle factory in the neighbourhood were amongst the first comers; then other young women and young men, workers also. Then at one o'clock labourers from some building works in progress close by, big, strong, rough men, roughly clothed and covered with dirt, and with harsh voices, but always, in their rough way, polite to Gladys, checking their rather strong language when she was by, and looking at her with eyes of frank admiration, not with the leer that better class, better dressed men, think fit to employ so often when they honour a waitress by giving her an order.

"One and one."

"Two and one."

"'And over the juice, miss."

Gladys was frankly bewildered at first by these remarks when the orders were given, but quickly she began to understand them. "One and one" meant a penny piece of fish and a pennyworth of potatoes; "two and one" meant a twopenny piece and a penny-worth of potatoes; the juice was the vinegar supplied in a bottle stopped by a cork which was pierced with little holes so that vinegar could be shaken, not poured, out.

She and Mr. Parlow were kept busy handing over fish and potatoes, not only to those who ate their portion in the shop, or took it away in a piece of newspaper, to eat outside as they lounged in the streets, but also to those who brought in dishes or plates to carry away enough fish to give their families a midday meal; busy mothers, some of these, without time to attend to the cooking of a dinner; others shifty, happy-go-lucky people, women who had very likely spent their morning at a public-house, and then suddenly realised that a hungry husband would be home at one o'clock. Sometimes, too, lookin rather self-conscious, a black-coated wor er would sidle in, a poor clerk earning o about half the money of a mechan driven by compulsion to the cheap fri fish shop. Then, again, two or three w dressed boys, doubtless from offices, or bank near by, hard up for the moment a ravenously hungry, looking upon fried fi as cheap and filling and something to e at any rate; besides, it was rather a jo this lunching for three-pence in a ro with a sawdusted floor, where there we no cloths on the tables, and one ate wi one's fingers.

When two o'clock struck, the rush wa over, and before three the trade for th morning was, so Mr. Parlow said, finis ed. By then all the fish had been sold an all the potatoes. That was one of th secrets of successful trade, so Mr. Parlo explained to Gladys, to gauge as nearly a possible how much would be sold, ho much would be left over.

Gladys sank down in a chair in th little room at the back of the shop, thank ful that the work was over for the presen She had no idea that the standing an moving about all the time would be s tiring. For the first few minutes of h rest she felt as if she never wanted to s fried fish again.

"Now then, Missy," said Mr. Parlow "I don't suppose you feel like any fried fi after being over it all day, do you? An there's only just a couple of bits left, I s That's about the finest clear-out I ev saw. Now, you couldn't look at fish, can see that, so I'll just send the boy ou for a bit of beef and ham and some pickles That'll do us both a bit of good, I think."

Gladys couldn't help smiling to herse She could hardly believe that it was real she who was here, acting as waitress an general help in a fried fish shop, and th she was going to sit down to eat her lunch with a stout, good-natured man in h shirt-sleeves and a white apron.

Then, a little after three, having taken off her apron and put on her hat and coat she was free to do what she liked until si o'clock, when she would have to return t the shop.

It was harder work at the fish sho than it had been at the coffee shop, an Gladys felt as if she could only thro

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herself down on her bed at home and sleep for hours.

But first of all she had made up her mind to write to Lord Guardene, and so on her way to the Free Library she bought a little penny packet of stationery, and in the library asked the civil young assistant for a Directory of the Peerage.

Here was easily found Lord Guardene's address. He had no permanent London address, except two or three clubs, and the family seat was entered as Guardene Castle, Northumberland.

Guardene Castle! How nice it sounded! Guardene Castle! If she were to accept him she would be Lady Guardene of Guardene Castle. Guardene Castle or a fried fish shop! How incongruous, how ludicrous the conjunction sounded!

When Gladys reached home she sat down at the little rickety table in the ill-furnished bedroom, with the packet of cheap notepaper before her, thinking, thinking, thinking.

At last she had brought herself to the point of writing a letter of refusal; she had made up her mind that she would refuse him, and now could she—could she do it? She looked out at the window into the sordid little street—it was raining now, making the small, dingy houses look more dingy and grimy than before; the outlook seemed more depressing than ever. In imagination she could once more almost taste the steam, the smell of that fried fish shop—and then she thought of Guardene Castle. She tried to persuade herself that she could love Lord Guardene, that love would come; but the more she tried this self-persuasion the more difficult it became. The candle of love could not be lighted at will. No, she could not marry where her heart would never be.

And so, bravely and with a steady hand, she wrote on that cheap paper a letter grateful and kind, definitely refusing the honour which Lord Guardene offered her. She gave no address, she gave no explanations; she simply declined the offer and hoped that he would find someone who could really care for him as he deserved to be cared for. Then on her way back to work at six o'clock she posted the letter, and Guardene Castle vanished and the fish shop was there in reality.

"I can see that this is going to be a big go, Missy," said Mr. Parlow, when at a few minutes past twelve the shop was cleared of its last customer and the shutters put up, "so I don't think it will be long before your wages are increased. No, you don't do anything more to-night. You've done your bit of work. The boy'll do all the cleaning up in the morning. And now, it's a bit of a rough neighbourhood at night, so I'll see you safely home."

"Yes, 'e's a good sort is old Parlow," said Meg, who had got back earlier, for her shop was nearer home than Gladys's. "But you look tired, my dear. It's been a hard day for you, 'asn't it? You look worried, too, and thoughtful. Anything wrong, dear? Tell me, won't you? You've often listened to my bits of troubles. Tell me what it is. I know there's somethin'."

"No, no, Meg, there's really nothing except that—oh, well, I will tell you! I've written to a man who asked me to marry him."

"Oh, my dear, I am glad! Of course you said yes?"

"No, I said no, Meg. I couldn't say yes because I didn't love him."

"Ah, that's a pity, that's a pity!" said Meg sagely. "But it ain't no good marryin' a chap if you can't love 'im, is it? Why, bless me, more than one 'as said to me, 'Wot you can see in that Ted I can't think.' I've had to tell one or two of 'em off for sayin' that. Very likely they're right; 'e ain't much to look at, and I don't know exactly 'ow it came about that I fell in love with 'im; but there it is, I love 'im and I'd let 'im walk over me. But 'oo was 'e, Gladys, your young man? And is there anyone else?"

Gladys felt as if it would relieve her to open her mind; she really had begun to love this kind coster girl; she saw the beauty of the kindly heart beating in that big, strong body. And so by degrees she told of Lord Guardene, and then in a burst of confidence she told of the man she had only seen once.

"I couldn't marry Lord Guardene because I couldn't love him, Meg," concluded Gladys. "I tried to think I could, but then I always seemed to see—someone else standing between him and me, someone else."

"Ah, that's it, my dear, that's it! You fell in love at first sight!" Meg nodded. "Ah, well, you'll come together, you see if you don't. And you've refused a lord! Fancy that!" Meg's voice was full of awe.

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"A real live lord you've said no to! My, it makes me almost frightened to be in the same room with you. And what's become of the other fellow, then ?"

Gladys shook her head.

"I only saw him that once, and perhaps I shall never see him again."

"Oh, that you will! You cheer up. And anyway, you'll know what to do when you're married, for you're going to be my bridesmaid, you know, so you'll see what to do when 'e takes you along to the church. Oh, it'll be all right, you see if it ain't!"

There was something so cheering, so comforting in Meg's confidence that things would turn out all right that Gladys slept soundly that night, acknowledging to herself before sleep kissed her eyes that she was happier now that she had written to Lord Guardene, now that she had refused him.

And the next day even the fried fish shop seemed to be a little more bearable, and, as the days went on she became more used to the work and the atmosphere, and grew in favour with the regular customers, and the young "nuts" from the bank and offices began to come there when they were not hard up, and to spread rumours of the pretty girl at the fried fish shop amongst their friends, and the evening trade began to grow what Mr. Parlow called quite swagger.

"We're getting quite a decent class of people in the evening, Missy," he said one day. "I think after a bit I'll try and enlarge and have a little sort of better-class supper room out at the back there. And by the way, I'll make it a pound a week for you from next Saturday. I shall make more out of this shop than I do out of the other one soon."

A pound a week! It seemed to Gladys that this was riches.

Meg's marriage was to take place shortly. Ted was out of the hospital and back at work again, and actually—think of it—he was to go with a number of others and receive a medal from the hands of the King himself!

"You know, I shall simply go off my fat 'ead with excitement," said Meg to Gladys. "My Ted goin' to see the King! Fancy that! 'Is portrait 'll be in all the papers again. And next month we're goin' to get married. Well, I don't know really 'ow I shall stand it. And then, my dear, there's one thing as 'urts me through it all—I shall be sorry to leave you. I never knew a real lady before. You've done me a lot of good, you 'ave. I never thought of sayin' no prayers before I knew you, I never thought of goin' to church. You've made me a better woman, I think, in fact, I know you 'ave. Now come along down to that dress-maker woman with me, will you? Unless I get you to take to 'er she won't do nothin'."

Those were happy days. To Gladys it was delightful to see the pride of Meg and Ted in each other, the pride of Meg in her little hero, and Ted looking up to Meg as the cleverest woman in the whole of the south of London. The excitement of the preparations for the wedding, the visits to the little shop which was already taken, the assisting in the purchase of the furniture, the thousand and one arrangements to be made—Meg's dress and her own to be chosen, to be superintended. Meg insisted on paying for Gladys's bridesmaid's dress, and this gift Gladys accepted in the spirit in which it was offered, and with some difficulty she persuaded Meg to have a quiet dress instead of one of rather flamboyant blue which the coster girl had fancied.

"I'll have one like yours, my dear," said Meg.

And when Gladys explained that it was hardly the thing for a bride and her bridesmaid to be dressed exactly alike, Meg snorted :

"If I can't 'ave my own way at my own weddin' there ain't goin' to be no weddin'," she said. "You and I 'ave got to be dressed alike, Gladys, so there's the end of it. And it'll be nice to see old Ma Giles there, won't it? Poor old thing, I 'ope she'll be well enough to come."

Ma Giles was recovering slowly from the shock the fire had caused her; she was still feeble in body and, it was feared, in intellect as well. But she appeared at the wedding, and recognized Meg and seemed also to have some knowledge of Gladys, and was driven away back to her relations waving a feeble hand from the carriage window.

The wedding took place at Surbiton from the house of the publican and his wife, Ted's aunt. Good-natured hospitality showered its friendly rays over everything and everybody. The happy couple

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were to spend a few days at Brighton and then to return to the shop and to work.

There was no changing of the bride's dress before she went away; fashion and ceremony do not prevail in coster circles, and as a rule, too, the bride is too proud of her wedding dress to want to change it. But before the bride and bridegroom left, Meg had a final and, it must be admitted, rather a tearful and sniffy farewell with Gladys.

"I'm so 'appy, my dear, I'm so 'appy," said Meg. "I only wish it could 'ave been a double weddin', for some'ow I don't like to think of you bein' all by yourself, workin' away in that shop. Still, we shall see you a lot, I 'ope. And you promise me if ever you want anythin', if ever you get out of work, you'll come to me. And you 've got to come very, very often and see us. And every Sunday, mind you, you've got to come and spend the day with us. Good-bye, my dear, and Gawd bless you, and thank you for wot you've done for me."

"And God bless you, too, dear Meg, and may He give you every happiness."

And the two, the coster girl and the lady, kissed as more than friends, as sisters.

And then away Meg and Ted went to their new life, and Gladys returned to her room in the little hotel, now lonely, to change her bridesmaid's dress and then to start work again at six o'clock that evening.

CHAPTER X.

LORD GUARDENE GETS HIS ANSWER.

"Not bad news, I hope?"

Lady Dalmayer was entertaining a house party at her country place, Challoner. After dinner the guests had drifted off to their various amusements, some to the billiard-room, some to the card-room, and two or three were lounging round the big wood fire in the spacious hall.

The butler had brought in the letters by the last post. The tray was handed round till it reached Lord Guardene, who was standing smoking a cigarette with his back to the fire. There was one letter for him, and one only, and this was addressed in a woman's handwriting. It was a little, cheap, thin envelope, and he saw that it had been forwarded to him from Guardene Castle. The writing was strange to him.

He wondered who the letter could be from. And then his heart leapt. He wondered—could it be—was it the letter he had so long expected, that he had almost given up hoping for? Could it be from Gladys Tremayne? He had lady correspondents, but this writing was strange to him. The envelope was hardly of the style that a lady would use. The postmark, too, was "S. E." And, after the fashion of human nature when puzzled as to who a letter is from, he turned it over and over, looking at it before he finally opened it.

And when he had read through the contents, written with a true womanly touch, his face contracted, he looked as if pain had suddenly seized him, and Lady Dalmayer repeated her remark:

"Not bad news, I hope?"

"Oh, er—er—thanks, no—no, thank you, not very."

He spoke jerkily and hastily, crushed the letter in his hand, and walked away to the smoke-room, which was empty. He settled himself in a corner and read the letter through and through and through again.

So at last he had heard from her, at last she had answered him, and it was no—no. The word beat dully on his brain as he sat for some moments looking straight in front of him. It was no. That was the hard, crushing fact that was first of all brought home to him. No! And then he began to speculate—to wonder. Why had she taken so long in answering? Had she met Raymes again, Raymes, who was now porter at the hotel? Where was she staying? Where had she written from?

He looked again at the letter; there was no address. The paper, too, he could see, was cheap and shabby. There was some mystery here. What did it all mean? She had left the house in Kirton Square; he had found that out when he was in town. Where was this letter written from, then? Ah, she was poor, she was in trouble; that was what it must mean. But why, oh, why, had she given no address? He must get to the bottom of this matter. He would consult Harry Raymes. Harry loved her, too, and perhaps between them they could do something for her, if they could find her. Perhaps she wanted help? If so—ah, she should have all the help he was capable of giving.

And so hastily he sat down to the

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writing-table and wrote a hurried line to his friend Harry Raymes, telling him that he had heard from Gladys, but that there was some mystery, that he must see Harry at once, that he would be in town again in a few days.

"Now I know there's something worrying you, Jack," said Lady Dalmayer as Guardene went out to put his letter to Harry in the post-box in the hall. "I know there's something bothering you. Now what is it? If it's a matter of money, just come and tell me all about it, and we'll see if we can't put it straight."

"Thanks, awfully, Madge. You're a good sort. But—well, it isn't money."

Lord Guardene and Lady Dalmayer were hardly related; they were very, very distantly, connected. She was many years older than he, but she had always liked the good-looking, reckless young dare-devil; he and her husband had been great friends. Jack in his turn had always liked Lady Dalmayer, who, in his opinion, was a ripping good sort. He saw nothing of the hardness in her that was so apparent to some people; he had not lived long enough or suffered enough to gain the seeing, the observant, eyes that can probe another's soul or feelings. So to him Madge Dalmayer was just a jolly good sort of an elder cousin, as it might be, with plenty of money, a ripping house in the country, and always ready to help a fellow out of a hole.

"Well, if it isn't money, then it's a girl," she said. "Oh, I know! When a man looks like you did after reading a letter, either a moneylender is dunning him or a girl has given him up. Tell me, Jack, old man. A little sympathy won't hurt, will it? All of us have troubles sometimes, don't we?"

"Yes I'll tell you, Madge," said Jack, after a moment's pause.

For he was in the state in which sympathy is absolutely necessary, when the heart bleeds, and it seems as if the hand of a friend would staunch it.

"It was just a girl that I—well, that I loved, Madge," he said, simply. "I wrote asking her to marry me. She's taken a long time to answer, and now, well now I think something must have happened to her. It's so strange that she shouldn't have answered before."

Lady Dalmayer listened with the sympathy and understanding that so well became a woman. By judicious questioning she managed to get out of Jack Guardene part of the story—how there were two men in love with this girl, he and his friend, and how there was an arrogant, brow-beating bully of a father concerned in the matter.

Lady Dalmayer listened, and as she listened a curious feeling seized her, and she seemed to be certain of what the answer would be as she asked Jack:

"This other man, this friend of yours," she said a little huskily, "what—what is his name?"

"Raymes, Harry Raymes."

"I thought so—I thought so!"

Lady Dalmayer spoke under her breath with a little choke, and when Guardene, startled, turned to look at her, he saw that her face was white beneath the little touch of rouge she affected.

"Yes, Raymes, Harry Raymes, my pal, the whitest man that ever lived. I met him out in Canada at his father's ranch—mine lay alongside of it. He was in love with her, too. We talked it over the last time I met him in town He was earning his living as an hotel porter—Gad! it makes me sick now to think of it—and he wouldn't take a penny from me either."

Lady Dalmayer nodded.

"Yes, I know, I know! I saw him there too. It was at the Gramont Hotel. You know when I was travelling last year I went through Canada, and I stayed at the Raymes's ranch, and they were very hospitable to me. I have met them since in town."

Madge Dalmayer spoke jerkily, disjointedly, and as she spoke, a kind of wild impotent hatred was filling her heart. She had a rival, some insignificant chit of a girl, no doubt. She wondered what she was like, this woman.

And Jack Guardene who was fairly shrewd and observant, noticed the white strained face, the jerky syllables, and wondered what was causing the disturbance.

"I've written to Harry telling him that I have heard from her," went on Jack. "It's only fair, I think. I've had my chance and lost. She's given me my answer, and it's 'No.' And d'you know, Madge, he only saw her once, at least twice in one day, that was it, and he fell in love with her there and there. It seems so strange that—love at first sight. I never believed in it till Harry told me. Why, I knew her for weeks

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and weeks before I found out that I even cared for her, and old Harry only just flops into a room, sees her for a few seconds, and comes out head over heels in love with her. Love at first sight! A funny thing, isn't it?"

"Yes, yes," said Madge Dalmayer, looking straight before her.

Love at first sight! The words seemed to come home to her, and she laughed a little bitterly to herself. Love at first sight! That was a complaint for the young only, the worldly would have said, but she, almost middle-aged, had contracted the complaint at the ranch in Canada.

Guardene went on talking, little knowing the stabs his words were driving into Madge's heart.

"Of course, dear old Harry must be pulled out of that beastly hotel somehow. Only he's so frightfully proud. Anyway, I'll run up and see him as soon as I hear from him. And I'll find her, I swear I will, I'll find her for him."

"Jack," Lady Dalmayer interrupted Guardene, "do you know why Mr. Raymes, Harry as you call him, quarrelled with his father? Did they really quarrel, or what was it?"

"Yes, I know," answered Jack simply. "Madge, there's a tangle, a pretty sort of tangle, and my pal's in it, and the girl I love seems to be in it too. I want to clear it up, so I'm going to speak openly, and you mustn't be offended. I think we've known each other long enough for that, haven't we, Madge? And we've been too good pals to have any upest now, haven't we? This is how it was. Old Raymes wanted Harry to make up to you, Madge. You understand what I mean. He wanted his son to make love to you, to ask you to marry him, for the sake of your money, for the sake of the position to which you could help him. Harry refused. He said he wouldn't be a cad, and that he would never insult a woman that he didn't love by asking her to marry him. That was the way he put it, Madge, and by Jove! he was right. It would have been an insult, wouldn't it?"

"Yes, I think it would, I'm sure it would," answered Lady Dalmayer.

And though a pang of—what was it—chagrin, disappointment, injured vanity, stung her, yet she felt that after those few words of Guardene's she saw more deeply into the soul of the man she had tried to tempt into proposing marriage to her, and she admired him all the more for it.

"So he quarrelled with his father over me, over poor me, did he?" she went on. "Why, Jack, I was counting the wrinkles last night! And the girl, what of her? Oh, Jack, it's a tangle, as you said, indeed it is! Did she know that this young man had fallen head over heels in love with her?"

"No, of course not. He never had a chance to tell her, for he's never seen her since that first day. But I'm going to find her, to find her for my pal. He shall have his chance. I've had mine."

"Jack," Lady Dalmayer put out her hand and laid it on the young man's, "you and I have always been good pals, as you said just now. Well, I think I ought to take a hand in this affair. I can turn old Raymes round my little finger if I like, and if I can only get hold of him I'll just find out why that girl left and what his caretaker is doing in the house. Where are the old gentleman and that timid wife of his to be found?"

"I don't know, and Harry doesn't know either. Harry just simply walked out of the Allendale Hotel, you know. I tried to get my solicitor to find out something, but he promptly told me he would have nothing to do with it, for I had no right to interfere."

"Oh, well, we must see what a woman can do. I like that boy, that friend of yours, Jack. We must try and see him happy."

"That's good of you, Madge. I always knew you were a sport. But the first thing we must do is to try and get old Harry proper work of some kind. Then we'll try and find old Mr. Raymes and see what he's up to."

"And the girl, Jack? Don't forget the girl. This is yours, I think, isn't it?"

She picked up an envelope from the couch where Guardene had been sitting by her side.

"Why, the writing's very like mine!" she said. "Almost exactly!"

"That's Gladys's—Miss Tremayne's—writing," said Guardene, taking the envelope. "Now I look at it, it is rather like yours, Madge, isn't it?"

"Yes, it is. How strange! Let me look again, Jack. Why, the very slope of that L! And the G! Why, I might have writ-

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ten it myself. Well, we've had our little talk, Jack, and now we must go to bye-bye. Everybody else seems to have gone. Goodnight, old boy, and may God be good to you."

As Lady Dalmayer looked at herself in the glass that night her face seemed a little strange to her; there was a look in her eyes which she herself could not quite understand. But a reader of character could have told her that it was a soft and sympathetic light that shone there, that her soul had for once stripped off its little hardening outside and was now blossoming with that sweetness and tenderness that lies in every woman's heart. She was thinking of the girl she had never seen, of the girl who had disappeared; she was thinking of Harry Raymes. And before she went to sleep she murmured to herself:

"Poor children! But I wonder whether she would care for him? She only saw him once. Well, I'll soon find out when I see them together. Bless me, I'm getting quite a match-maker in my old age."

She smiled to herself, and her dreams were as those of a child, for in her heart Madge Dalmayer was growing young again.

(*To be continued.*)

A YOUNG INDIAN SCULPTOR

INDIAN Art, in its modern growth, is a delicate and tender plant, easily nipped in the bud by chilling frost, or withered up for lack of moisture, or twisted out of shape by unskilful culture. As yet, every branch of it has not borne flowers and fruit. The branch of Painting has already blossomed, but Sculpture has scarcely begun to put forth leaves. There are abundant copies of statuary from European models, but little that has a distinctive character of its own. Yet Japan can give signal proof of the evil results of mere copying in Art. The Japan, which has thrown aside its birthright of culture in order to copy Europe, is a travesty of progress. The Japan, which is finding its own inner life anew in its own Art tradition, is beautiful and strong.

Not that all borrowing of art-forms from other countries is to be deprecated. Elizabethan poetry, for instance, owes many of its noblest modes of expression to Italy. Japan itself might borrow much, in literature, from the West without harm. But such borrowing must always have a vital purpose: it must not stifle life that is already there. In India today the great Art tradition is not extinct. It is fresh and living still in the hearts of the people. Wherever freedom of growth is allowed, it immediately reappears.

Quite recently, I have seen some Indian sculpture by a young artist, which carries with it the promise of great things. His name is Narayan Kashinath Dewal, and his parentage and upbringing make an interesting story. His father was a Maharastriya Brahman and his mother a Burmese lady. He is thus, by birth, both a Burmese and a Maharastriya, both a Buddhist and a Hindu. His earliest years were spent with his parents in Burma, at Myitkyina, on the borderland of China. He lived there till he was nearly ten years old and then it became necessary to put him to school. His father had many friends in Bengal, and, acting on their advice, he determined to place his son at Shantiniketan under the care of Rabindranath Tagore. This was done, and the boy's life for the next eight years was spent happily in the Ashram. He entered fully into its spirit and became, in a very literal sense, the child of the Ashram. At last, in the year 1912, the Poet called him to his side in England, and he took up a course of Philosophy and Literature at University College, London. But all this while the artistic instinct had been growing stronger and stronger in him. He used to go each evening to the Polytechnic Institute at Chelsea, and there he became deeply interested in clay modelling and designing. When the Poet came back to England from America and noticed this disposition, he encouraged him to give up his whole time to Art. Dewal then left University College and studied sculpture, under Richard Garbe, at the Central School of Art, Kingsway. There he learnt the technique of stone-carving, modelling, and bronze-casting, before he returned to India.

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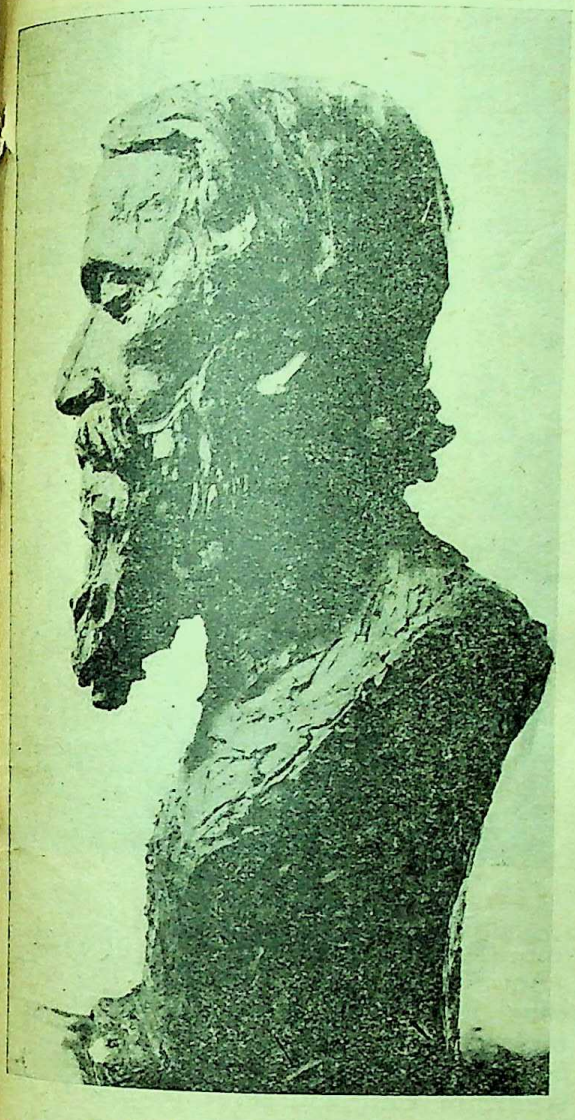

Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

A Girl.

A Girl.

At the end of 1915, the young sculptor come back to Bengal and began both studying and teaching at the Bichitra, a school which the Poet had founded in Calcutta. But the city life of India was unsuitable for him. He longed for the free expanse of the open country. So, after nearly a year in Calcutta, he found his way once more to Shantiniketan.

Up to the present, his output of original work has been small, but, small though it be, it has already some distinction. It has not, indeed, set itself entirely free from the tutelage of the west, but its tendency is all in the direction of freedom. The pictures, which are given in this Review, are taken from photographs. They do not do justice

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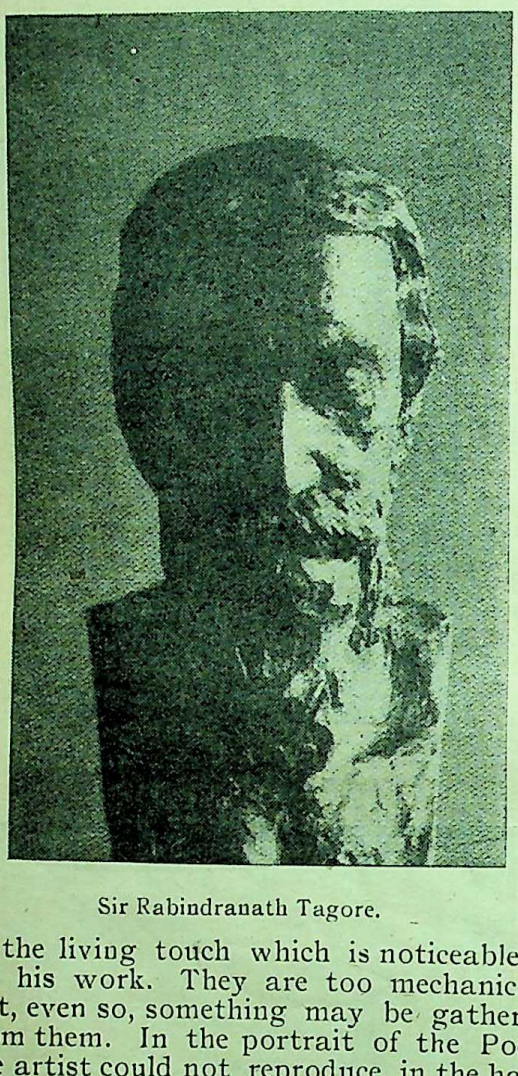

Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Home.

to the living touch which is noticeable in all his work. They are too mechanical. Yet, even so, something may be gathered from them. In the portrait of the Poet, the artist could not reproduce, in the hard medium of stone, the more elusive and delicate traits of Rabindranath Tagore's nature, which Rothenstein has so perfectly pourtrayed in his pencil sketch; but, on the other hand, he has given us those great massive qualities, which partly escaped Rothenstein's pencil,—the intellectual force, the virile strength, the kindling vitality. The second achievement of the sculptor, which has impressed me in quite a different way, is the girl's head, which is a portrait of one of the younger members of the Tagore family. Here it is the transparent simplicity of the art which is so arresting. The artist seems to have reached the perfect poise of the head by one inevitable stroke of his tool, which required no subsequent laborious correction.

In speaking thus highly of these two works, I am thinking in my own mind all the while, rather of what the future appears to hold in store, than of what has actually been accomplished. I feel certain that Dewal will be able to produce not merely portraits,—however noble and beautiful,—but also universal ideas in sculpture, that will serve to inspire mankind.

In conclusion, I am tempted to stray somewhat further afield, for a moment, and question what will be the note of modern Indian sculpture, when it has once more reached its proper channel. With regard to a single point of technique, it appears to me not unlikely that some of its most beautiful achievements may be made in low relief. Judging from the trend of modern Indian Painting this development would seem to be quite natural. In a more general way, it may be regarded as certain, from a knowledge of Indian history, that the strength of Indian sculpture will lie in suggestion rather than in complete visual expression. By this is in no way implied that there will be haziness or obscurity,—such as the Impressionist School in Europe seems to

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been cultivating in some of its latest moods and phases. Indian religion shows us that the popular imagination is singularly concrete; and Indian Art will be an exotic, if it does not spring from and reach back to the people. But what is concrete and objective will never be made too literal, too bound by externals: it will try to reach the heart by daring expressions and symbols, which transcend the commonplace, or else transform it. The artist will see through the outward forms of things, and beneath them, and beyond them,—

He will watch from dawn to gloom
The lake-reflected sun illume
The yellow bees in the ivy bloom,
Nor heed, nor see, what things they be,—
But from these create he can
Forms more real than living Man,
Nurslings of Immortality.

Bandra, Bombay. C. F. ANDREWS.

GLEANINGS

The Shiten-no

BY N. TSUDA.

(EXPERT IN THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM, TOKYO)

In the history of Japanese Buddhism, faith in the Shiten-no, or Four Guardian Kings early made itself manifest, and soon came to occupy an important place in the national creed. Shiten-no is the name given by the Japanese to the four guardian deities of the Buddhist ideal universe. According to this theory the universe is a great mountain comprising a series of heavens, lands and seas, all termed the Sumeru or Shumisen. In this topography there is a fourfold landscape at the four points of the compass in the Shumisen, each guarded by a king with many attendants. The land of this world is one of the four quarters of the universe, known as the Nan-en-bushu, or southern portion of the Shumisen. The four heavenly kings preside over the destinies of the whole.

The guardian king of the northern quarter is named Bishamon-ten, or Vaisravana in Sanscrit, but in Chinese he is called Tamon-ten, which means king of the many-eared heaven, the idea being a capacity for much hearing, a kind of omnipresence. According to ancient commentators of the sutras the name implies that this deity always bears the preaching of Buddha who is keeper of Buddhist lands. In the Hindu pantheon he is known as Kuvera, and reputed to be the son of a sage named Visravas, and Vaisravana is, therefore, his patronymic. Kuvera is a favourite god of wealth in India; and though he receives no special reverence he is quite popular as the god of fortune in that country, being regarded as deserving of spceial distinction apart from the other three kings. In Japanese Buddhism Bishamon-ten is usually represented as

1. Jocho Ten. 2. Jikoku Ten. 3. Bishamon Ten. 4. Komoku Ten.

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bearing a small tower on the left hand palm and holding a staff in the right hand. He is gazing fixedly at the tower on his palm. He wears armour and on his girdle is a demon. And he stands on Yasha and Rasetsu, two very evil demons. The body of Bishamon is covered with gilt, but the demons are coloured yellow. Bishamonten sometimes carries a trident in his hip.

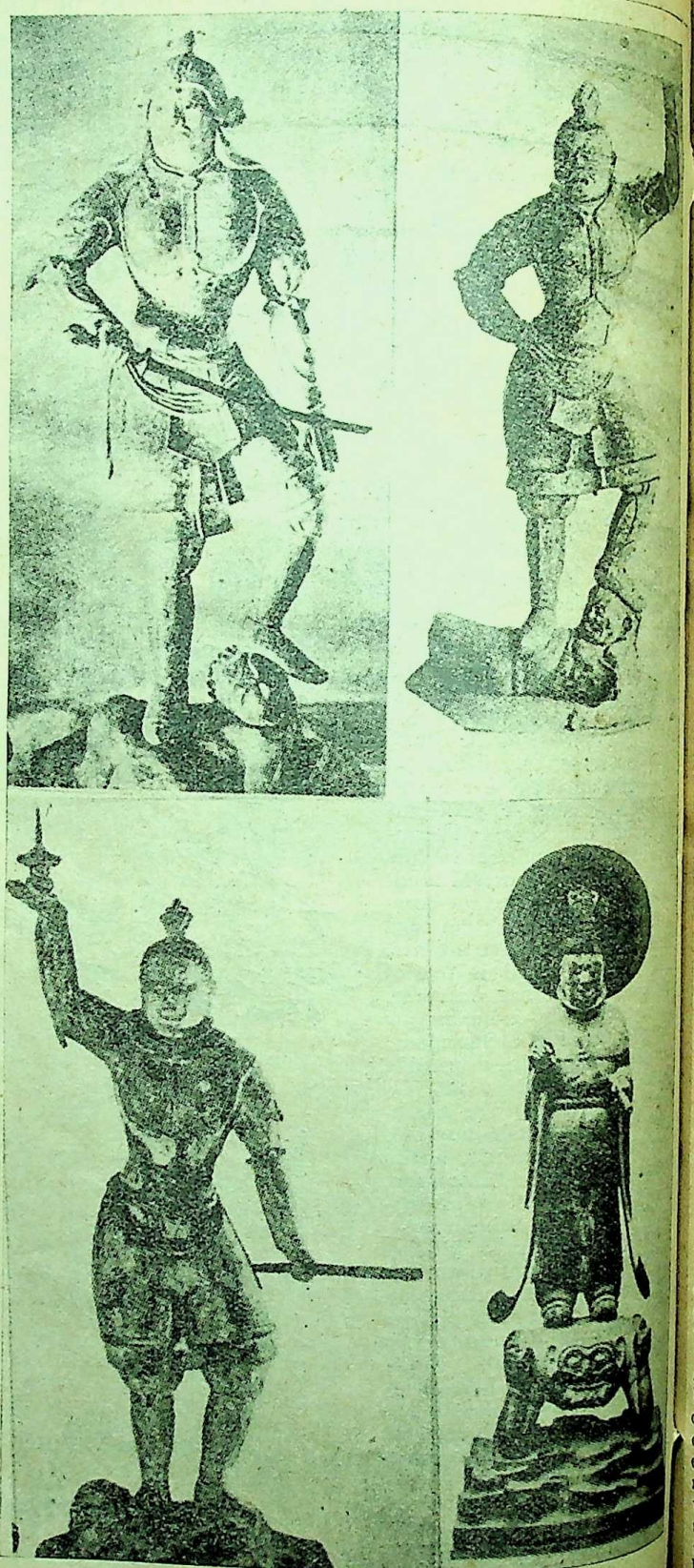
The guardian king of the eastern section of the Buddhist universe is called Jikokuten, or Dhrtarastra in Sanscrit; and is represented with a sword in his left hand and a gem in the other hand, or else the right hand is on his hip. The land he guards is said to abound in gold His body is coloured red and his face is terrible. The sword is indispensable as a symbol of this deity.

Komoku-ten is the guardian king of the Western portion of the Sumeru: in Sanscrit he is known as Virupaksha; and he has the additional duty of being king of Nagas. Sometimes he is called Akumoku, Shumoku or Zoshiki. This deity is always clad in armour and carries a trident in the left hand and a red rope in the right hand. Occasionally he is represented as holding a weapon called the vajra in his left hand and a sutra roll in the other. And often we see him holding a Japanese writing brush in his right hand and a roll of writing paper or manuscript in the other. Usually his body is white.

Zocho-ten, or Virudhaka in Sanscrit, is the guardian king of the South land of the Buddhist universe. He is also clad in armour, and holds a big sword in his right hand, the other hand clenched and reposing on his hip. The body is painted bright red.

Each of the four guardian kings wears an imposing headdress; and their armour is carefully and even elaborately decorated. In the early days of Buddhism these four deities were worshipped together, but in later times they came to be treated as separate.

When the Buddhist religion gained a footing in Japan in the 7th century, the famous temple known as the Shiten-no-ji, was erected near Osaka by Prince Shotoku who was the first great patron of the Buddhist faith in Japan. When the Prince was determined to destroy the Mononobe faction because of its anti-Buddhist policy, he offered prayers before the altar of the Shiten-no and made a vow that were victory granted him, he



1. Jocho Ten. 2. Komoku Ten. 3. Bishamon Ten. 4. Jikoku Ten.

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would erect a great temple for the four guardian kings. His petition was granted and he fulfilled his vow by building the great temple near Osaka, where it still stands. He no doubt had additional motives in erecting this great structure, as history shows; for it seems that he desired thus to guard the empire against foreign invasion, and Professor Kuroita has suggested. At that time the Priuce was supporting the king of Kudara in Korea against the king of Shiragi in the same Peninsula; and there was a rumour that the king of Shiragi was about to set out for the invasion of Japan. The enemy was expected to seek a landing at Osaka. The Shiten-no-ji was supposed to guard the gateway to Japan; and in later times this example was followed by setting up temples to the four guardian kings at places where an enemy might be expected to land. Thus we have a temple to these four guardian deities at Chikuzen in Kyushu, the southern gateway of the empire, and one at Dewa on the north-eastern end of the main island. In those days the people evidently trusted more in spiritual than in brute force, though there is evidence that they never neglected "to keep their powder dry." The images of the Shitenno were also set up in various temples as the guardians of these sacred places; and their figures were painted on the doors of pagodas and portable shrines to ward off evil. This is why one sees so many statues of the Shitenno at Buddhist temple gateways.

The oldest examples of such statuary are to be found at the Horyuji temple in Yamato. They are little more than 4 feet high and are the best examples of ancient wood carving in Japan. In these one beholds the exact technique of the ancient Buddhist sculptors, especially in the folds of the clothing. According to the inscriptions on them they were carved by Yakushi Tokudo and Yamaguchino-ataye, artists who lived in the reign of the Emperor Kotoku, 645-654 A.D. These statues are listed as state treasures of the empire.

In the Sangatsu-do are also preserved some excellent statues of the Shitenno, made of dried lacquer. History tells us that in the 13th year of the Emperor Shomu, about 741 A.D., there was a special religious ceremony ordered for the reading of the *Konko-nyo-saisho-o-kyo*, a popular sacred work of the day, the purpose being to secure the welfare of the nation. This sutra is mostly concerned with the Shitenno; and so the images alluded to were ordered to be made for the occasion. They are typical examples of the best carven lacquer work of the 8th century. In the Kaidan-in near the same temple there are other notable examples of Shitenno statues in terra-cotta, belonging to the 8th century. One each stands at the corners of a clay dais on which the Emperor and the Imperial Princes stood to receive the Buddhist commandments. These terra-cottas are good examples of the Buddhist art of the 8th century.

When Sir Aurel Stein was travelling in Chinese Turkestan he found some figures of the Shitenno at Turhuang; they were painted on temple banners; other travellers have found them in frescoes at Turfan. Representations of the Shitenno are also found among the Gandhara sculptures, one of which is in the British Museum.—*The Japan Magazine.*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA

THE city next visited by Rabindranath was Salt Lake where be read his lecture on the "Cult of Nationalism" under the auspices of the university of Utah in the Assembly Hall on the temple grounds before an immense audience. The following is the report of the lecture in *Salt Lake Utah Telegram*, Oct. 15, 1916:—

"Is Sir Rabindranath Tagore the 'prophet to come out of the East' which the immortal Tolstoy mentioned but a short time before his death? This is a question which has been disturbing the minds of many students of religion since Tagore first gained world-wide fame.....That the audience was drinking in every word of the renowned man of the East was evident... As he made his approach to the speaking platform a hush fell over the audience as with strained eyes they observed the long flowing beard, like that pictured of the wise men of the East in the scripture, and listened for his every word. Some few smiled at his remarks, but they were possibly five out of two thousand who attended. Tagore, although totally strange in his ideals to the western world, made his argument well understood and probably offered his listeners the severest arraignment, though compassionate, that ever was given the western civilisation."

The same paper published a funny story of two interviewers. They had been hanging about the corridors of the hotel where the poet was staying, baffled because of his strong refusal to allow any newspaper men to see him, yet grimly determined to find a way to his presence somehow or other. Each time they tried to gain admittance, Mr. Pearson fumed at the door. At last they tried a new ruse; they changed their voices and names and the interview was granted. Not suspecting that they were the same persons, Mr. Tagore said to them: "I do not mind telling you gentlemen, who, I perceive, are about to intercede for the two reporters who have been awaiting and annoying me from downstairs, that they shall not come up here."

All the Salt-Lake papers were equally enthusiastic over his lecture. The *Salt Lake Utah Tribune* writes:

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"The speaker expressed his thoughts in tense, figurative speech, holding his audience spell-bound by his intensity and the depths of his thought..... It is doubtful if the weaknesses and inconsistencies of occidental civilisation were ever more vividly pictured than by this picturesque student of India..... Mr. Tagore drew a distinction between a people, composed of individuals, and a nation, an organisation of power..... The charge is made, Mr. Tagore said, that the ideals of the east are static, and he answered the charge by saying that the ideals are the aspiration to do—a renouncement of self, a life more free, more pure and simple, and free from greed, an aspiration which goes beyond death. Against these ideals, he said, have been turned the machines of greed, commercial and political, which oppressed the peoples whose only crime is that they have not organised."

From Salt Lake he came to Chicago where he was the guest at the home of Mrs. William Vaughn Moody, who had been one of the few to recognise his greatness during his first visit to America and had been quite motherly in her relations with the poet. So naturally, the poet stayed at Chicago for a few days without hurrying away as soon as his lecture was finished. The Chicago paper-reporters had, therefore, some chance of tackling him about various questions of the day and one of them got out of him his opinion about Rudyard Kipling, which, needless to say, was not at all favourable and could never be so, for no two poets stand poles asunder to-day as he and Kipling do. About Kipling, he said, "The realism of Kipling's India is wholly a patched-up thing of imagination. His knowledge is second-hand—from the bazaars and servants. He never has entered into the real life of the people." This opinion was boomed in the papers as an interesting piece of news with such big head-lines as :—'Tagore scoffs at Kipling', 'India's poet and seer takes rap at Kipling', 'Kipling ignorant of India asserts Sir Tagore', etc. I suppose all Indians will be equally glad to know that such an opinion about Kipling's writings was openly avowed by the poet in America, for we all share it *in toto* with him.

The poet's opinions, as we have already seen, were most often strong and unpleasant; but all the same, his unassuming manner attracted all reporters. In five or six papers we find invariably the statement, expressed with some amount of surprise, that the poet preferred to be called *Mr.* Tagore rather than Sir Tagore. The *Chicago Ills Herald* writes on Oct. 22, 1916—'Despite his Nobel Prize and recent knighting by the English king, he is still plain Mr. Tagore.' Another paper, *The Portland M. L. Press*, says :—"... Tagore, as he prefers to be called." However, some people in Bengal will find it difficult to believe the above statements, for, in their opinion, their famous change of the poet's attitude towards nationalism now is to be attributed mainly to the fact that a knighthood has been conferred upon him by the British government. These people do not carefully read Rabindranath's writings; they like to go by hearsay. It is simply their impression, not based on facts, that in the days of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal Rabindranath had been a staunch nationalist in the Western sense—they do not care to see for themselves by reading his addresses, given at that time, on what lines he had actually thought that regeneration of India was possible and what, according to him, had been the basic principles of Indian civilisation as distinguished from those of western civilisation. For, nationalism is a vague and general term; what Rabindranath had meant by it before and what he meant by it afterwards, must be thoroughly comprehended before an attempt at comparison of his views about it before and after can be undertaken. Was he an advocate, at any time of his life, of the aggressive form of nationalism as it has developed in the West, whose another name is commercialism and militarism and which 'trades upon the greed and fear of men' turning them, as he says, into conscienceless automatons of selfishness and greed? Did he not, repeatedly, expose the utter hollowness of this kind of nationalism which is the form of "the organized self-interest of a whole people" and which recklessly barters a people's higher aspirations of life in exchange for profit and power. In his sonnets of the 'Naivedya', and his addresses published in the 'Bangadarshan' e.g., *Prachya O Paschatya Sabhyata* (Eastern and Western Civilisations), *Swadeshi Samaj* (Swadeshi Society), *Brahmacharya*, *Bharatvarsher Itihas* (Indian History), etc.? What he said then, he has said now almost word for word, in his 'Cult of Nationalism', only with far greater power and clearness of vision. Although it is a digression, still I may be permitted to say that the president of the recent Bengal Provincial Conference has also made similar comparisons of the poet's views on nationalism before and after and has

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pressed his regret and protest with regard to what he considered the poet's changed attitude of mind towards nationalism. He seems to labour under the misapprehension that in the 'Cult of Nationalism' Rabindranath has actually proposed to do away with nations altogether and to form a 'universal brotherhood of man'—in other words, that Rabindranath has preached the petted and pious platitudes of whining sanctimonious preachers that all men should sink their differences and be one and brothers and love one another without quarrelling or fighting ever, and so on and so on. That such a colorless cosmopolitanism is entirely out of his programme will be evident from the following quotation of his utterance taken from *Kewanee Ills Courier*, Oct. 30, 1916 :—

"*They (nations) must always exist as separate identities.* The world would be unbeautiful and monotonous without variety. But no nation must predominate. Each one has a right to proper expression as a part of a great unit. Any system which does not take this into consideration must produce evil."

In an article which was published in *Minneapolis Minn Tribune*, the writer said truly of the poet : "He is a nationalist but also an internationalist." Of course, it must be admitted that the international programme of the poet was naturally less pronounced in his writings during the Swadeshi movement, for, then, he was more concerned with the problems of his own country than with the problems of all humanity. In *Milwaukee Wisconsin*, in a report entitled 'Tagore on Western Problems' we read that "India some day will be a republic, he predicted." Could he predict it without being a nationalist, or rather an *Indian Nationalist*, using the term in the Indian and not the occidental sense, which he repudiates ? In fact, any student of Rabindranath's writings will not fail to see that the president of the recent Bengal Provincial Conference has so closely followed Rabindranath's lines of Indian nationalism and his practical programme for national regeneration that his sudden protest against Rabindranath has only furnished us with an actual instance of an aphorism of Rabindranath, viz.—"*The echo mocks her origin to prove she is the original.*"

So much for digression. The lecture at Chicago took place on Oct. 24, 1916, at Orchestra Hall. All the Chicago papers accorded it unequivocal praise. In one paper, *the Milwaukee Wis Journal*, Oct. 26, 1916, we hear that the poet "thrilled" the vast audience, which was composed of quite a miscellany of people of all classes and races—"men and women with white faces, yellow faces, brown faces" and that "seated in the farthest row back was the huge figure of an Ethiopian." The poet left Chicago for Indianapolis on Oct. 29 and was brought there under the auspices of Miss Ona B. Talbot's Fine Arts Association. The first event of the fine arts series was to be the lecture by Rabindranath on a new subject—'The World of Personality.'

In Indianapolis, an interesting interview was published in a paper in which the poet discussed the relative status of woman in the East and woman in the West. The report runs thus :

"The Christian missionary with his profound ignorance of Hindu social organism, sees nothing but abject misery in the lot of the Hindu woman. The orthodox Hindu, on the other hand, with his equally profound ignorance of the outside world, looks upon the lot of the Hindu woman as nothing short of blissful. But Tagore, with his practical knowledge of both the societies, realizes that there is good and bad in both, and that proper education will cure the ills and strengthen the good."..... "Woman acts in society," says Tagore, "as the centripetal force does in the planets. But in Europe, this centripetal force of woman's energy is proving fruitless to counterbalance the centrifugal force of the distracted society..... No doubt when an English lady sees the small rooms with crude furniture and old-fashioned pictures in the Zenana, she at once concludes that men have made slaves of the Hindu woman. But she forgets that we all live together the same way. We read Spencer, Ruskin and Mill; we edit magazines and write books, but we squat on a mattress on the floor and we use an earthen oil-lamp for study. We buy jewels for our wives when we have the money, and we sleep inside a string-tied mosquito-net, and on warm nights fan ourselves with a palm-leaf fan. We have no sofas or highly upholstered chairs, yet we do not feel miserable for not having them. But at the same time we are quite capable of loving and being loved. The western people love furniture, entertainments and luxuries of life so much that many amongst them do not care to have wives or husbands, and if married, positively no children. With them comfort takes precedence of love, whereas love and home are the supreme things in our life."

In another fine interview with Mr. Joyce Kilmar, who seems to be on a much higher level of intelligence and culture than ordinary newspaper reporters, the poet had occasion to talk of poets and poetry. This interview was published in the 'Bookman.' He said :

"The proper function of the poet is neither to direct nor to interpret his fellows, but to give expression to truth which has come to his life in fullness of music."....

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"All the great poets of the West in some aspect of their moods and thoughts show their affinity with the East, just as the great Eastern poets have theirs with the West. For to be great is to be comprehensive. "To cite an instance, Walt Whitman's poems, though strongly savouring of America, are yet deeply imbued with Eastern ideas and feelings. Are not Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' and Wordsworth's nature poems Eastern in their spirit ?.....

"The modern poets of the East are learning from the poets of the West the value to literature of the passionate vitality which has its triumphant joy in the very strength and speed of its movement. The poets of the West would do well to learn from the East the reverent delight in the vision of perfection in whose depth all movements find their rest and meaning."

Finishing his Indianapolis programme, Rabindranath went to Milwaukee on November 4. At the Pabst theatre, he spoke on 'Nationalism' and we read in *Milwaukee Wis Sentinel*, November 5, 1916 the following report :—

".....A long beard giving his face the appearance of a prophet come into the modern world out of the biblical past, the man who is regarded by many as the greatest living poet stood before a large audience of Milwaukeeans at the Pabst Theater Saturday night....Tagore had for audiences one of the biggest lecture crowds that has been brought together in Milwaukee for several seasons. Every seat in the main floor and the balcony of the Pabst theatre was filled."

His next move was to Louisville where he spoke on the same subject on November 6th at Macaulay's Theatre. We have already reprinted in the April number of the M. R., a report which appeared in *Louisville Ky Herald* with the head-line: "Orient and Occident Meet in Tagore's Wonderful Talk." Four or five other papers of Louisville seem to have received the lecture with evidently divided feelings —they praised and dispraised it at the same time. The *Louisville Ky Times* wrote that Louisvillians could not "grow enthusiastic over the question of autonomy for the East Indian Empire." "Provincials, or something quite like, he called us ; and he was right. We were quite too provincial to go to the depths of the Pierian spring sounded by him last night."

Leaving Louisville, he went to Nashville at the invitation of the Centennial Club and lectured under its auspices at the Vendome Theatre on November 8. The Nashville people were exceedingly appreciative of his message. We read in *Nashville Tenn Banner*, Nov. 9, that he invited the Centennial Club people to assemble in his private reception room at the Hotel Hermitage :

"There," writes the reporter, "seated in midst of them,..... the great poet told them simply the story of his school for boys, in In where the life effort of his present years is express itself.....It was a company of congenial selecti and they listened with keen and close interest Sir Rabindranath told in an intimate and colorf way of the school, which is operated rather 'throu want of system than with any particular metho he said, smiling. His principles of education do embrace set curriculum or plans of grading and amination." "The education of my boys germina from a seed to a plant, rather, unconsciously, I m say. I cannot believe in a monastic discipline, can see no reason for punishing a little child beca he is a child, and therefore must be both ignora and untrained." .....

"Those so fortunate as to be present will este it, in years to come, as one of the most privile occasions that time has brought them."

The poet arrived in Detroit, a famo American town, on November 10. H had to submit himself, here again, to th great American form of torture known a the interview and possibly he had such warm time with his interviewers that h let them have freely a piece of his mind o their business. He said :

"Your American interview is based purely o curiosity. You are interested only in the spectacul phases of a man's personality. I often wonder wh some newspapers send men to see me at all wh they would save time and trouble by simply putti a reporter down to a typewriter and letting h dream out what I might say."

On November 12, in the auditorium o the Board of Commerce Building and t "an audience that filled it to capacity an in which Detroit's exclusive socie was well represented" Rabindranath de vered his lecture on "Nationalism." Th *Detroit Mich Free Press* writes thus abo the lecture :—

"A PROFOUND MESSAGE..... "with m culine force he stripped modern civilisation unti stood naked and grotesque before the shock mental vision.

"What an indictment of the pretensions of t British Government! What an arraignment of nati and of powers ! What a plea for mankind !

"The Board of Commerce audience heard the m profound analysis of life and of the mechanism commerce, of organized society and of Governm that any modern ears have heard. The Rousseaus, th Jeffersons, the Karl Marxes, the Bryces and th Wilsons seem superficial in the presence of th swarthy analyst.....

"The great corpulent bodies of modern comm cialism, the boilers and engines of modern nations a the protuberant prosperity of thewestern world all a soulless structures built up of the gnawed bones of th weak, whose ignorance is capitalized. Thus ran h message from the "terrible meek" Buddha, and th ran his terrific indictment."

The Detroit Mich News. The Detr

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Mich Tribune and the other leading papers of Detroit were full of applause and appreciation of the paper. *The Detroit Mich Free Press* wrote :

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore's denunciation of nationalism is convincing..... Yet while we admit that nationalism is not the greatest good, we can argue that it is a means to an end."

Tagore does not object to it, only he points out that the means sometimes gets the better of the end and the end is completely lost sight of. If nationalism could have developed into cosmic humanism, it would not have turned into a machine of greed and power, it would not have turned individuals into mere automatons. It is the abstraction of nationalism that Tagore contends against.

The Detroit Mich Journal calls in question the burden of Tagore's lecture and says :—"As an abstract theory the message has much that is attractive and engaging. As a suggestion for practical application it obviously is unsuited for mankind as we know it." But what is the meaning of "mankind as we know it" ? There are men who are reaching after the ideal, others are grovelling in the dust. Who are fit to be taken as the true representatives of mankind ? Are all ideals, theories, ethical principles, to be dismissed as the dreams of visionaries, simply because the majority of men do not or cannot at present follow them ? What then would be the fate of the teachings of Buddha, Christ, and other elder brothers of the race ?" "Mankind" is not merely what it is, it is also what it is becoming.

From Detroit he hurried on to Cleveland, where, as a newspaper humorously puts it : 'he gave a scolding to the Twentieth Century Club on Tuesday evening at about 700 dollars per scold,' read another lecture on the "World of Personality" and then started for New York, where he arrived on November 18, a month after his landing in Seattle. There was a great sensation about him in New York, and as many as fifteen or sixteen papers were writing about him, publishing interviews and all kinds of accounts of his life, every day in the leading editorials. He gave a private talk to a select party where he read "The Second Birth," a religious discourse. *The New York City World* published quite a long and interesting interview with the poet and there also we find the interviewer writes, "Mr. Tagore as he prefers to be addressed." It must be said to the credit of the New York interviewers that almost all the interviews published in various New York papers are good. *The Philadelphia Pa Inquirer* published an account with the famous head-line "India will be free, Tagore poet says." "I feel certain," he said, "the time is coming when India will be self-governing." "We of India cannot achieve anything by imitating the West.....we hope to be able to show the world that we have something to give, not merely to receive."

In another interview, which was published in *New York City Eve Post*, November 20, 1916 (also, in *New York City Mail* November 21, 1916), we read the following admirable head-lines : "Rabindranath Tagore says world looks to us, East no less than Europe seeks our friendship. Noble thing not to exclude Asiatic students who wish to come here. Education the greatest and finest gift we have to bestow, says Bengali poet," etc., etc. I believe that the poet showed much greater patriotism in strongly and ardently enjoining on the United States not to exclude Indian students as had been proposed, than in declining the invitation of the Canadians to land in Canada. He said :

"Perhaps your treatment of Asiatics is one of the darkest sides of your national life..... I have heard much lately of the bill that is to be presented to your legislature in Washington which would exclude our Indian students from the country. I have seen many of these students throughout the country and they are alarmed and they have implored me to see persons of influence and in positions of power. Why would you deprive these young Indian students of their education ? Is it not a noble thing to help us ?..... I have read the provisions of this bill which will be presented. It will exclude these Indian students whose number is assuredly not large enough to do you harm. It is true that sometimes the remittances from their home country are delayed and they are in actual want of cash and then they work their way as your students do. But surely you can endure so much of competition..... I have heard that some of the students have formed a revolutionary society in California and that therefore the British Government is opposed to their coming here. But you cannot punish a whole nation for that.

"When I was in Japan I spoke with some of the steamship peoples who have always been friendly to me. They had refused passage to some students who had money to pay and could maintain themselves. When I asked them why they did this, they said that the British Government was exerting pressure upon them and California also and that they did not dare to transport them.

....."I hear, too, that underhand influences are at work to urge the passage of the bill excluding Indian students from this country.

"Here they are, between two great Powers. They are insignificant creatures. You can crush

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them if you will, you can deprive them of their education. But you will be doing them a grave moral hurt and that you cannot do without injuring yourselves. I think that to pass the bill will be a crime."

And this is the man, whom many of his countrymen, including the president of the recent Bengal Provincial Conference thoughtlessly arraign for being a 'Lost Leader,' saying 'that just for a riband to stick in his coat', the riband of knighthood, he deserted the camp of nationalism. How absurd of them to insinuate that he seized the occasion to play to the gallery by denouncing nationalism when Europe was groaning with agony in her battle-fields and Western savants were supposed to have pointed out nationalism as the root of all evils and war! With the single exception of Hon. Mr. Bertrand Russel we do not know of a second Englishman of fame, who has disparaged nationalism on similar grounds and Bertrand Russel's indictments are much later than Tagore's. It has not therefore become a *bon ton* in Europe or America to speak against nationalism and war—rather race-hatred and national pride are running amuck in the west to-day and it is fearfully dangerous for any man to express views discountenancing them in any way.

Rabindranath's famous lecture on "Nationalism" came off on November 21st in Carnegie Hall, New York, one of the biggest halls in the city. The immense audience, says *New York City Eve World*, 'sat devoutly hushed.' The hall resounded from time to time with plaudits, says *New York City Tribune*, which chooses for its headline "Tagore hits British rule" and quotes excerpts from the lecture only where he happened to criticise British rule in India. *The New York City Post*, too, follows suit and says: "The applause with which his address was greeted indicated that there was a warm sympathy with his thought." *The New York City Sun* says that "it was one of the biggest gatherings ever seen in Carnegie Hall..... Scores waited in line for tickets but had to go away disappointed." We have not, however, noticed a single adverse criticism among the New York papers, except perhaps one which simply doubted about the feasibility of the poet's programme of the futurity of nations.

On November 23, Rabindranath read his second lecture, viz., that on "The World of Personality" at the Hudson Theatre in New York. *The Bridgeport Conn Farm* writes about it: "Many women had tears in their eyes" while the poet was reading. "In exquisitely beautiful language Tagore told his listeners things which are so much a part of him and which they have come to know in every book of prose or poetry which he has written."

We read in another paper that Rev. Dr. Frederick J. Gauld delivered an interesting address on Rabindranath Tagore in a famous Unitarian church to a crowded audience and he said "that the great poet was not seeking in the subject of his Tokio lecture, the Cult of Nationalism, to discourage patriotism, but to show that certain forms of patriotism may result in despotism, as in the countries of Europe."

On Nov. 24, the poet gave readings from his published works at the Hudson Theatre. *The New York City Mail* writes that "Mr. Tagore requested, however, that his hearers refrain from applause until the close of his reading, and this rather cramped the enthusiasm. Occasionally an emotional sister broke the rule, but not with enough success to disturb the serenity of the occasion."

A most appreciative and pretty long report of the lecture on the "Cult of Nationalism" appeared in *New York City Evening Post*, Nov. 25, written by Mr. Malcolm W. Davis. There the poet's teachings were likened to those of Socrates and Jesus. Says the writer:

"After such as outburst of denunciation it was difficult for a gathering of western men and women to get their breath. In the full flood of his anger, rebellion against ideals to which they had been born, they seemed dazed. Under the lash of his contemptuous invictive .....they stirred uneasily in their seats with subdued ejaculations of astonishment. They laughed apologetically at themselves as they listened to his bitter sarcasm..... Finally, he sent them away with a poem picturing the decay fall of western civilisation in a lurid sunset, while world in darkness waits the calm dawn in the East."

On Nov. 25, Rabindranath arrived in Philadelphia from New York and on the same night he read some of his poetry at a private recital in a school for girls. He also spoke on Nationalism, which was very much appreciated in all Philadelphia papers, and hurried to Brooklyn on Nov. 27, where he spoke on the same subject in the Opera House of the Academy of Music before a large audience. The meeting was presided over by the Rev. Dr. Charles Albertson and lauded Rabindranath

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exceedingly high terms at the end of his talk. *The Brooklyn N. Y. Eagle*, Nov. 28, 1916, has the headings in the report concerning the lecture :—"Denounces Great Britain for its Treatment of India and its people. Says, they are being stifled." The same paper observes :

"His adroit phraseology and scintillating epigrams, however, seldom went unappreciated and evoked applause every few moments..... He was greeted almost reverentially by the audience, the entire throng rising upon his entrance and upon his exit."

The next move was to Paterson where on Nov. 28, at the first Unitarian Church he lectured on "The Cult of Nationalism." The lionising of Rabindranath in city after city naturally evoked some cynicism among a few critics who tried to explain it away in the papers as having been due to merely natural and human curiosity. In one paper, *Syracuse N. Y. Post Standard*, Nov. 30, a critic writes :

"If some Englishman came to this country and denounced western civilisation as Tagore denounced it in a recent address, we would boo him from the hall..... This is not in denunciation of Tagore, the man or his works..... Without question "there is something to" his philosophy..... But few rational people will have much sympathy for those people who blindly worship the "new" philosopher because he wears a turban instead of a hat."

Rabindranath arrived in the great city of Boston on Dec. 1. All the leading Boston papers, for a few days after his arrival, began to publish interesting interviews with him and accounts of his life and activities, and he invariably spoke of his school at Shantiniketan. *The Boston Mass Post*, Dec. 3, 1916, published a long interview and remarked: "He was knighted by George V, but he wants to be called *Mr.* Tagore". On Dec. 6, at Tremont Temple, he delivered his address on "Nationalism" before a large audience. *The Boston Mass Herald*, Dec. 6, 1916, thus writes about it :—

"The temple was stormed nearly an hour before opening time, and scores of people failed to get seats. The audience gave the famous Bengali poet one of the warmest welcomes ever accorded to a lecturer in Boston and he spoke for over 80 minutes in his main address, finally reciting by request three of his best known compositions..... The audience warmed up in response as he proceeded and at the close there was a prolonged burst of cheering.

On Dec. 6, he went to New Haven and "was royally welcomed by the Yale faculty", writes the *New Haven Conn Register*. He lectured at night on Dec. 6, at Mount Holyoke College before "a large enthusiastic audience" on "What is Art ?" The substance of the lecture was published in *Springfield Mass Republican*. We read in *New Haven Conn Courier* that an elaborate programme had been prepared for the poet at Yale. He was introduced in Woolsley Hall by President Hadley, who made a short and beautiful speech on the occasion, presenting to the poet the Yale bi-centennial medal with the words : "We welcome you as one of the seekers of light and truth." The poet then gave readings from his published poems and read also some manuscript works. At the conclusion of his recital he was received at the Elizabethan club by Yale officials and prominent New Haven people. It was long after midnight that the reception at the club concluded and he could retire. At the club, about six Indian residents presented him with a wreath of bridal roses. He spoke on "Shantiniketan School" to the students and faculty of Smith College.

He next spoke on "What is Art ?" and "The World of Personality" at Buffalo under the auspices of the Garret Club, and the *Buffalo N. Y. Courier* and the *Buffalo N. Y. News* give very appreciative reports of both of his lectures.

He came back again to New York on Dec. 12 and we read in the *New York City Times* Dec. 13, that "at least a thousand persons were unable to gain admission to the New Amsterdam Theatre yesterday afternoon for the last appearance in New York of Sir Rabindranath Tagore." He left New York for San Francisco rather hurriedly, for he was evidently tired of being "transported from town to town" as he put it, "like a bale of cotton." His agent, Pond, was greatly disappointed, for the lectures were fetching quite a large amount of money, and if he could have persuaded the poet to stay till summer, the poet would have made quite a fortune for his school. But all these considerations,—the great demand of the American cities to hear him again—the expectations of many—he set aside when he felt that he must hurry back to his school and his home in Bengal, because he had finished delivering his message. His work was done. America heard the message of the East and that was enough. The 'mustard seed' was sown and in time it would sprout up. It could not die.

But now that we know how profoundly

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the Americans were impressed by the poet's personality and his message, may we not ask ourselves, whether we are sufficiently alive to our own responsibilities as a people with regard to our attitude towards the poet and his teachings, and also with regard to our attitude towards ourselves? If hundreds of intellectual centres in America discuss Rabindranath's poetry regularly, ought there not to be at least one centre or association here in Bengal to study and discuss his works systematically? If the Americans raise funds to help Bolpur School, should it not be the duty of educated Indians to do the same and take more interest in its work? If the Americans are so eager to hear his talk and see him in person, as the American press tells us, should not the various cities of India and Bengal be more eager to see him and hear him from time to time? It would be a matter of utter shame if India's greatest son were more honored and appreciated outside India than in the land of his birth. For surely, if he has any message, he has it, first and foremost, for us, for his own people.

LITERATUS.

Note by the Editor.

In this series of articles on Rabindranath Tagore's lecture-tour in America which is now brought to a close, the reader will find repeated references made by the American press to the poet's criticism of the Government of his country. These references give a rather one-sided view of what the poet has said in "The Cult of Nationalism" on the British Government; they are likely to produce the impression that the lecturer indulged in indiscriminate attacks on that Government. But more than one passage may be quoted to show that the poet is not a hostile critic. We extract only one paragraph below.

"I have not come here, however, to discuss question as it affects my own country, but the of all humanity. It is not about the British Government, but the government by the Nation—Nation which is the organised self-interest of a people, where it is the least human and the spiritual. Our only intimate experience of the is the British Nation, and as far as the governed by the Nation goes, there are reasons to believe it is one of the best. Then again we have to sider that the West is necessary to the East. are complementary to each other because of different outlooks upon life which have given different aspects of truth. Therefore if it be true the spirit of the West has come upon our fields guise of a storm, it is all the same scattering seeds that are immortal. And when in India we be able to assimilate in our life what is permanent the Western civilisation we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of those two worlds. Then will come to an end the one dominance which is galling. What is more, we have recognise that the history of India does not belong one particular race, but it is the history of a of creation to which various races of the contributed——the Dravidians and the Aryans, ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mahomedans the West and those of the Central Asia. Now at last has come the turn of the English to bring it the tribute of their life, we neither have the nor the power to exclude them from their work building the destiny of India. Therefore what about the Nation has more to do with the history Man than specially with that of India."

It is perhaps necessary to say that poet does not preach what is generally caricatured as cosmopolitanism. He says "Neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, nor the fierce self-idolatry of nation-worship is the goal of human history."

"HARISCHANDRA" AT THE DEAF AND DUMB SCHOOL

AT the recent prize distribution of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School the pupils gave a mute representation of the classic story of Harischandra. Deaf and dumb persons have to express their thoughts, feelings and desires by means of signs and gestures. Hence they are naturally more skilled in expressing themselves in this way than persons who possess the power of speech. It was, therefore, to be expected that this performance by deaf mute boys would be a success. And so it was. Those who witnessed the representation expressed themselves highly pleased with it. Some of the tableaux were photographed. We reproduce a few of the photographs, taken by the Subal Studio, which, though they fall short of the original tableaux, may give the reader some idea of them.

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1. King Harishchandra leaves his palace after giving away his Kingdom to the *Rishi* Viswamitra. The latter demands the jewlled necklace worn by the king's son Rohitaswa, who is trying to take it off.

2. After giving away his Kingdom Harischandra sells his wife Shaibya to a Brahmin, and thereby procures half the *dakshina* payable to Viswamitra. On the Brahmin's refusal to take her son with her, both mother and son express great distress.

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3. The king sells himself to a *Chandala* for procuring the other half of the *dakshina*.

4. The Brahmin's wife, who is now mistress of the queen Shaibya, scolds and beats her. The Brahmin's and prince Rohitaswa's sorrow therefor. The prince's companions console him.

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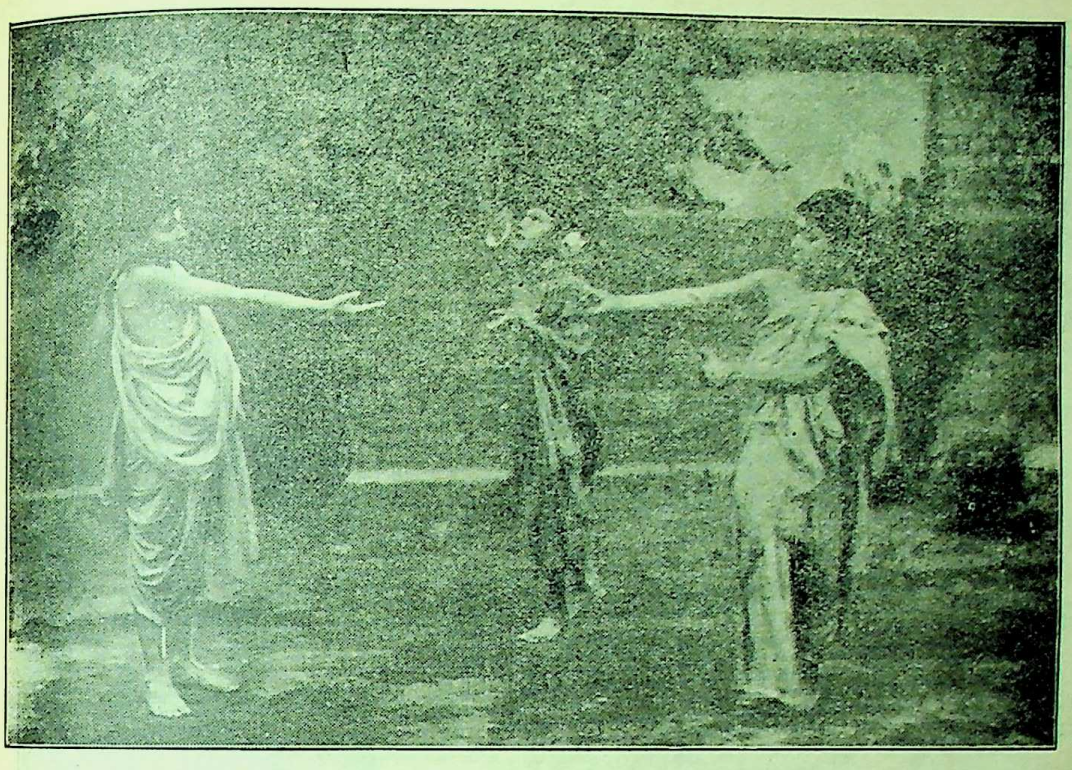

5. Rohitaswa gone to pluck flowers. Seeing that one of his companions is offering him a flower, a second companion wants it; whereupon the first companion shows his thumb to the second in token of refusal. A serpent is about to bite Rohitaswa from behind his head.

6. The terror and amazement of Rohitaswa's companions at his death from snake-bite.

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7. Queen Shaibya goes to the cremation-ground with her dead son in her arms.

11. Rohitaswa is brought back to life by Viswamitra's blessing. The joyful meeting of mother and son, and the father Harischandra's grandson.

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8. Harischandra as the servant of the *Chandala* is agitated at dead of night to hear the sorrowing mother Shaibya's lament.

9. Harischandra as the servant of the *Chandala* demands from Shaibya the usual fee for the cremation of her son, not knowing her to be his own wife ; she intimates her utter indigence and consequent inability to pay.

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10. Suddenly by lightning flash Harischandra and Shaibya recognise each other.

THE SUNSET OF THE CENTURY

The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood-red clouds of the West
and the whirlwind of hatred.
The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed,
is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.
The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless
feeding.
For it has made the world its food,
And, licking it, crunching it and swallowing it in big morsels,
It swells and swells,
Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends the sudden shaft of Heaven
piercing its heart of grossness.
The crimson glow of light on the horrizon is not the light of thy dawn of peace,
my Motherland,
It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh—the self-love of
the Nation—dead under its own excess.
Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of the East,
Meek and silent.

Keep watch, India !
Bring your offerings of worship for that sacred sunrise.
Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your voice and sing :
"Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own great suffering,
Come with thy treasure of contentment, the sword of fortitude,
And meekness crowning thy forehead."

Be not ashamed, my brothers, to stand before the proud and the powerful
With your white robe of simpleness.
Let your crown be of humility, your freedom the freedom of the soul.
Build God's throne daily upon the ample bareness of your poverty,
And know what is huge is not great, and pride is not everlasting.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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GARDEN PARTY AT AN INDIAN HOUSE. FIND "THE INDIAN."

By the courtesy of the artist Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

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THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MASSES

PARAGRAPH 18 of the Report of Lord Islington's Commission on the Public Services of India is headed "extent to which the western educated classes represent the masses of the people" and runs as follows :

"How far the western educated classes reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India who are still untouched by western influences is a question upon which opinions differ. Even amongst the educated the conflicting traditions of Hindus and Muhammadans are still constantly reflected in their attitudes towards social and political questions of the first order, whilst, in addition to this main line of religious cleavage, there are other important communities such as Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists (chiefly in Burma) and Indian Christians, who are all more or less widely separated from the bulk of the population, either Hindu or Muhammadan. Nor does religion constitute the only line of cleavage. Geographical and climatic as well as social conditions have also helped to preserve down to our own times differences originally imported into India by successive waves of conquest and migration. Of all these considerations it would be unwise not to take cognisance. But it would be equally unwise to ignore that growing body of western educated opinion which is gradually creating a new atmosphere all over India. Even those who most strongly deprecate some of its manifestations realise that it has contributed largely to the great social and religious movements which are aiming at giving a new direction to old beliefs and at harmonising ancient doctrines with the teachings of science. It is reflected in that new sense of unity which is displacing the idea of ordained separation hitherto prevalent in Indian society."

The following is Justice Abdur Rahim's criticism on the above paragraph.

"In para 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India. So far as the views of the latter on any of the matters in dispute, or of an allied character, are concerned, it is impossible to imagine what opinions they are in a position to form so long as they are allowed to remain, as at present, in their illiterate and apallingly ignorant condition.* As for the representation of their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated, Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged. The inability of English officials to master the spoken languages of India and their different religions, habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general Indian population that only an extremely limited few possessed of extraordinary powers of intuitional insight have ever been able to surmount the barriers. As for the sacred books and classics of the Indian peoples, Hindu and Muhammadan, whose study is indispensable to a foreigner wishing to understand the people's national genius, it would be difficult to name more than two or three Englishmen among the thousands that during a period of more than 100 years of British connection with India have been employed in the service of Government, whose attainments could be mentioned with a show of respect. Such knowledge of the people and of the classical literatures as passes current among the European officials is compiled almost entirely from the data furnished to them by the western-educated Indians ; and the idea of the European officials having to deal with the people of India without the medium of the western-educated Indian is too wild for serious contemplation. It would be no exaggeration to say that without their cooperation the administration could not be carried on for a single day.

"With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the ties of religion and custom, so strong in the east, inevitably make their knowledge and sympathy far more intimate than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions. It is from a wrong and deceptive perspective that we are asked to look at the system of castes among the Hindus more as a dividing force than as a powerful binding factor; and the unifying spirit of Islam, so far as it affects the Muhammadans, does not stand in need of being explained ; while in all communities the new national movement has received considerable accession of impulse from the lessons of such arguments as are hinted at in the majority report. The evidence is remarkably significant in this connection. His Highness the Aga Khan joined his weighty voice with that of the leaders of the Congress in demanding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, and the representatives of the Sikh Khalsa and the Pathans of the Punjab; the Moslem League along with the spokesmen of the cammunities more advanced in western education, were unanimous in entering their emphatic protest against the suggestion that the presence of Indians in the higher official ranks would be distasteful to the Indians themselves, and specially in a province or a community other than that of the Indian official."

The criticism of the Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal is no less instructive, and is quoted below.

"The two views on this question are fairly stated

* Elsewhere, Justice Rahim, reverting to this subject, says : "In paragraph 18 of the majority report allusion is made to the opinion of those who allege that the western educated classes do not represent the interests of the many scores of millions of India. The fact, however, is that for sometime they have been making most earnest endeavours in this direction. If Mr. Gokhale's bill for popular education, supported as it was by the entire educated opinion of the country, has not been placed on the Indian statute book the blame cannot be laid at their door."

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in this paragraph.* But in view of the wide belief in high circles in the first of these views a closer examination of the question so far as it is material to the services concerned, and to the employment of Indians in them, is necessary. In the first place, it may be pointed out that in relation to the public services under government there is no such class as *eastern educated classes*, as distinguished or distinguishable from "the western educated classes." For such eastern education as exists now there is absolutely no scope for employment in any of the departments we have considered. If any Indians have to be employed in the higher service at all, they must be from the western educated classes, whether they *represent* the masses of the people or not. Assuming that they do not, the next step implied in the argument is that the ability or capacity to *represent* the masses must be present in anyone who claims to be entitled to enter the higher service under Government. Therefore, it is not desirable to employ a larger number of these western educated classes in the higher service, and consequently, it is impossible with safety and in the interests of these masses to narrow the field of employment for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the higher posts under government. To employ the educated Indian in larger numbers is, in the words of the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite, "to give a disproportionate degree of authority in the government of the masses and the aristocracy into the hands of a few thousand men whose heads have been turned by an education they have not assimilated."

If this argument is analysed one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to *represent* the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word "represent." If it implies a knowledge of the condition of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realise their duties towards all about them, these ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far higher degree than any European or Anglo-Indian can claim to have. The charge really is that the educated Indian has a class-bias, a sort of clannishness, a tendency to favour his own caste or community in the discharge of his official duties which detract from his usefulness in the higher service and, therefore, the presence of the European in large numbers is necessary to hold the scales evenly between these few educated thousands and the dumb and ignorant millions, who would otherwise be oppressed by them.

This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians from which only the higher posts can be filled is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias, e.g., no instances of complaint on this score against any of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service would be available, and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the low and depressed classes have emanated from the educated Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work wholeheartedly in improving the condition of the masses.

Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there are still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English Official does not like the independence, the self-assertion, and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. Dr. Wordsworth stated in his evidence before the last commission, "deferential ignorance, conciliatory manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now, and will always be, at a premium." It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded. It is indeed hardly consistent that while on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for education Indians for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, and in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, they should, on the other, so jealously guard the entrance of educated indigenous agency into the higher and better remunerated posts in the State."

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* Paragraph 18 of the Report. The views of Messrs. Rahim and Chaubal are quoted from their dissentient minutes which are to be found at the end of the same volume (vol. I).

THE QUESTION OF THE PROPORTION OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

"I am aware," says Mr. Chaubal in his minute of dissent, "that there are some well-meaning persons who think that it is not in the interests of the Indians *themselves* that any proportions whatsoever should be fixed, as the tendency is for the minimum to become the maximum*; but this is a belief held

* This tendency is admitted by the majority of Commissioners in their report, but it is curious

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persons who do not seem to be aware of the strength and influence of the forces that work in India for encouraging recruitment from abroad ; and for some years to come a fixing of the proportions is perhaps the only way to counteract these forces." Elsewhere Mr. Chaubal says :—

"Since last August, however, this earnest demand for a larger employment of qualified Indian agency in the higher service has received an added force. This unfortunate war into which the whole empire has been launched, the response that India has made to the call of the empire in its need, and the generous and appreciative terms in which British administrations have spoken and are speaking of the loyal support from all classes and communities in India, have raised hopes and aspirations which if not substantially satisfied will result in disappointment and cause alarming discontent. Whatever may come after a successful termination of the war, the country is now in a ferment and is anxiously awaiting the final pronouncements of this Commission for some substantial indication of the 'altered angle of vision' towards Indian problems.

"The question, therefore, of the proportions in which indigenous agency is to be utilised in the near future in the higher service of the state is of vital importance. These proportions must be such as will cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the government of the country. At present the Indians are far and few ; and every Indian officer, whether high or low, feels that he is not serving himself or his country, but is an individual hired to labour for somebody else. He can rarely put his whole heart into the work, because he is always conscious of the presence of his taskmaster and never works but with his eyes upon his superior officer and always thinking of what he will say of the work turned out by him. To dispel this feeling there must, in the higher service in all departments of the administration, be present a large number of Indians, so that they may collectively feel that the responsibility for a strong and wise government rests mainly on them. This consideration, indeed, appears to have been present to the mind of the last Commission, but I think it did not realise the extremely limited employment of the Indians in the services. They observe in their report, "As the progress of education excites in constantly increasing numbers of the natives of India an interest in their political condition, the knowledge that men of their own race and creed are freely associated with Englishmen in the government of the country will minimise any sense of subjection and enhance the sentiment of a common citizenship—a sentiment which is at once the interest of the empire and the desire of her most eminent politicians to inspire and confirm." The evidence received by us in India during the last two years has left on my mind a painful impression that a much more sympathetic treatment by, and a far more liberal association with, Englishmen is required before that sense of subjection is appreciably reduced, and before the desired sentiment of a common citizenship is *created*, for at present it is indeed non-existent except perhaps in platform speeches. When, therefore, in this minute I am dissenting from the proportions allotted, in the report and annexures, to the Indians in the different services, I am doing so because I look at the question from this point of view, and I feel that the proportions recommended by the majority are insufficient and inadequate."

Mr. Abdur Rahim expresses himself as follows on the subject :—

"The question of fixing proper proportions for recruitment in the two countries does not by its nature admit of a satisfactory or final solution. Such questions should be confined within as narrow limits as possible and be treated as a temporary device to be replaced by the enforcement of broad principles of recruitment as soon as practicable. . . . Wherever there is to be a proportion, the number to be recruited in India should in the first place be substantial enough to appeal to the imagination of the educated youths of the country. It should be large enough to bring about a change in the feeling of an Indian officer from one of helpless isolation in the midst of a foreign agency into a consciousness that he and his Indian comrades bear a substantial part of the responsibility for efficient administration. The educated classes generally should be able to realise that they have an effective part in guiding and controlling the administration for the benefit of the country. Unless the number reaches this point the throwing open of a few more posts will solve no problem."

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they have not stopped to enquire what it connotes. It means nothing else but this, that the Government of the country is conceived in such an illiberal spirit, and is so thoroughly divorced from the real national interests of the people, that any proposal for throwing open the higher ranks of the public service to the Indians meets with the least possible acceptance. In another place Mr. Chaubal has shown that inspite of the recommendations of the Commission of 1887, there has only been a nominal improvement in this respect.

ANGLO-INDIANS IN THE STATE SERVICE

THE Public Services Commission has divided the major services into three groups, according to their place of recruitment. In the first group are placed the Indian Civil Service and the police service, 'in both of which the nature of

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British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a preponderating proportion of British officers.' 'To the second group belong those services in which, on grounds of policy and efficiency, it is desirable that there should be an admixture in the personnel of both western and eastern elements.' Such are the education, military, finance, medical, telegraph (engineering), public works, railway (engineering and traffic) and survey of India departments. In the third group come certain scientific and technical and services, such as the agricultural, civil veterinary, factory and boiler inspection, forest, geological survey, mines, mint and assay, pilots (Bengal), and railway (locomotive and carriage and wagon) departments. 'In these there are no grounds of policy for any considerable admixture of officers imported from Europe, and all that limits recruitment in India is the lack of facilities in that country for technical instruction and the consequent defeciency of properly qualified officers.' There remain the customs and Indian finance departments. 'In these, also, no considerations of policy appear to exist for going to Europe, and the officers recruited are not required to possess any technical qualifications which are not procurable in India.' We therefore find that the superior public services have been divided into three classes according as, in the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners, a preponderating proportion of British officers is required, an admixture of western and eastern elements is required, and no considerable admixture of European officers is required. The 'admixture' of British officers is said to be required 'on grounds of policy and efficiency,' but the qualification of efficiency is soon dropped out of account, and only grounds of policy are persistenly urged, though they are never specified and invariably left to the imagination to supply. The Commission lays down that only in one department, finance, should appointments in the future be made wholly in India. In a few of the other departments, particularly in the third group, not less than half the appointments are to be made in India.

"In these, we think that a determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India, so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country the staff needed to meet all normal requirements. This will require an immediate expenditure of a considerable sum of money, but not probably as much as would at first sight be expected. For instance, up-to-date institutions already exist at Pusa and Debra Dun which can be utilised for the purposes of the agricultural and forest departments. Large railway workshops are also already in existence to supply the needs of the locomotive and carriage and wagon branches. It is only for the civil veterinary, geological survey and mines departments that the existing provision is wholly inadequate. In any case the outlay would be more than repaid, not only by the additional facilities which such institutions would give to young men to qualify themselves for direct appointment to the higher branches of the public services, but by the contribution they would make to the industrial progress of the country."

In the case of the other services the commissioners have indicated the varying proportions in which they wish to see the non-European and the European elements to be represented. Mr. Chaubal considers this classification as futile, inasmuch as the proportion between Europeans and non-Europeans allotted to each group of services is not the same within the group. Justice Rahim says :

"As to the classification arrived at by the majority of the commissioners, I must state my inability to appreciate the "grounds of policy" which induced them to separate appointments in the medical, public works, and the other departments which they have placed in their second group from those in the third group, which is composed of the scientific and technical departments like the Indian finance, agriculture, &c. It is also difficult to understand how efficiency is a special consideration for appointments of the former as contrasted with those of the last-mentioned class."

He therefore recommends, with perfect logic, that the services should be divided into two groups. In the first group should be placed the executive appointments in the Indian civil service and the appointments in the police ; in these the administrative aspect of the work is especially prominent and the recruitment is based on undifferentiated qualifications. In the second group should be placed appointments in which the administrative aspect of the work is more or less subsidiary and for which differentiated and specialised qualifications of a professional, scientific or technical character are required.

"As such qualifications are capable of being sufficiently definitely ascertained there is no good reason why in this class of appointments Indian candidates when properly qualified should not be appointed to the fullest extent available in India."

"The general policy which is to be kept in view is that the public service of India should be recruited for in the country itself. Upon a survey of the situation, political and economic, and on examining the requirements of the different departments, I have

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come to the conclusion that the only proper classification of the services for determining the place of appointment, which will at the same time be consistent with the fundamental policy of not placing any limits upon the outlook of the people of India in the matter of public service of their own country, must be based on the nature of the work to be performed and the qualifications required for the purpose. The majority of the commissioners in invoking 'British responsibility for the good government of India' and 'grounds of policy' as a basis of classification have, in my opinion, suggested a definite limitation to such outlook for important services like the Indian civil service, the police, the medical, the education, and the public works. This is inconsistent with the natural and constitutional rights of the people and are not justified on any grounds that are mentioned in the report. If it is meant that the connection of the British people with the Government of India necessarily implies the perpetuation of British officers in certain civil services of the country, like the Indian civil service and the police, the theory mixes up the government of a country with its administrative personnel. Further, I can well understand the British people deciding in the best interests of both the countries to retain the government of India and gradually relinquishing all share in the civil administration. In fact this is understood by the Indian public to be the legitimate goal of the policy underlying the proclamation and the statutes which declare that the Indians shall suffer no disabilities and limitations in the public service of their country. I am not here alluding to the demand for self-government on colonial lines which forms the chief item in the Indian political programme. That proposition, of course, goes further than any question of recuitment for the public service."

We have seen above that except in the Finance department, which is to be recruited for wholly in India, the highest proportion of posts allotted to the statutory natives of India in the immediate future is 50 per cent. in some departments, e.g., agriculture, though ultimately the normal requirements of these services are to be met entirely from India. The rates of salary fixed for officers recruited in India are to be fairly high, though not as high as those fixed for officers appointed in England. Justice Rahim's suggestion is that the rates should be equal, but that the European officials should be paid an extra allowance so long as their place is not taken by officers appointed in India. At first sight some would be disposed to think that the prospects of Indians in these departments have been made sufficiently attractive for the time being. But the following extracts from the minutes of dissent recorded by Messrs. Chaubal and Rahim will clearly show that if in making appointments in India the existing practice is allowed, Indians need benefit very little by the change, and the only people who will have reasons to congratulate themselves are the extremely small section of statutory natives of India who were hitherto known as Eurasians, and now pass under the more dignified title of Anglo-Indians. We shall make our first extract from Mr. Chaubal's able note on the subject.

"In the third group it is conceded that the services are scientific and technical and may be purely Indian recruited services, as soon as efficient men are turned out from the technical and scientific institutions in India which it is recommended should be fully equipped with this object in view. This recommendation has my full concurrence, and I only wish that the recommendations made as regards these services be given effect in practice with the same sympathetic spirit in which they have been conceived. The fear entertained as regards these services in the third group is that perhaps an indefinite length of time may be taken in 'Indianising' them, and that as they become India-recruited, Asiatic Indians would not be selected for them in due proportion, and they may become like the present recruited-in-India services in which, as pointed out later, the proportion of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians is only 23, 8·2, and 6·3 per cent., in posts with salaries of Rs. 200 and above, Rs. 500 and above, and Rs. 800 and above respectively.

According to the last census, out of a total population of over 302,000,000 in the country, there are only 199,787 Europeans and allied races (of whom 91,000 form the army, with their wives and dependants), and a little over 100,000 Anglo-Indians.... The tendency in the latter to return themselves as pure Europeans, and in some of the Indian Christians to return themselves as Anglo-Indians, has been noticed both at the last census and in the earlier ones. Thus, strictly, the number of real Anglo-Indian community by itself stands to the general Indian population as 1 in 3,000, and in literacy in English, they stand as 1 in 13. With these figures one will be able to appreciate the surprisiugly large number of posts held of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the public services as against the natives of the country. Out of 11,064—the total number of posts—6,491, or 58 per cent., are held by the members of this small community. As regards posts of Rs 500 and above, out of a total of 4,984 they hold 4,042, i. e., 81 per cent., and as regards posts of Rs 800 and above, out of a total of 2,501 they hold 2,259, or 90 per cent.

It is a matter of common knowledge that only a few out of this community possess or can acquire the educational qualification and the acquaintance with the vernaculars necessary for entry into the executive and judicial departments of the provincial service; and therefore there are now only a few from this community employed in those departments, and naturally the great bulk of this provincial service is recruited from the Asiatic Indian communities. Let us, therefore, exclude this service from consideration, and see how they stand as regards the other 23 services enquired into. If we exclude the Indian and the provincial civil services, the total number of posts of Rs. 200 and above, Rs 500 and above, and Rs 800 and above, is respectively 7,261, 3,073, and 1,601. Out of these, 4,974, 2,756, and 1,499 respectively are at the present day held by the members of the two communities, i. e., the percentages of higher posts held by them are 69, 90, and 94 as against 31,

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10, and 6 held by Asiatic Indians. And more or less, with trifling differences, the necessary qualifications for employment in these services are and can be acquired by both Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well as Asiatic Indians. In paragraph 34 of the report an improvement of the percentage of Indians and Burmese in 1913 is shown as compared with the state of things in 1887, and it is observed that in view of the progress made by the country in the interval this progress is inadequate. Perhaps the degree of inadequacy would be higher and the increase only nominal if in 1887 the posts in the new province of Burma were not included in the calculation

These figures speak for themselves and indicate roughly how wide the field for the larger employment of the real natives of the country is at the present day. If the three communities are taken separately, the percentage of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Asiatic Indians (excluding the Indian and provincial civil services) stand at 48·7, 19·8, 31·5 in the Rs. 200 and above posts; 80·0, 9·7, 10·3, in the Rs. 500 and above posts; and 87·7, 5·9, and 6·4 in the Rs. 800 and above posts. The very meagre percentage of the Asiatic Indians in the higher service ought not to be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians together, under the plausible excuse of the definition of 'statutory natives of India' in the Act. In the third question for enquiry in our terms of reference, the term 'non-Europeans' is rightly construed to mean and refer to pure Asiatic Indians only, and I am of opinion that this construction should be upheld throughout. It is a mistake in the present circumstances to class the Anglo-Indian with the Asiatic native of India. Whatever the schisms and sects and divisions among the latter, they all consider each other to belong to a common land, and they do not consider the Anglo-Indian to be in any sense a native of the country, and the Anglo-Indian will not consider the interests he has in common with the rest of the inhabitants of the country and try to get over or reduce that feeling. On the contrary, he takes a pride in being considered to be a non-Indian. He evidently thinks it would reduce his chance of being classed with the European, and it would seem to be his ambition to be so classed. He thinks he has no permanent interest in common with the masses of the population; and with the masses the Anglo-Indian poses to be as great a 'sahib' as the pure European. In these circumstances I think he ought not, for the convenient purpose of getting into Government employ, be allowed to take advantage of the statutory definition; besides, it rests purely with himself to describe himself as being born of parents habitually resident in India and not established there for temporary purposes only. His position is anomalous, as he can be an Indian for getting into government service at the same time that he can claim, along with the European, certain exemptions under the Arms Act and the other privileges of European British subjects. For these reasons the Asiatic Indian would rather that his ambition is gratified, and that he should be classed with Europeans in India *for all purposes*, except his remuneration, in respect of which the special considerations referred to in the report for a higher salary to persons recruited in Europe would have no application.

A number of difficulties and complications would disappear with an amendment of the definition in this direction. Anglo-Indians have separate schools started for them with an European school course. They can, if they choose, take advantage of the educational institutions started by Government for the other Indian communities, but the latter cannot take advantage of the schools started for them. Now owing to his colour and his European education the Anglo-Indian finds it easier to get a disproportionate representation in the public service of the country. One has only to glance at the figures in the higher service—salt and excise, Bengal pilots, Burma land records, customs, factory and boilers, forests, Indian finance, medical (and Government of India medical), sanitary, military finance, Northern India salt revenue, railways, survey of India, and telegraph,—to see that as against the pure Asiatic Indian, the Anglo-Indian have practically monopolised these departments. Indeed, the fear is that the recommendation in the report to alter the present educational qualifications for entry into the executive branch of the provincial services by the recognition of 'an examination of corresponding standard in the European school course' is likely to bring in a large number of Anglo-Indians or domiciled Europeans into this department in which at present they find admission difficult.

When, therefore, it is proposed that in certain departments where there has to be recruitment partially in Europe and partially in India, the proportion should be half-and-half, it only definitely safeguards the interests of the Europeans, and for the other half competition is introduced between the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians, in which, for reasons not necessary to mention, the former are bound to score. There is no definite recommendation so far as I can see, to remedy this. Reliance is placed on nomination, but it has to be borne in mind that the present unfair and unequal distribution has come into existence under and because of a system of nomination. In paragraph 31, for instance, it is observed that for eight services (with the exception of a few specialist appointments), viz., (i) post office, (ii) telegraph (traffic), (iii) land records (Burma), (iv) railway (stores), (v) registration, (vi) northern India salt revenue, (vii) salt and excise and (viii) survey (Madras), recruitment is made in India. *Prima facie* this would convey the impression that a large number of Asiatic Indians would be found in these departments, in the higher posts, but what are the facts?

Service.	Total No. of posts of Rs. 200 and above.	Europeans.	Anglo Indians.	Pure Asiatics.
i. Post office	277	106	39	132
ii. Telegraph	664	162	441	61
iii. Land Records (Burma)	45	1	38	6
iv. Railways	447	330	72	45
v. Registration	64	—	1	63
vi. Northern India Salt Revenue	36	16	15	5
vii. Salt and Excise	338	110	98	130
viii. Survey (Madras)	16	9	1	6
	1,887	734	705	448

The percentage of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, together is 23 to 77, being almost equal as between themselves. Out of 536 posts of Rs. 500 and above, 492 are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, i. e, 91·8 per cent.; and of 298 posts of Rs. 800 and above, 279 are held by them, i. e., 93·6. Thus the Indian percentage in the three classes is only 23, 8·2, and 6·4. And yet they are all serv-

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recruited in India. This illustrates how large still is the field for the wider employment of Asiatic Indians in services in which recruitment is ordinarily stated to be within the country. In view of the present figures, it would be more appropriate to call them Europe-recruited services than Indian-recruited.

The remedy I propose is that the Anglo-Indians should be classed with Europeans, and the minimum of 50 per cent. should be reserved for Asiatic Indians. But if there be insuperable difficulties in changing the statutory definition, and if the Anglo-Indian, because of his theoretic adoption of India as his country, is to be classed as a community in India, along with the other Asiatic communities, I strongly maintain that the qualifying examination for admission into Government service should be the same examination for all communities..... The European schools must teach up to the B.A. standard, and if any Anglo-Indians care to seek admission into Government service, they must, like any other of the Asiatic Indians, submit themselves for the degree examination of an Indian university. Otherwise I see no escape from the charge that a lower educational standard is permitted by Government to get into its service a favoured community at a comparatively lower age. And their representative on the commission [Mr. Madge) emphatically asserted that his community wanted no favour—and only cared for an equality of terms along with others."

Mr. Abdur Rahim's minute contains several passages on this subject and we quote from them the following :

"Among the other classes of India's population the Anglo-Indians, formerly called Eurasians, or persons of mixed descent, have decided to throw in their lot with the Europeans so far as the national aspirations of India are concerned. They do not even call themselves Indians though they would reckon themselves as 'statutory natives of India.' As statutory natives they insist on a full share in the public services of the country, and by virtue of their kinship with the Europeans they claim a part of 'the British responsibility for the good government of India,' which gives them much more than their full share. Such a position has naturally given rise to more than one practical difficulty in dealing with the questions raised before us. A number of Indian Christians bearing European names are making determined efforts to share the privileges enjoyed by this community, and it has been found a difficult task with certain departments to trace a European in their genealogical tree on the one side or the other. Then the most successful men of the community are perpetually migrating to England, so that it is suffering on the one hand from a depletion of its best men and an accession on the other of very dubious material. Anyhow their number is insignificant (being only 102,000 out of the total population of 315,000,000), but they must be reckoned as standing outside the general national movement."..... "In some important services recruited in India, such as the provincial service of the survey of India, the northern Indian salt revenue, the salt and excise, the post office, where the domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians come into competition, the limitation upon the employment of Indians arises at the present day from the fact that in many cases for the domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates a lower standard of educational qualifications than that required for Indian candidates is accepted, and that the general practice shows a marked tendency in these departments to favour domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates as against candidates of the Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh and other Indian communities. Some idea can be formed of the extent to which the objectionable practice is carried from the facts stated in the annexures for these services. I have proposed in the first place that equality in the standard of qualifications should be strictly insisted on. The recommendation in the report of the majority of the Commissioners, that wherever a degree of a university is required for Indian candidates, for the Anglo-Indian candidates there shall be 'an examination of a corresponding standard in the European schools,' is calculated, as I have explained elsewhere,* to admit the latter class on much easier terms than the former, and will not remedy the evil. There are also practical difficulties in the way of Indian candidates, arising from the fact that sufficient publicity is not given to the vacancies occurring in many of the special departments."...

"The evidence shows that the standard of qualifications for appointments made in India has gradually been raised, the degree of a university being mostly insisted on. The general standard has, however, been purposely lowered in some departments to suit domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates. This has been a source not only of great injustice to candidates of pure Asiatic descent but has often impaired the efficiency of administration, as is shown in the history of Indian finance and the customs. This should be avoided in future. It has not been possible for me to approve of the vague and uncertain attitude adopted by the majority of the Commissioners in their recommendations on this important point with respect to the provincial civil services (executive branch), the provincial police, the post office, and the salt and excise department. In paragraph 44 of the report after having recommended the degree of a university as a suitable test for Indian canditates they provide as an alternative for Anglo-Indian candidates an examination of a corresponding standard to be prescribed by Government for the European schools..... In paragraph 41 of the report emphasis is laid on the fact that Anglo-Indians have a special school course of their own and it is alleged that the curriculum differs materially from that followed in the ordinary schools, both as an argument against the establishment of competitive examination in India and also for not insisting on a university degree or its equivalent in the case of an Anglo-Indian candidate. I have not been able to find any weight in this argument. Anglo-Indian students are admitted into ordinary schools and colleges, though the door of the European schools—maintained, as they are, out of India's revenues to which Anglo-Indians contribute extremely little—is shut to Indian boys. There seems to be no difficulty for Anglo-Indian boys who aspire to Government service on finishing their school course, say at 18, to join a college affiliated to a university

* Elsewhere Justice Rahim points out that the European school course usually ends with the Cambridge senior local examination, and is usually completed about the age of 18, whereas an Indian University degree cannot be attained earlier than 20. The Calcutta University lays down that the value to be attached to the Cambridge senior local examination is similar to that of the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University.

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to complete their education as some of them now do."……

"It must be pointed out that this present state of representation of communities on the public service leaves much to be desired. That the Anglo-Indians, with a total population of about 102,000, should hold 26 per cent. of the posts above Rs 200 a month, while the Muhammadans, who count more than 66 millions (of whom 2½ millions are literate and 180,000 literate in English) should hold 13 per cent. of such appointments, and the Sikhs, whose population is 3 millions (of whom 201,000 are literate and about 12,000 literate in English) should hold 1 per cent. of these apppointments, hardly needs comment. The number enjoyed by the Anglo-Indians is no less than half of that held by the Hindus, whose population is 219 millions (of whom 12 millions are literate and 1 million literate in English).* From the point of view of proper representation of the communities the Anglo-Indians appear to have obtained an enormous advantage which, from the facts elicited during the enquiry, cannot at all be attributed to superiority in qualifications; and it is here that there is much room for the authorities to apply the principle of holding the balance evenly between the communities."

The invidious distinction in favour of Anglo-Indians may best be illustrated by taking a concrete example, e. g., the survey of India department. We shall allow Justice Rahim to speak in regard to this department also.

"The evidence discloses that the few Indian officers mostly Muhammadans, that have been admitted to the department and the majority of whom under the present arrangements had to rise from the ranks, have done excellent service especially in the work of boundary commissions on the frontier or in the foreign territories of Asia. As Colonel Burrard, the Surveyor-General, himself says: 'it is the individual that counts, not his class; the individual counts more than the class.' Then how is it that the position of the Indians in the department is so deplorable? If it be remembered that the Indians are admitted only to the provincial service at the highest, I will give the explanation in Colonel Burrard's own words: 'Admission to the provincial service was by competitive test. The rule was also laid down that three quarters of the vacancies should go to the domiciled community and one quarter to Indians. There was one examination for all candidates……, Supposing that there were four vacancies, the first three Anglo-Indians were selected and the first Indian. If the rule were abolished it would lead to a large increase in the number of Indians recruited. One or two Indians had almost always to be knocked out. The three quarters rule was not justified on the score of efficiency but by other reasons.' Then he goes on to add, 'it had to be remembered that the survey department had to work from Baluchistan to Sikkim and required men who were willing to go anywhere. The Indian had a fixed home, he married early, had strong family ties, and preferred to serve in his own province, whereas the Anglo-Indian had no home and was willing to go anywhere.' This general statement could hardly have been put forward as the real explanation of the practice because in the first place Indians who loved to stay at home were not likely to join the service, and in the next place the facts show that the Indian officers have been at least as enterprising as any other members of the service. In a list put forward by Mr. J. O. Grieft out of 25 provincial officers who did specially good work in war and trans-frontier service no less than seven—a number much larger than their proportion in the service—were Indians, six Muhammadans and one, apparently, a Sikh. They seem to have been engaged in most of the difficult operations.

The tradition of this department in the matter of differential treatment seems to be peculiarly unfortunate. It appears to have been even worse in the past as will be evident from the following very frank utterances of Colony Du Pre, a previous surveyor-general, quoted in the supreme legislative council by Mr. Gokhale in supporting his motion for the appointment of this Commission. "I may here remark incidentally that my numerous late inspections showed me that the tendency of the European surveyors was to stand and look on while the natives are made to do the drawing and hand printing, as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake and cannot be permitted for the future, besides it is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that natives can do any one thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior in *everything*, and only allow natives to take a secondary or subordinate part. In my old parties I never permitted a native to touch a theodolite or original computation on the principle that the triangulation and the scientific work was the prerogative of the highly paid European, and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep a distinction so as to justify the different figures respectively drawn by the two classes—the European in office time and the native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field duties. Yet I see natives commonly do the computation work and the European some of the inferior duties.'"

The Indian members of the Commission have thus conclusively proved that by providing a backdoor of entrance for the Anglo-Indians in the shape of a English school course, as well as by classing Anglo-Indians with statutory natives of India, the Public Services Commission have dashed to the ground such hopes as might have been created by the Commission's finding that some of the superior services should henceforth be recruited in India.

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* Incidentally, these figures demonstrate that Muhammadans enjoy a far larger proportionate share of these provincial service appointments than the Hindus, and that both Hindus and Muhammadans hold much less than their proper share of these appointments as compared with the Anglo-Indians [Eurasians].

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COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

THE Public Services Commissioners in their Report make some observations on the relative merits of competition and nomination as methods of recruitment for the country's service. Shortly stated, their observations come to this that while competition has proved entirely satisfactory for England, in India nomination by a select committee containing an official majority, but on which Indians will be represented, is to be preferred, and the members of the committee should be definitely instructed 'to count against any candidate any attempt made to secure on his behalf, through the medium of certificates or otherwise, the good will of any individual member of the committee.' The grounds of differentiation between England and India are said to be these: In England, the examinations are so arranged as to secure 'for the service of the state the best products of the educational system of the country,' and 'a well-organised school or university course is the most likely means of producing the mental and moral characteristics which are required in a public servant. Such courses have an educative value much superior to that acquired during a course of special preparation.....' But public opinion in India aims at precisely this—that the best products of the university should be employed in the service of the state, and this can never be the case under a system of nomination; whereas the commissioners, by lowering the age for the Indian Civil service to 17-19, has effectually precluded 'the best products of the educational system' of England from competing, and they have also recommended what they themselves deprecate as inferior to a university course, viz., a long course of special preparation, extending over three years in the case of those who are successful in the competitive test for the Indian Civil Service. Though the commissioners have thus made their main argument in favour of the competitive test inapplicable to the Indian Civil Service, yet they have not abandoned the open competitive examination in England, presumably because this is everywhere the best method of recruitment, and no other would be tolerated in Great Britain. The second ground for preferring nomination in the case of the services recruited in India is that 'a high general level of education throughout the country is also necessary, because without it certain classes will be excluded from the public services.' Incidentally, this shows how the country's backwardness in education, which the government, as compared to other civilised governments, does so little to remove, is used as an argument against the adoption of measures which have proved satisfactory in England and which the Indian public unanimously advocate. Let us now turn to the Report itself, for a further elucidation of the commissioners' views on the subject.

"In the case of direct recruits the alternative suggested to us have been competitive examination on the one hand, and nomination on the other. The former has been pressed upon us as having the advantage of securing the widest field of candidates and absolute impartiality in their selection. In favour of the latter has been urged the power which it gives of allowing for qualities in applicants which can only imperfectly be tested by a literary examination; such as common sense, resolution, and resourcefulness.... Experience of the competitive system has been obtained principally in England. Two important branches of the Indian administration, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian police service, are now recruited by an open competitive examination held in London, and a similar method is followed in the Indian medical service. Moreover, since the abolition of the system of purchase, commissions in the army in England have ordinarily been given upon the results of such a test. Since 1870 also the British Civil Service, to the extent, directly or indirectly, of 20,000 posts, have been recruited in this manner. The results of these arrangements have been encouraging..... To the beneficial effect of competition upon the English civil service, the Royal Commission presided over by Lord MacDonnell has recently given emphatic testimony."*

*"..... at the present time the state possesses a body of public officers who are far more competent and zealous than their predecessors, appointed under the regime of patronage, are stated on official authority to have been. We have no doubt whatever that to this highly satisfactory result the system of competitive examination has mainly contributed. The system has, in our opinion, entirely justified the expectations of its originators..... In existing political conditions, and in such developments of them as can be reasonably anticipated, we believe that the advan-

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We now turn to the consideration of recruitment by nomination. In England nomination suffers in popular esteem from the abuses of the past, when it was often synonymous with nepotism. In India official patronage has been free from this sort of reproach,* but a suspicion undoubtedly exists that individual officers are swayed by personal prejudices against, or prepossessions for, particular classes of the community. It is also urged that the officer with whom nomination now lies is often not in touch with the educational centres of the country, and that in consequence he often fails to make the vacancies in his department widely known in the circles from which a large field of candidates could be drawn. A system of nomination, it is also urged, encourages a spirit of servility among the applicants, and it is at the root of the prevailing hunting for certificates which every self-respecting Indian, anxious for the maintenance and development of a spirit of manly independence in the youth of his country, now denounces."

The commissioners hold that English officials are free from nepotism in making appointments in India, and yet we find from the observations of the dissentient members of the commission that these officials favour nomination as against competition. Since they have nothing to gain personally by preferring nomination, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that they favour it because it encourages servility, and allows scope for the display of political or class bias. Let us hear what Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has to say on the subject :

"The allurement of nomination in one or other of its many forms, either with or without a following competition, is very great. It was pressed upon us by several official witnesses. It has many special dangers in India where the system of asking for *chits* and of canvassing for influence has been widely practised, and has been degrading. It is also dangerous because it offers much inducement, especially in view of present political conditions, to make or refuse appointments on political grounds. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary that the Indian public should have no reason for suspecting the partiality with which public offices are filled and the committee of selection, however it is constituted, can be protected wholly against suspicions and charges of favouritism or bias, and no rule penalising attempts to secure influence can be equably enforced in practice.....This expedient for recruiting for any service which would ordinarily be filled by competition should, however, be regarded as an unfortunate and temporary method, and the Government should watch for the time when, owing to the levelling up of education, competition can be safely adopted.....whilst it may be necessary at the present for Government to make special provision for communal representation in the public services, it is a bad system and ought not to be assumed as unevitable in India. With improvement in education and the growth of a common civic spirit which recent political changes in India are encouraging, the Government will soon have opportunity to abandon the practice. Nor is there anything inherent in Indian circumstances which makes competition less suited to India than to Great Britain. The educational material available increases every year and becomes more and more representative of classes and communities. The gravest objection is that the Indian memorised* with such facility that competitive tests do not indicate intellectual ability. But this is only a problem in how to devise the examination papers and how to supplement them by *viva voce* examinations.... I wish to emphasise my dissent to the various suggestions and implications made [in the majority report] that a test of character can be imposed. Obviously a candidate whose conduct has violated any of the ordinary laws of good conduct should be disqualified, but existing practice already provides for that. Any attempt to value "character" beyond that will only lead to endless difficulties and will not improve the general quality of the service. In India such an attempt is surrounded by special difficulties as political considerations could not be kept out of account."

Here is Mr. Chaubal's opinion on the subject :

"About experience in India, too, I do not agree with those who think that the competitive system has been a failure wherever it has been tried. It could not fairly be said anywhere that the officers who have been recruited under a competitive system had failed to come up to the mark. The Indian

tages of the system of competitive examination as a means of recruitment for the civil service far outweigh any defects which have come to our notice, and we are convinced of the importance not only of adhering to the system, but of extending it whenever possible."—Majority Report.

* What is probably meant here is that as the European officials in India have no family or personal interest to serve in making appointments from a body of Indian candidates, they are not guilty of favouritism. But the suspicion that they are swayed by prejudices is admitted in the next sentence, and call it by whatever name, the result is the same. The commissioners forget to mention the very important fact, that public opinion in England is infinitely more vigilant and potent, and if inspite of this the nomination system could not be kept free from abuses how much more likely is it in India that it should prove a total failure. Elsewhere in their Report the Commissioners observe : "We believe that in the long run the surest security for the employment of a due number of Indians lies in publicity and in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils." Publicity can only be fully assured by an open competitive test.

* Referring to the special coaching institutions for the Indian Civil Service examination, the majority report says : "..... the socalled 'cramming' establishments, or special training establishments, as we should prefer to term them. At the actual teaching, impartible or impartible at such places of education, we do not wish to cavil. It must have been good between 1878 and 1891 or it would not have been unless so successful, and there are obvious advantages in having recruits for the public service taught to work hard, and to concentrate their energies. It would thus seem that even "cramming" is not without its virtues when taken recourse to by English recruits, and in their case it is not used an argument against competitive examinations.

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public's belief that admission to any service depends upon a candidate's being backed up by strong recommendations from influential quarters is notorious. The old statutory service is a standing instance of the failure of nomination and selection. I therefore think that not only should the system of competition be retained where it obtains at present, but that it should be introduced wherever possible. The only plausible argument against it is that based on the unequal diffusion of education in the different communities, and the consequent probability of a community like the Brahmans, which has had from early days a hereditary association with learning, getting a disproportionate share of employment in the services. I think a study of the results of university examinations for some years past ought to satisfy anyone that the Brahman's intellect is being fast beaten by other communities, and though perhaps a larger number of men might be passing from such a community, owing to the numerical strength of the student class in it, they no longer head the lists or carry away the prizes as they used to do in the early days..... It is desirable that the healthy emulation to excel in literacy as between class and class should not be checked, and it is not fair to the best men of the communities considered backward in education that they should always be under the imputation of being selected from class-bias other than for merit,..... it is not at all true that the best Muhammadan, or the best Parsi or Sikh, is in any way inferior to the best Brahman. Generally for direct recruitment for most of the services a fairly high standard of preliminary educational qualification is prescribed, and I think there is no reason why by far the greater portion of recruitment for the service should not be by competition. I would not exclude even the Anglo-Indian [Eurasian].....so far as this community is concerned, the result of the recommendations is that while competition is practically recognised as between the members of the Asiatic Indian communities, for this community a competition at a lower age and on a lower standard of general education is favoured. In one case nomination is resorted to for the purpose of securing due representation of communities but from candidates of the same standard of general education—in the other a lower standard of general education is substituted. To safeguard the admitted drawbacks of a system of nomination, the commission recommend the constitution of boards or committees, and though it may be conceded that this is an improvement over the present system, I have not so much faith in their satisfactory working as to believe that it will secure the same absolute freedom from suspicion of any unfairness as is predicated under a system of competition."

"Indian public opinion," says Justice Abdur Rahim, "has undoubtedly become extremely sensitive with regard to the working of selection as a mode of making public appointments whether in the first instance or by promotion. And it would be specially difficult to induce public confidence in an arrangement necessitating the making of selections on a large scale among European and Indian officers..... The most practical solution will be found in the establishment of direct recruitment in India for the Indian Civil Service by holding simultaneous examinations." Elsewhere he says :

"The distinctive feature which has established it [competitive examination] most in popular favour is the decisive safeguard which it provides against the danger of partiality in the exercise of state patronage. Its other advantages are that it tends mechanically to maintain the highest standard of educational qualifications, provides a healthy stimulus to schools and colleges, stimulates the habit of self-reliance in young men..... But what is of preponderating importance is that recourse to such a method of recruitment enables the government to save itself from no inconsiderable odium which is inseparable from any form of nomination affecting the careers of a large body of young aspirants to public office, while it improves its chances of securing efficient candidates. I have been particularly impressed by the unanimous condemnation by Indian opinion of the system of pure nomination as it is now worked in the country..... Stress has also been laid on the fact that in the present circumstances of India, when the spread of education amongst the different communities and in different provinces is uneven, a drawback of the competitive system is that the successful candidates are likely to be drawn largely, if not entirely, from some particular classes and localities. The fact is not disputed, but it is important to appreciate its proper bearing on the question as it affects the different services. Generally speaking, the principle which has commended itself to me, and which is in accord with the practically unanimous opinion of representative Indian of all communities and provinces, is that it is inadvisible, as it is unsound and unnecessary, to emphasise the question of communal or provincial representation in the superior services. The personnel required for these services must be possessed of the highest qualification available and any narrow contraction of the area of recruitment should be avoided."

The majority of members of the Public Services Commission recommend nine direct appointments to the Indian Civil Service to be recruited for annually in India. How absurdly low and utterly inadequate this number is to meet the growing expectations of educated Indians has been demonstrated by the Indian members of the commission. But the point for us to note is that even here the principle of free and open competition, so distasteful to the bureaucracy, has not been allowed full scope. The commissioners seem to adopt an apologetic tone for not being able to recommend nomination, pure and simple, for these appointments. "To adopt any other system for Indians, while retaining it [open competition] for Europeans, would, therefore, run counter to a sentiment deep-rooted in the minds of the Indian educated classes." "The dislike which they feel for any form of unrestricted nomination" is, in the opinion of the

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Commission, a mere 'sentiment,' which implies that it is actuated more by feeling than by reason. And yet, in the case of the English people, it is freely conceded that faith in competitive examinations is perfectly rational, inasmuch as it is most successful in securing the best type of public servants. The "safeguards and reservations" proposed for the nine Indian recruits are two: (1) that two 'King Emperors' Cadets' should be annually appointed by the Secretary of State on the nomination of the Government of India from among young men of good family 'who were not intellectually quite in the front rank,' or Burmans, or members of the domiciled community. It is safe to predict that this experiment will prove as great a failure as the statutory civil service, and for the same reasons; (2) that 'in order to avoid the inconvenience of an unduly large number of candidates appearing for the examination,' twenty candidates should be selected from each of the five existing universities, who should sit for an examination to be conducted by the Civil Service commissioners, and those who pass the examination will have to undergo a three years' training in England. The selection of the twenty candidates from each university will be in the hands of a committee on which the educational authorities will be largely represented. The committee shall scrutinise the educational records of the candidates, and take into account 'their suitability for Government service from the point of view of physique and character.' It is under the vague and comprehensive test of 'character' which is sure to include political considerations that there are good grounds of apprehension that the evils of the principle of nomination will have the fullest scope to display themselves; for by the candidate's 'character' his moral fitness is not meant, but his suitability for Government service; and want of moral backbone, in the opinion of many high officials, under the disguise of 'oriental courtesy' and good manners often constitutes the best test of character. To introduce these 'safeguards and reservations' for the highest public service in the land in the case of Indians is a distinctly retrograde step, and is one of the many instances wherein the Public Services commission has proved a great danger. Unless Government sets aside its recommendations *in toto* and follows the Queen's Proclamation, both literally and in its spirit, the commission must be considered to have done very great harm to India.

X.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

SOME DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES AND THEIR SEQUEL, PAPER READ BEFORE THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE ON THE 9TH APRIL 1917, *by J. Richards Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.*

Mr. Richards was led to write this paper through reading Ripley's "Races of Europe," a work which modified all his ideas. Now Ripley's book was published in 1899, when Mendel's discoveries were almost unknown and completely erroneous ideas of heredity prevailed. Ripley attaches great importance to the cephalic index as a test of race. Mr. Richards follows him in this and lays stress on the nasal index as well. I have discussed the value of these indices at considerable length in two articles published in the "Modern Review" in 1911 and I do not intend to repeat what I then wrote. It is sufficient to say that I believe the method of indices to be fundamentally vicious and incapable of leading to any satisfactory results. I cannot then agree with Mr. Richards but I will endeavour to state his conclusions fairly.

I. *The Aryan Bubble.* Mr. Richards insists that it is a mistake to suppose that identity of language proves identity of race. In this he is only following many writers but he cannot be accused of needless repetition since the old blunder is still frequently met with in books and magazines.

II. *The Races of Europe.* This sections is, the author points out, merely a summary of Ripley.

III. *The Races of India.* Some of the statistics given by Risley and Thurston are reproduced, unfortunately with too few details for the reader to judge of their value. Even in an abstract the number of subjects measured ought to be given. The author thinks that the value of the nasal index as a criterion of race is shewn by the fact that the minimum for the Jungle Tribes is about equal to the maximum for other Dravidians. It is impossible however to say whether this is a matter of race or environment unless the experiment has been made of transporting some of the Jungle Tribes to a new environment and seeing whether the nasal index persists in the next generation. Mr. Richards concludes this section by stating

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ves that the Dravidians are akin to the Mediterranean Race. They both have long heads.

IV. *The Heliolithic Culture.* In this section Mr. Richards begins by pointing out that many customs are common to the Dravidians and the Mediterranean race. He then goes on to give an account of Dr. Elliot Smith's theory of the eastward diffusion of Egyptian civilisation about 800 B.C., but it seems to me he has missed the essential point of Dr. Elliot Smith's argument which turns on the *peculiar technique* of mummification practised in Egypt at that time.

V. *Who were the Aryas?* In this section, Mr. Richards points out, rightly I believe, that Hindu civilisation is non-Aryan. The only objection I have here to make, is the use of Aryan as equivalent to Indo-European whereas it ought to be used as equivalent to Indo-Iranean. This is more than a merely verbal criticism. Just as the modern speakers of Aryan languages are very different from the Vedic Aryans, so it is probable that those Vedic Aryans, were very different from the primitive speakers of the ancestral Indo-Europeans language. Mr. Richards thinks that the Aryans were identical with the Achaeans and that they came from the north of Europe. Neither suggestion has the slightest probability. He objects to the theory that the Aryans were round-headed because the peoples who inhabit the vast tract of Hindustan are long-headed. The objection has no weight for two reasons either of which would be sufficient, (1) the peoples who inhabit the vast tract of Hindustan are not Aryans, (2) long-headedness is worthless as a test of race.

VI. *Conclusion.* Various points are dealt with, which it would take us too long to discuss. I am sorry to have to say anything ungracious, but the truth is, these questions of race can only be properly investigated by a biologist, not by an amateur. At present the most urgent problem is to determine the laws of heredity in man. Till these are known, no division of mankind into races can be satisfactory. The snggestion that the Dravidians belong to the Mediterranean race is quite as absurd as the "Aryan bubble". According to this theory the people of Naples would resemble more closely the people of Vijagapatam than the people of Zurich or London. As I have lived in all these four towns I can say with the utmost confidence that this is not the case. Similarity of customs is no evidence of identity of race, for customs can be borrowed as easily as language or even more easily.

But although the chief conclusion is false, the paper is not without value. Mr. Richards has taken great pains with it and has brought together many interesting facts. In exposing the Aryan delusion once more he has rendered a real service. If he will leave indices and speculations about race alone, he will be able to do still better work.

H. C.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA FORCE: *by G. K. Roy. Price Rs. 1-4-0. The Religious Book Society, Anarkali, Lahore.*

This compilation contains the Ordinance, Acts and Rules published in the Gazette of India up to 31st March 1917. It is a most timely publication, and should prove useful to intending recruits.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA UNDER THE CROWN: *by H. H. Manghirmalani. Hyderabad, Sind. Price 4 annas. 1916.*

This neatly got up little brochure contains a detailed scheme of self-government on colonial lines as applicable to India, and drafted in the form of a Parliamentary Bill, entitled the Indian constitution. The writer was in Australia as a citizen when the Federal form of government was introduced, and he has also seen the constitutions of European countries in actual working, and by a comparative study of these he has evolved a constitution for India after the war, in accordance with the programme laid down by the National Congress and the Moslem League. The conception of this pamphlet was a very happy one, for the author has succeeded in focussing within a short compass the vast mass of floating aspirations which have from time to time been given utterance to by responsible public men and organisations devoted to the progress of India on constitutional lines.

THE INDIAN ARMS ACT MANUAL: Third Edition. *G. K. Roy. Price Rs. 6. The Hardinge Publishing Press, Lahore.*

The First Edition of the work was published in 1910, and the second in 1913. The present edition contains all the amendments to the rules published up to 1st April 1917, and is therefore quite up to date. All the case-law and Government Circulars and Orders have been incorporated in their appropriate places, and the case-index and appendix will facilitate easy reference. The usefulness of the book, which contains nearly 250 pages and is well bound, is proved by the rapid sale of the earlier editions of the work, and we have no doubt that the present edition will be equally welcome to those for whom it is intended.

POL.

MANUAL OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK AND HINTS FOR ITS ADOPTION IN INDIA, *By Rai Shaheb Pandit Chandrika Prasada, Retired Assistant Traffic Superintendent, B. B. & C. I. Ry. Published by Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ltd., Ajmer, 1917. Pp. 332. Price Rs. 5-8-0.*

The appearance of this book will be welcomed by those who are interested in the progress of the Co-operative movement of the world. One of the chief means by which the evils of capitalism may be controlled to a certain extent is the adoption of the principle of Co-operation. This movement spread all over the civilized world within a short period and proved to be very successful in regenerating rural life in countries where it found suitable environment to flourish. Its growth in India is of recent origin, and both people and Government are taking keen interest in its development. So at this moment publication under review will prove to be immensely useful, for in this treatise, the author has collected a mass of materials, statistical and descriptive, with regard to a country where co-operation has been fruitful in the truest sense of the term. The success of the co-operative movement in Denmark stands as an example of what can be achieved by means of persistent effort of a nation supported by its educated classes. We congratulate Pandit Chandrika Prasad on his selection of Denmark as the country for investigating into the success of this movement.

The book is the product of much labour and expense; it contains much that may be interesting to the general reader, and several facts and figures which students of economics will find useful. The author visited Denmark in 1914 and the details of the various co-operative organisations were gathered by him

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in course of his tour in the country. While most of the English publications on the subject of Danish co-operation discuss the methods practised there in a general way and attempt to summarise broad facts, emerging from the mass of materials, the present author takes infinite trouble to translate copies of prospectus given to him by several Unions and Associations. Now, this is done with the best intention placing before his countrymen "models" of the Danish organisations, and we have no doubt that promoters, organisers and managers of co-operative societies will find in this volume many suggestions and hints. But there are distinct varieties of Agricultural Co-operation, to suit different conditions, and however successful one particular system may be in its own circumstances, it may not work at least equally well under new sets of conditions.

The author says "we ought to extend the co-operative principle to agricultural purchases and sales and to the manufacturing of agricultural produce on Danish lines." The question is, if this is possible in our present condition.

In India we have to deal with an impoverished peasantry. Here conditions are abormal. Ignorance and illiteracy of the people stand on our way to progress. Consequently under the present circumstances we cannot aspire to organise our institutions just according to any model of advanced nations.

The last chapter of the book has been devoted to the author's reflections with regard to adoption of the principles of the Danish Co-operation in India. We eagerly turn to these pages to find certain definite suggestions from our author, and, we confess, in this we are disappointed. Here we find the author's style too discursive, too diffuse and he fails to fix the reader's attention on the main points, and occasionally introduces subsidiary and even irrelevant matters in the discussion.

But the Chapter on the Danish system of Education is exceedingly interesting and instructive. The success of the co-operative movement in Denmark is chiefly due to the system of education established there. Mr. Henry W. Wolff truly remarked that in Denmark "from *knowledge* has sprung *power* in the shape of a magnificent co-operative movement."

We should have liked to read in this volume a short account of the movement from its beginning. We are told in the history that the national humiliation which the Danes suffered in the year 1864 gave them the impulse to co-operate. The Danes had then taken to co-operation under necessity realising the truth of the Greek fable of the single stick and the faggot.

The fact that Danish co-operation grew as the necessity urged, has left impression on its character. We find that there are numerous divisions of the work into large number of self-contained societies, and unions. The author has given us accounts of each type of such institutions.

The author would spare his readers much trouble if the Danish money standards, weights, measures, etc., would be rendered at least into their English equivalents. For instance when we read "In 1863 the price of butter was 16-18 skilling=about 35 Ore per Danish lb." We hardly understand anything.

The book contains useful appendices and four illustrations of Danish caws. In the appendices we read translations of rules, bye-laws, and Articles of Association of various co-operative organisations. The get-up of the book is neat. The author dedicates the volume to the people of Denmark in token of [illegible] hospitality accorded to him.

NAGENDRANATH GA[illegible]

THE QURAN, *translated into English from original Arabic, by Mirja Abu'l Fadl, Surat, M[illegible] Narmawala. Price—Rs. 10.*

This seems to me a very good translation, both its English and in its close adherence to the orig[illegible] In this latter respect the translator is so conscious that whenever in the text he has departed from literal meaning he has added it in a footnote. I noted a few passages where it seems to me improvement might be made, but after all no two will ever agree as to all the details of a translat so instead of giving what are merely personal nions I will quote a passage and leave the re who knows Arabic to judge for himself:

God is the light of the heavens and the earth likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp the lamp is in a glass, the glass is, as it were, a tering star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an neither of the east nor of the west: its soil well-nigh give light although no fire touched it upon light!—God guides to His light whom pleases. And God strikes out parables for men God knows about all things.

In the houses which God has permitted to be ed and his name to be remembered therein, glorify Him therein morning and evening:

Men whom neither merchandizing nor sel beguiles from the remembrance of God and steadiness in prayer and giving alms, who fear the when the hearts [of men] shall be upset [their] eyes also.

That God may reward them for the best of they have done and give them increase of His gr for God provides for whom He pleases without co

And those who believe not, their works are like mirage in a plain which the thirsty [traveller] to be water, until when he comes to it he finds be nothing, but he finds God with him; and He pay him his account, for God is swift to take co

Or like the darkness in a deep sea; there cover a wave, above which is a wave, above which cloud—darknesses one above the other; when puts out his hand he cannot nearly see it.

And he to whom God gives no light, no light he.

In several places this is closer to the Arabic Rodwell's translation. But Rodwell's book has rather important practical advantage, it costs one rupee, while the present book costs ten, an amo which many Muslims can ill afford. If the Bible sold for ten rupees it would not be found in English Family. There is room for a cheap Eng translation of the Quran, for many thousand co of Rodwell's have been sold. We should like to s cheaper edition of Mirza Abu'l Fadl's transla published and we should be glad if some non-co versial notes were added, for without the infor tion supplied by the traditions many of the passa in the Quran are scarcely intelligible. Meanwhile may say that Mirza Abu'l Fadl has done a valuab piece of work.

H. C.

LAW RELATING TO PRESS AND SEDITION *by* [illegible] *Roy (Rai Sahib), retired Superintendent Govern of India, Home Department. Price Rs 5. Printed the Station Press, Simla.*

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This is a handy volume containing pretty fully the Law relating to Press and Sedition in India. It contains the following Acts :—The Press and Registration of Books Act of 1867, the Dramatic Performances Act of 1876, the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act of 1898, the Explosive Substances Act of 1908, the Newspapers Act of 1908, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1908 & 1913, the Indian Press Act of 1910, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and the Defence of India Act of 1915. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is also given. Besides the bare Acts, statements of objects and reasons in most cases and the Select Committees' reports in some cases on the corresponding Bills are also given, together with the Notes of Dissent, if any. The Indian Naval and Military News Emergency Ordinance of 1914 and the Government Notifications in connection with the Defence of India Act are also given. Valuable notes are appended to the Acts setting forth a summary of the Case-law relating to the various Acts which are included in the volume. The book also contains the following :—Letter dated the 6th August 1909, from Lord Minto to various Ruling Chiefs on the subject of sedition and their replies ; The Speeches of Lord Hardinge and the Hon'ble Messrs. Chitnavis and Armstrong on the occasion of the opending of the 1st session of the Legislative Council : Extract from Lord Hardinge's Speech in the Council of the 17 Sept. 1913 : Calcutta High Court Judgment in the matter of Muhammad Ali : Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerji to amend the Press Act and the debate thereon in the Legislative Council of the 19th January 1914 : and the Rules issued by the Punjab Chief Court under the Press Act.

A glance at the contents of the book as given above will show that it is a real *vade macum* on the Law relating to Press and Sedition. The Index given at the end of the book enhances the value by making it easy of reference.

N. M.

SOAP AND SOAP SUBSTITUTES, A PUBLIC LECTURE ON, *by Mr. S. Badarayanchar, M. A., L.T., delivered under the auspices of the Public Lecture Committee, Trivandrum. Demy 8vo. 35 Pages. Illustrated. 1913.*

The subject is divided into two parts. Part 1 dealing with the subject from a general and hygeinic point of view and deals with the composition of soaps and soap substitutes. Part 2 deals with manufacture of soaps with detailed description of soap machineries. All the subjects have been dealt with quite practically and the author has explained the process of soap manufacture in non-technical language, illustrations being given wherever necessary. A table of analyses of different samples of soaps available in Trivandrum market is given which will be useful to those interested in the subject.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF INDIAN CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES *by Prof. N. N. Godbole, M. A., B.Sc., Dayal Singh College, Lahore : 28 pages Royal 8vo.*

In this pamphlet the author aims at reviewing the present situation "with a view to examine (1) How far the war has affected our present industries, (2) What industries are likely to live and what are likely to die away, if the war lasts for a few years more and (3) What would be the proper method of beginning chemical industries and with what limitations ?" There is, however, not much to learn from the paper. The author's information in many cases seems to be somewhat crude. Thus he supposes that the Dyeing Class at Sibpur is receiving the special attention of Government only this year. In another place he says that the contact process of manufacture of Sulphuric Acid is carried out only in Germany and then invites the co operation of Sulphuric Acid manufacturers all over India for the immediate reform of the chamber process, as it is worked in India, "to hold out against the contact process for many years more," as if this is already a "threatened industry" here. The author mentions nowhere that the Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works Ld., of Calcutta have been manufacturing on a large scale Magnesium Sulphate, Potass Nitrate, Thymol and some minor chemical products since the war.

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY, M. A., F. C. S.

GUJARATI.

AMULYA AMRAT, *by C. H. Shah, printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay, Cloth bound, pp. 348. Price—Re. 1-12-0. (1917).*

The writer calls it a Hindi Social Novel : and says in his preface that he has kept its language specially simple so that those Parsis who have a leaning towards Gujarati Literature may be able to read it. The plot is a hotch-potch of many incidents, and crude because of the first attempt of the writer.

NIL NENI *by Sakarlal Amratlal Dave, B.A., printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 132 Price—As. 8. (1917).*

Another of Prof. Bain's attractive stories, called A Draught of the Blue, has been translated by Mr. Dave. Like his former translation this one too preserves the flavour of the original, though here and there we find the language a trifle difficult because Sanskritised.

We are in receipt of (1) *Shri Bhagvat Smaranam* (1912), a small booklet, too old to be reviewed ; (2) a monthly called the *Vak Soundarya* ; (we do not review periodicals as a rule) ; (3) a pamphlet on the statistics of death in the Jain Community by N. B. Shah ; and (4) *Life of Devan Amarji, the Soldier Statesman of Kathiawad* (1916), which is full of stirring incidents, chronicling as it does an important period in the modern history of Kathiawad.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

India and Athletics.

The ancient Olympic Games of Greece were revived in 1896, when the first meeting was held in Athens. Since then the meeting has been taking place at prominent centres of Europe until 1916 when the sixth meeting arranged to take place in Berlin was abandoned owing to the War.

In Asia the *Far Eastern Olympic Association* was organised in 1912, and the first games held in Manila in February 1913. The territory included in these games consists of China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Siam. The second games were held in Shanghai in 1916 and the third series is to be held this month in Tokyo. Japan has been doing her utmost to win. About 200 men have been in training in Tokyo.

But India is not taking any noteworthy interest in these games. Mr. J. H. Gray points out this melancholy fact, none too soon, in the pages of the *Young Men of India* for May.

We believe with him that there is no dearth of athletic prowess in India, what is wanting is the necessary organisation to bring together the athletes and give them proper training which would fit them for international competition. Having this end in view Mr. Gray observes :

> The remedy for these conditions, is education and organization. The education should begin in the secondary schools and be carried right up through the colleges. In the secondary schools the drill masters should, in addition to the regular instruction in drill and hygiene, which many of them now receive, be given a fairly comprehensive course in atheletics. The basis of such a course should include, how to organize and conduct an athletic meet, and the proper form in the various events. Then to the curriculum there should be added a regular course of graded work, with a physical efficiency test as a standard and inter-scholastic (not individual) competitions to add the necessary stimulus. In the colleges men should be appointed whose work it would be to develop this idea further. With this as a groundwork, the clubs and other organizations interested in such lines of activities would be receiving a constant stream of trained young men, and the open championship meetings would become much more satisfactory occasions than they now are. Then with the organization of schools and colleges and the banding together of clubs and other similar institutions, and all affiliated and represented on a joint committee, which would be the governing committee of the Empire, one could say that India would be well on the way to taking her place in the family of nations in athletic life.

The Whole of Pedagogy on a Half-sheet of Notepaper.

The following summary of the principal teaching rules is taken from T. Burnett's *Essentials of Teaching* of which a short notice appears in *Indian Education*.

1. Frequency :—Repeat and revise, revise and repeat—*Repetition mater studiorum.*

2. Vividness :—

(*a*) Speak distinctly, deliberately, pleasantly.

(*b*) Be bright and alert in manner and bearing.

(*c*) Adopt the correct teaching 'position' : stand well back from the front benches and address the pupils in the back rows.

(*d*) Arrange your class as compactly as circumstances permit.

(*e*) Have the matter of your lesson arranged in clear, logical sequence.

(*f*) Illustrate :—

(1) Visually, by means of the black board, using diagrams, sketches, etc. Use the black board freely.

(2) Orally, by means of relevant examples, stories, parallel instances, etc., at appropriate places.

(*g*) Teach with appropriate emotion and earnestness.

3. Recency :—At the close of each lesson review the points you wish to emphasise.

4. Novelty :—Prepare your lesson thoroughly, present either the new material in an old setting or the old material in a new setting.

5. Association :—

(*a*) Associate similar or contrasted things (similarity).

(*b*) Group facts according to a place-connection (contiguity).

(*c*) Emphasise the casual connection between events (causality).

(*d*) Experiences are best remembered which have been associated emotionally.

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The Sensational Man.

In an article appearing in the *Arya* for April occurs the following paragraph which explains how the sensational man, in a way, helps the re-shaping of the modern world.

The Philistine is not dead,—quite the contrary, he abounds,—but he no longer reigns. The sons of Culture have not exactly conquered, but they have got rid of the old Goliath and replaced him by a new giant. This is the sensational man who has got awakened to the necessity at least of some intelligent use of the higher faculties and is trying to be mentally active. He has been whipped and censured and educated into that activity and he lives besides in a maelstrom of new information, new intellectual fashions, new ideas and new movements to which he can no longer be obstinately impervious. He is open to new ideas, he can catch at them and hurl them about in a rather confused fashion ; he can understand ideals, organise to get them carried out and even, it would appear, fight and die for them. He knows he has to think about ethical problems, social problems, problems of science and religion, to welcome new political developments, to look with as understanding an eye as he can at all the new movements of thought and inquiry and action that chase each other across the modern field or clash upon it. He is a reader of poetry as well as a devourer of fiction and periodical literature, —you will find in him perhaps a student of Tagore or an admirer of Whitman ; he has perhaps no very clear ideas about beauty and aesthetics, but he has heard that Art is a not altogether unimportant part of life. The shadow of this new colossus is everywhere. He is the great reading public ; the newspapers and weekly and monthly reviews are his ; fiction and poetry and art are his mental caterers, the theatre and the cinema exist for him ; Science hastens to bring her knowledge and discoveries to his doors and equip his life with endless machinery ; politics are shaped in his image. It is he who was opposing and is now bringing about the enfranchisement of woman, has been evolving syndicalism, anarchism, the war of classes, the uprising of labour, is now waging what we are told is a war of cultures, or bringing about in a few days Russian revolutions which the century-long efforts and sufferings of the intelligentsia failed to achieve. It is his coming which has been the precipitative agent for the reshaping of the modern world.

Literature and Science in Education.

What on the whole should general education aim at? This is the theme on which A. C. Benson writes intelligently in the pages of the *Educational Review* for April.

According to the writer the division of education into ancient and modern—the classics forming the buik of the ancient, and modern languages with science being included in modern education—is a wholly false division. The true division is literary and scientific.

Human perception and intelligence is somewhat sharply divided. Some minds are abstract, others concrete. Some minds are interested in ideas, in beauty, in old traditions and memories, in human adventures and experiences, in religion, in political theories, in the slow organisation of communities, in problems of government, in schemes of social reform —in everything in fact which deals with human temperament and character. Other minds are interested in more concrete things, in the phenomena of nature, properties of matter, substances, machines, contrivances, manufactures, applied science generally, by which the laws of nature are used to serve human welfare and convenience. Both these sides of life are entirely worthy of study and attention, neither is negligible, and it is worse than childish for either type of mind to allege that the preferences of the other type are unimportant.

A literary education, as it is called, is a study of all that deals with the emotions, hopes, fears, desires of mankind and to some minds these are the transcendently important realities to life ; a scientific education deals with man's material environment ; and as man is a spiritual being living under material conditions, it is of the utmost importance that both should be studied and realised.

The ordinary human being has not time or intelligence to go far in the direction of scientific research, while the whole of his life is spent in contact with human nature, and its faults and foibles. It is far more important for the ordinary human being to know something about human nature than to know about ocean currents and tides, about light and heat, about stars and meteors. The only part of scientific knowledge which is of practical concern to most human beings is the elementary facts of physiology. And the practical effect of learning about the heroic possibilities of human nature, being moved by stories of courage and patience, of pity and affection, is far deeper and greater than the effect of learning about the motions of planets or the origin of storms, because none of us can escape from the problems of human nature, affecting our daily conduct and our relations with other men, learned and unlearned alike ; while the properties of matter, the laws, let us say, of electricity or chemistry are at best remote from daily life, and can only be apprehended and applied by experts.

The greater part of civilisation and progress depends not upon the scientific discoveries which add to the comforts of life, but upon the cultivation of generous motives, of disinterested sympathies, of desire for justice and order and co-operation. Human happiness is far more knit up with the art of living peaceably and affectionately with other human beings than with the inexorable laws of matter.

I am wholly in accord with the desire to teach human beings something about the wonders of the physical world in which they live ; but to turn our back upon human nature, its hopes and fears, its visions and dreams, its sins and failures, seems to me to be the most short-sighted policy. We are not yet all abstract intelligences ; we are imperfect beings living in communities. Character rather than intelligence is the real aim of education, and if that is so then "the proper study of mankind is man."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Racial Patriotism in Poetry.

In an article of the above name contributed to the *Poetry Review* by Geraldine E. Hodgson, the writer says that one of the results of the Great War, which seems a little more than possible, is "a stronger recognition of the essential importance of race, and still more of the importance, both for their preservation in some cases and for the handling of problems in others, of racial dissimilarities. If that should come, then possibly Poetry will once again enter into her own." Certain profound racial gifts show themselves most clearly in poetry rather than elsewhere. In the article under review the writer shows from the poetry of Imperialist England and Ireland, the country of dreamers and idealists, the difference between the patriotism of those two races.

The love of country in England somewhat changed in character with the passing of time. In the earlier days, they had an intensely localized love of country, they cared for this actual island, this speck of earth in the waste of waters. That was so, as late as Shakespeare's day :—

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-Paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself,
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in this silver sea.
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
England bound in with the triumphant sea.

Though these are lines no Englishman can ever read or hear without emotion, yet they ceased to express, and did not, for many generations, express, our whole feeling. The bounds of Empire have rolled back and back, till slowly, surely, the "precious stone set in the silver sea" has become the central jewel in an imperial circlet. Mr Watson, appreciated too imperfectly by his generation, in his Ode to King Edward VII, expressed this development magnificently :—

And slowly in the ambience of this crown
Have many crowns been gathered, till, today
How many peoples crown thee, who shall say ?
Time and the ocean and some fostering star
In high cabal have made us what we are,
Who stretch one hand to Huron's bearded pines
And one on Kashmir's snowy shoulder lay,
And round the streaming of whose raiment shines
The iris of the Australasian spray.
For waters have connived at our designs
And winds have plotted with us—and behold,
Kingdom in kingdom, sway in oversway,
Dominion fold in fold ;
... ...
So wide of girth this little cirque of gold,
So great we are and old.

This exposition and explication of the Imperial idea is no vulgar bragging : for once, the dream of Empire borrows the artist's color, the musician's tone, the poet's light. Yet patriotism is here no longer love of a restricted place, but pride of race. To the Irish, Ireland is a *person*, as we may see unmistakably in Mangan's version of *Roisin Dubh*, that great poem addressed in Elizabethan days to Ireland, under the title of "Dark Rosaleen."

My dark Rosaleen !
My own Rosaleen !
The judgment hour must first be nigh
Ere you can fade, ere you can die,
My dark Rosaleen !

Here we feel that the love of country is a deep-rooted personal passion, like the irrevocable love between parent and child, husband and wife, friend and friend.

While English patriotism dealt with the deeds of the race, with our wideflung achievements of imperial activity, Irish love of country clings about and is deeply sunk into the soil, shrouds in the mist enwreathed hills and lurks in the valleys, gleams upon the waters, and steals through the spaces of the starlit sky. The soul of the land meets the soul of every passing man, woman and child of Irish blood, as they pass upon their unpracticed way—

'Tis the Beauty of all Beauty that is calling for you
... ...
And the Land of Youth lies gleaming flushed with rainbow light and mist
And the old enchantment lingers in the honey heart of earth

No distance, no lapse of time, no outward separation affects this passion.

Listen to Mr. Stephen Gwynn :—

Wanderer am I like the salmon of thy rivers ;
London is my ocean, murmurous and deep,
Tossing and vast ; yet through the roar of London
Comes to me thy summons, calls me in sleep.

Pearly are the skies in the country of my fathers,
Purple are thy mountains, home of my heart,
Mother of my yearning, love of all my longings,
Keep me in remembrance long leagues apart.

Intwined with this personal love of the land, its mountains and valleys, its streams, its hopes

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unreclaimable bogs, and with the indestructible sentiment clinging round the trefoil of the shamrock, is an entire carelessnes about material prosperity which must seem to English people one of the most shameful, as it certainly is most shameless, characteristics of the Irish people. The thought of dividing Ireland shocks every genuine Irishman, but rich factories do not weigh with him. Miss Lawless has preserved that truth in her poem, *A Retort*. Passionately she cries to the plutocrat :—

Stud all your shores with prosperous towns !
Blacken your hillsides mile on mile !
Redden with bricks your patient towns !
And proudly smile !

Then her key changes ; her voice is the low, sweet, cadenced Irish voice, as she tells of Erin's future peace :—

I see her in those coming days,
Still young, still gay, her unbound hair
Crowned with a crown of star-like rays
Serenely fair.
I see an envied haunt of peace,
Calm and untouched : remote from roar,
Where wearied men may from their burdens cease
On a still shore.

If it is not easy to perceive where the solution for the Anglo-Irish Problem lies, it is always a gain to locate the problem. We can see it at its sharpest if we compare Kipling's sounding lines—

Truly ye come of the Blood ; slower to bless than to ban ;
Little used to lie down at the bidding of any man.
Flesh of the flesh that I bred, bone of the bone that I bare,
Stark as your sons shall be,—stern as your Fathers were.

. . . . .

Also we will make promise. So long as the Blood endures,
I shall know that your good is mine : ye shall feel that my strength is yours :
In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all
That our House stand together and the pillars do not fall,

with Costello's plangent cry to Ireland—

I could scale the blue air
I could plough the high hills,
Oh, I could kneel all night in prayer
To heal your many ills !
And one . . . beamy smile from you
Would float like light between
My toils and me, my own, my true,
My dark Rosaleen !
My fond Rosaleen !
Would give me life and soul anew,
My dark Rosaleen !

Bernard Gallant in the *American Review of Reviews* describes the meeting of

Mexico's Congress

after six years of constant strife, at Queretaro, 167 miles north of Mexico City, "where the plans for national independence were formulated and the first battles waged which brought an end to Spain's domination."

We read :

Elections for delegates to the Congress had been held in October.

It was by direct vote of the people, who were given the choice of several delegates of different parties which had sprung up in Mexico's rising sun of political liberty. It was an affair over which the military authorities had no power or supervision.

Perhaps the most hopeful thing about the Constituent Congress is the fact that it is not controlled by the military element. Of the 242 delegates, not more than a dozen are members of the army or in any way connected with it. Those few who do belong to the army are men of low rank and small following.

The Constituent Congress is an attempt to bring Mexico's laws up to date and to place the nation in line with the rest of the world. However, the Congress means more than that, for upon its attainments depends the main question : whether Mexico is to continue in chaos, or is to become once more a land of peace and prosperity.

The Congress was empowered to call elections for President of the Republic, for senators, judges, governors, and various other representatives of the people. Mexico will thus throw off the last vestige of the social strife, and law and order will supplant the military rule. The Presidential election was held in May.

Our readers will be able to judge the Constitutionalists' aims and tendencies from the following most important laws adopted by the Congress.

The granting of home rule to large cities. Formerly they were governed by "Jefe Politicos" appointed by the State governor or by the central government. The new laws give the people an opportunity to elect their local authorities.

Laws of divorce. Mexico is the first country in South or Central America to adopt divorce laws. A commission of attorneys spent six months in the United States, to make a thorough study of our laws and adapt them to the needs of Mexico.

The abolishment of the Ministry of Education. In the future each state is to conduct independently its educational work, while the government is to render assistance and guidance through a commission of educators.

Laws prohibiting military men from participating in political affairs or holding any political office.

Laws granting the vote to women who are self-supporting and not married.

Labor laws to fix minimum wages and maximum hours of labor, also measures to prevent unnecessary strife between capital and labor.

The writer gives us one most significant news, and that is, that on the opening day of the Congress a delegation of of Indian (American) working women from the cotton mills marched into Queretaro with band and banners to plead "for the vote and improvement in conditions of their life and labor."

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Over-Eating.

The following extracts are made from an interesting and informing article appearing in the *New Statesman* from the pen of *Lens*.

Tissue waste and need for fuel foods are exceedingly small in the case of the brain-worker, but may reach almost incredible figures for hard manual labor. As for heat-production, its amount is largely determined by heat-loss, which is greater in winter than summer, and for a very small body, such as a child's, or for an extended lean body, each of which has a relatively large surface for heat-loss in proportion to its mass. The large body of spherical form, on the other hand, needs relatively less fuel food, since its form minimizes heat-loss. Again, the warmer the clothes we wear, the less rapidly we lose heat and the less fuel we need. An evident form of food economy, therefore, is the adoption of abundant warm clothing and housing.

No amount of feeding with the fattest foods will alter the contour of the razor-backed pig, and there are human persons who show the character which marks that species. Lean though they be, they may be habitual over-eaters nevertheless, just as persons whose hereditary type, badly called habit, of body is obese may be most moderate eaters, and cannot be made lean without injury to health.

It is very intelligible that the Polar explorer should easily and eagerly consume, in one day, more fat than we, in these latitudes, could accommodate in a week without continuous nausea.

The old estimates of our protein need were markedly excessive, and that average conformity to them means gross over-eating on the part of the population as a whole.

On any reasonable reckoning, the great majority of civilized men and women above the poverty line are habitual over-eaters. As they grow older and exert themselves less they need ever less food, but tend to eat no less, or even more than ever. At this season of the year, most of us do less work and eat more food than at any other. The most odious consequence is not the inevitable Nemesis of gluttony, but the deprivation of the children of the nation, whose dietary needs are relatively so high, for the three cogent reasons that they have not merely to maintain but actually to aggrandize their bodies, that they are very active and continual in movement, and that their small bodies cool more rapidly.

There is "conservation of matter and energy" within as without the living body. If excess enters it, that excess must either remain or be disposed of. It may remain as fat, visible under the skin, or surrounding the heart, creeping between the muscular fibres and hampering their action. It may be disposed of, at a price, involving not merely extra work on the part of the liver and kidneys and other chemical destructors within the organism, but also the chronic presence of products of katabolism, which are toxic, and circulate as such in the blood. The first and most characteristic effect of their presence may be an habitual tightness of the arteries, which are stimulated to unnatural contraction in order to favor the removal of the poisons by the kidneys. The pressure of the blood within the circulatory system is thus raised. The heart has harder work to drive the fluid along against such pressure. The coats of the arteries, thus strained, must thicken in order to maintain themselves, but this involves the need for more blood for their own nourishment, as is the case with the hypertrophied heart. If the minute vessels that feed the heart muscle itself and the arterial coats do not increase proportionately to the need, as they may well fail to do, these hypertrophied structures will tend to degenerate. "A man is as old as his arteries." The renal arterioles will be involved, and the function of excretion will be less well discharged. A vicious circle has now been closed, to be broken, perhaps, by the bursting of a degenerate artery in the brain, and the destruction of nervous tissue upon which the movements of the limbs, or even of the heart and respiratory muscles, may depend. Short of this, the excess of food causes the victim of food-intoxication to have less, instead of more, energy at his disposal. He becomes "old" before his time, "digs his grave with his teeth," and prematurely fills it.

The Future of Moslem Peoples.

Under the above heading Rev. George F. Herrick contributes to the *American Review of Reviews* an article in which he expresses the hope that the War will end in the overthrow of the Turkish power, and when that happens, philanthropic America will come forward to help the Turkish moslems educationally, socially and materially.

The Moslems of Turkey, like those of India, Egypt, and other countries, will come under the sway of Christian powers. Those of Persia are already virtually subject to Great Britain and Russia. Afghanistan is negligible as a world power. We shall therefore no longer have Moslem states, no longer Islam armed. That menace to human civilization is removed.

The article is not altogether free from the usual patronising airs and swagger which the westerner adopts when speaking of peoples other than Christians, but it is refreshing to note that the writer has at least one good word for the much despised Turk. Says he :

Can we deny, is there not painful and overwhelming evidence of the fact, that even among the intelligent and sincere Christians of our time there exists a narrowness and selfishness which has its origin and support altogether outside of the teaching of Christ and His apostles, or even of that of the prophets of Israel? Turks—and others—have treated Armenians with incredible inhumanity. How many of us are there who, instead of condemning all Turks as outside the pale of our fellowship, recognize and appreciate the fact that very many Turks condemn the acts of their rulers, and at serious personal peril have shielded and saved their Christian fellow-countrymen from their ruthless persecutors?

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THE AITCHISON COMMISSION AND AFTER

THE majority report after giving a short summary of the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1886-7 says :

"The foregoing summary will have made it clear that the intention of the Commission of 1886-87 was to meet the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the civil services by reducing the strength of the Indian civil service and by transferring a corresponding number of appointments to provincial civil services to be recruited separately in each province in India..... They desired generally to see imperial and provincial branches created, and the former materially reduced and recruited for exclusively in England..... The reforms which they introduced undoubtedly resulted in a great improvement in the standard of every service. The provincial civil service officers, in particular, upon whom devolves the greater part of the administrative and judicial work in which the people at large are most interested, have given general satisfaction in the limited sphere allotted to them. * We are also satisfied..... that, generally speaking, the officers promoted from the provincial civil services to hold Indian civil service posts have done efficient work. On the other hand the expectations formed as to the status which these officers would enjoy have to a great extent been falsified and there is no doubt that the provincial service system generally has not proved successful as a means of meeting the claims which have continuously been put forward on behalf of Indians to employment of the higher type. The inferiority in status and social position which has always attached to the provincial services, aggravated to some extent since the reforms were introduced by subsequent changes, have been felt by the Indian public as a real grievance, particularly in the case of the more important services such as the civil, educational, and public works..... We have found it necessary to abandon the attempt to provide for the growing demand for equality of opportunity as between Europeans and Indians by the means which commended themselves to the commission of 1886-87."

Mr. Chaubal has the following on the subject :

"Chapter II of the Report deals with the Public Services Commission of 1886-87. The Indian view of the main recommendation of that Commission, and of the decision taken on it by the Secretary of State is, however, not very complimentary to it. We had clear evidence before us that Indian public opinion considers it to be not only inappropriate for the time but positively of a retrograde character and that instead of doing full justice to the claims of natives of India to the higher and more extensive employment in the public service, it was calculated to put back considerably the employment of Indians in the higher service. Seven years before the appointment of that Commission, the Secretary of State, with the full concurrence of the Governor General in Council, had framed rules under which a proportion not exceeding one-fifth of the *total number* of civilians appointed by the Secretary of State to the Indian civil service in any one year was to consist of natives of India selected by the local Governments ; and it was further provided that the nominations in the first three years (1879-1881) might exceed the said proportion by two. As pointed out in the report of the last Commission, the practical effect of the limit imposed by the rules, when calculated upon the regular annual recruitment of covenanted civilians fixed as proportionate for each province, was to give 7·56 as the total yearly number of statutory appointment for the whole of British India..... Now, if the rules had continued in force and the proportion fixed under them had been worked out, there would by the end of 1914 have been about 260 appointments to the higher service made in India in a period of 35 years : and we might have expected to see that number (subject to the rate of decrement) always in the service. Instead, the Aitchison Commission fixed 108 posts for all time to come.....

The effect of these recommendations, retrograde as

* The present Commission, by way of improving their prospects, has laid down that those among them who are promoted to major charges will be 'full' members of the superior service, taking rank according to seniority, *except in the case of the Indian Civil Service.* These 'listed' officers, as they are called, will also be henceforth 'eligible on their merits for any posts in the service.' But as their promotion to the superior ranks will continue to come at the fag-end of their career, it is easy to see that 'any post' will mean, as now, 'the lowest post' in the superior service, and 'the footing of social equality' which the Aitchison Commission wanted to see established will be as far off as ever ; moreover, the arrangement by which they are now, in the words of the Commissioners, 'relegated to certain of the less popular districts' will continue to remain in full force, for being at the bottom of the superior service they will be confined to minor charges, though the Commissioners call such an arrangement to be 'not only indefensible in principle but mischievous in practice,' because 'the discrimination exercised to their prejudice is widely misinterpreted' and 'the practice also tells against efficiency, for with a lower status, there is a danger that a lower standard will be established.' Under the circumstances, there is no wonder that the 'listed' appointments fail to evoke any enthusiasm. Justice Rahim has shown that only 2·4 per cent. of the provincial civil service officers have a chance of securing one of these appointments. He says, truly enough, that the majority's recommendations 'remove the theoretical bar, but are not adequate to ensure any practical benefits.' His recommendation is that the 'listed' officers should be promoted at about the same age (40) as the officers recruited in England, both should receive equal pay, and be borne on the same list for purposes of further promotion.

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they were, was further limited by the Secretary of State. The 108 were reduced to 93 : and the posts were not cut down from the schedule of reserved posts, and transferred to the local service thenceforward designated the provincial service. The junior posts out of these 93 have now been mostly incorporated with the provincial service, the result being that there are at present only about 61 specific superior posts to which it is open to make appointments from the members of the provincial service, but they do not form part of an organised service."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's opinion on the same subject will appear from the following extracts.

'I have had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Aitchison Commission have failed in their desired object (the commission was expressly asked to suggest measures which would "do full justice to the claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service," and the object in view was, to quote their own words, "that all his Majesty's subjects should receive equal treatment" and "all invidious distinctions of class or race should be removed"). So far as appointments made in England are concerned, experience has shown that the chances of Indians are inconsiderable, and the Aitchison Commission itself rightly regarded the London door of admission as a supplementary source. Their most important recommendation that recruitment in England for the Indian public service should be substantially reduced as a necessary step towards steadily increasing the scope for Indians has not been carried out. In fact, the reverse has taken place in the more important services. There has been an increase altogether of 678 (i.e., from 2,338 to 3,016) in the number of officers recruited in England, excluding the number of civil servants required for Burma, which had not been annexed in 1386-87.....

The inevitable result has been a repression of the expansion of the Indian element in the higher administration. On the other hand, that part of the scheme of the Aitchison Commission which recommended payment to officers appointed in India on a lower scale of salaries, pensions, &c., than to those appointed in England, even when both were engaged on the same plane of duties, has been carried out perhaps beyond the intentions of the Commission. The differentiation in this respect has undoubtedly become much more marked now than it was before 1886-87. Then the officers appointed in India, for instance, to the Indian Civil Service, called "statutory" civil servants, received from the commencement of service two-thirds of the pay allowed to officers appointed in England, and the same with regard to the education department. In the public works department, equal pay was allowed. Now no officers are appointed to the posts of assistants in the Indian civil service; and the provincial civil service officers holding identical appointments receive about one-half the pay of a civilian assistant. In the education department the officers appointed in India receive on the average less than half of what is received by a similar officer appointed in England ; in the public works the average pay of an officer recruited in India is less than two-thirds of the average pay of an officer appointed in England and in the Survey of India the average pay of an officer appointed in India is about 38 per cent. of the average pay of the imperial officer.

The departure in the policy as regards the conditions of pay, &c., was recommended with a view to achieving a larger and gradually increasing substitution of recruitment in India for recruitment in England ; that object failing, it has only tended to deteriorate the Indian officer's position in the higher ranks of the public service.....

The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The question they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians (see paragraphs 35-36). But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is to limit the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which services and to what extent should appointments be made in England. The suggestion involved in the majority point of view is that special measures are necessary for finding employment for Indians in the administration, and that the practical question, therefore, is how many or how few posts are to be handed over to them. On the other hand the view which, on a review of the situation, has forced itself on my conviction is that if Indians have not established a footing in the higher ranks of administration, it is not through their own fault ; it is due to barriers of many sorts that have been raised in their way. It will be sufficient if the disabilities be removed and the doctrine of equal opportunity and fair dealing be established as a practical measure. No special protection or favour will be necessary if the need for protection is guarded against. It will appear from the tables given in paragraph 34 of the majority report, that out of the existing 11,064 appointments on Rs 200 a month and upwards, only 42 per cent. was held by Indians and Burmans of pure Asiatic descent on the 1st April, 1913. Then, as we ascend higher up in the scale, the position grows still worse. Out of 4,984 posts carrying salaries of Rs 500 a month and upwards, only 942, or 19 per cent., were filled by them as against 4,042 or 81 per cent. occupied by Europeans or Anglo-Indians. When we reach the salaries of Rs 800 a month and upwards, which to a large extent, though not entirely, indicate the level of higher appointments of supervision and control—for there are some provincial appointments of a less important character which carry a salary of Rs 800 and a few of Rs 1,000—only 242, or 10 per cent., of the appointments were held by Indians against 2,259, or 90 per cent., filled by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Reference is made in paragraph 34 of the majority report to the progress made in this respect from 1887 to 1913. * In the region

* Elsewhere Mr. Chaubal has shown that the progress referred to here will be found to be much nominal if the posts in the new province of Bihar are not included in the calculation. In para. 35 of the majority report it is conceded that 'ordinarily recruitment for the public services of any country might reasonably be expected to take place within its own borders.' Why then is this differentiation in the case of India ? Here is the Commissioners' reply. "The circumstances of British rule in India introduce special considerations in the case of certain services. These circumstances, as we have seen in another place, reduce themselves, in the opinion of the Commissioners to "grounds of policy and efficiency

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appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards, the percentage has risen from 34 to 42 since 1887, and in appointments of Rs 500 and upwards, from 12 to 19 per cent., and in those carrying a pay of Rs 800 and upwards, from 4 to 10 per cent. This during the space of a quarter of a century !'

All that the Indian members of the Commission could do was to tear the "efficiency" argument to tatters. The "grounds of policy" are nowhere specified, and so they could not be categorically answered ; but Justice Rahim has not hesitated to state that even on grounds of policy it might be advisable, in the best interests of both England and India, for the British people to retain the Government of India and gradually relinquish all share in the administration. The real ground seems to be that the Indian civil service is constantly and most strongly represented on the Government of India and will not surrender its vested interests (see para 82 of Mr. Justice Rahim's minute).

X.

OTHER SERVICES

I.

THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT :—Of the 221 superior posts in the three state-managed Railway lines under inquiry, namely the North-Western, the Eastern Bengal, and the Oudh and Rohilkhund, 10 are filled by Indian officers in the traffic department. Justice Rahim says :

"I agree with the recommendation of the Commission that the number should be increased. It is specially important that there should be an adequate number of Indian officers in the traffic establishment as it may be expected that their knowledge of the customs and habits of the people will contribute materially to the smooth working of the passenger traffic on the railways. There is one Indian in the stores but none in the other departments. In the locomotive, carriage and wagon departments facilities should, as recommended by the majority, be provided for the training of the statutory natives of India for the work. In fact the aim in view should be that the revenue establishment of the railway should be entirely recruited for in India."

II.

AGRICULTURE :—"In no department of Government," say the Commissioners, "are the advantages of employing indigenous agency to the fullest possible extent more conspicuous than they are in the agricultural department, where success demands so much on intimate knowledge of local conditions and ability to appreciate the needs of the cultivator." They accordingly recommend that half the superior appointments should be filled by statutory natives of India, and the standard of the agricultural colleges should 'be brought up to the level of the best equipped agricultural institutions of Europe and America.' While Mr. Chaubal thinks that the specific recommendations of the Commission will not have the desired effect, the Civilian members of the Commission are on the other hand opposed to a proportion of Indians being fixed for many years to come. Justice Abdur Rahim says that the Sabour College is admittedly a failure, and quotes Mr. Butler, the director of the Pusa institute, who states that in the present state of agricultural knowledge in India no elementary text book on Indian agriculture can be written which cannot be shown to be full of glaring misstatements of fact in regard to crop physiology and similar fundamental matters as applied to India.

"Indians have hitherto been relegated entirely to subordinate work. The higher work is such that there should be no difficulty in finding Indians capable of doing it. They have been carrying on valuable researches in chemistry, physics and in other domains of scientific work, and there is no reason to doubt that if they were afforded a fair chance, they would do equally well in agriculture. On the other hand, there have been cases of Indians, highly qualified for the higher agricultural work, who had done excellent research, but who did not find sufficient scope in the department and had to seek elsewhere for a proper field of employment." (Justice Rahim).

III.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT :—Mr. Chaubal's note runs thus :

"Though we have not inquired into many posts under the local Governments carrying a salary of Rs. 200 and above, I would draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the disproportionately large number of posts held by the Anglo-Indian community in this department, for out of 246 posts only

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27 are held by Asiatic Indians and Burmans while Europeans and Anglo-Indians hold respectively 104 and 115. This feature of the service by which one community has practically the monopoly of it ought not to be lost sight of, and I do not think that a larger employment of Asiatic Indians will in any way be prejudicial to departmental efficiency."

IV.

FACTORY AND BOILER INSPECTION DEPARTMENT:—Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim says:

"It is primarily the protection of the mill hands that is provided for by this department. The *prima-facie* presumption is that Indian inspectors of suitable technical qualifications, if available, would be in the best position to ascertain in what directions the interests of the operatives are injured. It is not difficult to realise that the European inspecting staff must be at a great disadvantage with respect to the language of the Indian labourer and in winning his confidence. The Indian inspector would not be handicapped by such difficulties. For the candidates generally, whether Europeans, Anglo-Indians, or Indians, it is necessary that the general educational qualifications should be sufficiently high to exclude men who are not likely to appreciate the responsibilities of their position. The present standard of salaries [the average pay is Rs 680 a month] is sufficient to attract a good class of men and it is difficult to understand why the services of Indians have not hitherto been utilised [out of 14 posts inquired into, not one is held by an Indian]. There is also no doubt that qualified Indians are available, as found by the majority of the commissioners. That being so, I not only agree with the general recommendations of the majority, but would add that the employment of Indians in this department should be specially encouraged."

V.

INDIAN FINANCE DEPARTMENT:—

"This is the only department in which all officers, whether recruited in England or in India, are treated alike in every respect. They are all on one list, receive the same pay, all are equally eligible for promotion, and all enjoy the same status. The qualifications ordinarily insisted on are high, and a substantial portion of the cadre is recruited by competitive examination. The results, judged from the state of efficiency of the department, as contributed to by the Indian element in its personnel, are highly satisfactory. The Indian public naturally points to this department as showing the high level of responsible work which Indians can achieve in the administration if a fair scope is given to their well qualified men and they are not hampered by artificial restrictions and galling distinctions. Indian members of the department are often selected to conduct special statistical and other similar inquiries, and much value is evidently attached to their work. The history of the department points another moral, how dangerous it is for the interests of the country to look to any particular community alone for the supply of officers when that community is unable to produce sufficiently well-qualified men. Formerly the department used to be recruited in India from among domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians; but when the duties grew more complex with time and the Anglo-Indian community was no longer able to supply well-qualified officers, the field of recruitment had to be shifted. Since a more liberal policy has now been adopted, and Indians of a suitable class have been admitted, the success of Indian recruitment is no longer in doubt."

The work of the Military finance department, though similar in character and requiring the same kind of qualifications, has not hitherto been entrusted to a single Indian. The service consists of 57 officers with an average salary of Rs. 967 a month, and it is admitted by the military accountant general that the time has now come for making the experiment of appointing Indians, and recently an Indian officer of the Finance department was appointed controller of war accounts. Mr. Abdur Rahim says that there are several Indian subordinate officers of the department who are fit for promotion to the superior staff.

VI.

THE FOREST DEPARTMENT:—The Civilian attitude in regard to the employment of Indians in the superior services may be seen from Mr. Sly's note on this department, where he says that this department which contains only two Indians in the imperial service though the subordinate ranks are manned entirely by them, is not likely to attract a really good class of Indian candidates, and will, so far as can reasonably be foreseen at the present time, require a strong European element, as the department, from its nature, is subject to the minimum amount of inspection, and errors in the treatment of forests may have disastrous effects lasting over generations. The majority of the Commissioners however adopt a more liberal policy.

VII.

GEOLOGICAL SERVEY OF INDIA:—Owing to the rule that officers may retire with a pension after 20 years of service, more than one officer was enabled to come back to Europe at about 46 years of age and obtain lucrative occupation there. "Thus," says Justice Rahim, "the experience and skill of a highly valuable character acquired in the Indian service is lost to the country. This will necessarily be the case more or less when European officers are employed. On the other hand, by the employment of Indians the Government will

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ecure for the country a gradual and steady accumulation of most useful geological knowledge and experience."

VIII.

PILOT SERVICE :—Mr. Justice Rahim truly says :

"There is at present a class of Muhammadans in Bengal who would be extremely well-suited for pilot's duties if well trained. Many of them have proved themselves excellent navigators on the difficult rivers in eastern Bengal and on the Hugli [and also, it may be added, in the coasting trade]. In fact, the inland navigation of Bengal is mostly managed by them. They are generally self-trained, and their educational qualifications are of a rudimentary character. But boys of this community, if trained, would supply very efficient material for the service."

IX.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT :—The rules for competition in England provide that "every candidate must be a British subject of European descent." The Commission propose to modify this rule to allow Indians, who have been educated in England for five years prior to the examination, to appear at the competitive test. But as candidates shall have to appear at this examination at the age of 17-19, the modification, as Mr. Chaubal points out, and as the Commissioners in a manner admit, "is calculated to observe the letter and ignore the spirit" of the law against racial disabilities. Five per cent of the total number of superintendentships, and gradually ten per cent, will be recruited from the provincial service. Mr. Justice Rahim observes :

"Whatever other valuable qualities an European policeman may possess, he is naturally handicapped by insurmountable difficulties in the detection of crime and in supervising the work of the investigating staff. It will be in my opinion nothing but a sheer set-back to reforms in the police administration [Mr. Rahim says that "there is hardly another department of the Indian Government whose work is subjected to such constant criticisms as the police"] if the class of educated young Indians, who were attracted to this service by the encouraging terms of the Police Commission's report should be told that though engaged in the same kind of duties as the officers recruited in England they were not to have substantial chances of promotion and must be satisfied with a lower status. There are distinct signs of disappointment in the provincial force, and some of the young recruits have already left it."

X.

THE POST OFFICE :—Justice Rahim observes :

"The Post Office is the only large department which is recruited for almost entirely in India. The superior staff, which alone was the subject of enquiry, consists of 247 officers with an average pay of Rs 489 a month, not including the postmasters. This is exclusive of the members of the Indian civil service employed in the department. In the entire department, out of 277 officers drawing a salary of Rs 200 and above, the Indians hold 132, or 48 per cent., and out of 46 appointments on Rs 500 and over, Indians hold only 5 or 11 per cent., and out of 25 posts on a salary of Rs 800 and more, the Indians hold only 2 posts, amounting to 8 per cent. These figures are especially instructive, having regard to the fact that the appointments are all made in India.

"This entirely unsatisfactory position of the Indians cannot be said to be due to the fact that they are not suitable for the work of the department. The reasons are different. In the first place, ten per cent. of the appointments are reserved for Europeans, then the standard of qualifications required of the recruits is kept low enough for the reach of an ordinary Anglo-Indian schoolboy, and the higher appointments being largely filled by promotions made from the subordinate ranks, a tradition has grown up that the department offers a lucrative career for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans with inferior educational qualifications..... The majority report seems to evince, in this connection, a special anxiety for Anglo-Indian competitors, and for them they propose that the passing of an examination of "a corresponding standard prescribed for the European schools" should be accepted in the place of a university degree..... It should also be borne in mind in making the selection that the Anglo-Indian community is a very small community compared with the Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Sikhs, the Parsis, and they are not entitled to ask for any special considerations."

The majority of Commissioners, in annexure VI, observe that in the post office the problem has been *successfully* solved "by a *judicious blending* of officers belonging to the various communities in India." If this be an instance of "judicious blending" and "successful" solution, then Indians, properly so called, need expect very little from the Commission's recommendations in respect of some of the services which are henceforth to be recruited largely or mostly in India.

XI.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT :—

"The work of the public works department is divided into two principal sections, one connected with irrigation and the other with the construction, repair and maintenance of roads, buildings and bridges. It is difficult to imagine why the ordinary requirements of this department should not, within a reasonable time, be met in India. Indians could not have entirely lost that aptitude for the engineering art which found such wonderful expression in their architecture and schemes of irrigation, relics of which are still extant. The Indian engineering colleges, notably the Thomason College at Rurki, are admittedly efficient institutions, and it seems to me that the proper policy to pursue in this department would be to look entire-

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ly to these colleges to supply the engineering needs of the country. For the present, however, I am satisfied with the proposal made in the majority report that the percentage of recruitment from Indian colleges should be raised from about 30 to 50 per cent. With regard to the recruitment of Indians in England, my view is that the ten per cent. rule in England may be abolished, but on the ground that it has been interpreted as indicating a maximum. The drift, however, of the observations in paragraph 10 of the majority report seems to be that [illegible] students who come to Europe to study modern [illegible] neering should not be encouraged to expect [illegible] appointed in this department. If such be the [illegible] tion, I wish entirely to dissociate myself from it. [illegible] the other hand, there should be no hesitation [illegible] pointing as many Indians as are found to be [illegible] qualified." (Justice Rahim).

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

I.

Annexure to the Majority Report.

"OPINION in India is much exercised on the question of the separation of the executive and judicial functions of officers, and in the course of our inquiry into the methods of recruitment and the systems of probation and training for the Indian civil service a good deal of evidence was submitted on this subject.....

Criticisms directed against the present system—Against the practice of entrusting the district officer with those powers it is alleged that, as an executive officer, he naturally contracts a habit of mind which unfits him for the impartial discharge of magisterial duties. He knows, it is said, too much about the people, who are brought up for trial, and has too great an interest in securing a conviction, when he thinks that a conviction is justified on the merits, to be deterred by small imperfections in the chain of evidence. The opponents of the present system admit that the district officer rarely tries cases himself, but regard it as objectionable that an officer, who is the head of the police and responsible for the peace of the district, should also supervise the work of his subordinate magistrates, who depend for their professional advancement on his good will and are, therefore, necessarily influenced by their estimate of what his opinions regarding a suit are likely to be. A further count in the charge is that it is wrong in principle that offences under the forest and revenue acts in particular should be brought in appeal to an officer who is the direct revenue superior of the prosecutor in the suit. Criticism is also levelled against the powers, conferred on the district magistrate under section 110 of the criminal procedure code, of calling on any persons within the limits of his jurisdiction to show cause why they should not be ordered to execute bonds for their good behaviour. It is argued that such powers are particularly liable to be abused by executive officers acting on information supplied to them by a not too reliable police, and that, as a matter of fact, some miscarriage of justice has occurred under the operation of this provision. Lastly, it is contended that, owing to the demands of his other business, the district magistrate is continually under the obligation of shifting his court. Not infrequently cases are begun in one place and finished in another, with the result that considerable inconvenience is caused to [illegible] pleaders and witnesses.

Arguments in favour of the present system—[illegible] in broad outline are the criticisms of those [illegible] object to the present system. On the other [illegible] is argued that in the present circumstances of [illegible] the concentration of authority in the person of [illegible] district officer is a prime necessity of governm[illegible] In India, it is claimed, there is no active [illegible] opinion in favour of the punishment of wrongd[illegible] The sense that society suffers from the impunity [illegible] hardened criminals is still imperfectly developed [illegible] to the inhabitants of an Indian village there seem[illegible] be something harsh and inhuman in the inflexi[illegible] with which the European fits the punishment to [illegible] crime. It is therefore necessary that the ch[illegible] agency for the punishment of offenders shou[illegible] endowed with an authority proportionate to [illegible] weakness of the support which it receives from [illegible] community at large. This is all the more necess[illegible] on account of the fact that the subordinate m[illegible] tracy is too apt to take an indulgent view of c[illegible] and misdemeanour. It is further urged that [illegible] concentration of functions is especially needed for [illegible] enforcement of sanitary rules, to which the su[illegible] dinate magistarcy is apt to ascribe [illegible] importance than they deserve. The duty of spec[illegible] up the machinery of criminal justice cannot, [illegible] asserted, safely be delegated to the sessions j[illegible] who is already overburdened with judicial work, [illegible] would also be less likely to know the district [illegible] than the executive head. In practice, it is also s[illegible] the district magistrate tries comparatively few c[illegible] himself; whilst he exercises very little direct co[illegible] over the police. The real advantage of the pres[illegible] system lies in the powers which the district m[illegible] trate holds in reserve; and he knows too much a[illegible] the police and too much about the district to [illegible] misled by police evidence of a corrupt and [illegible] character. It is contended also that in the circum[illegible] ces of an Indian village there should be [illegible] authority capable of advising the high court [illegible] regard to administrative questions touching [illegible] working of the judicial machine. The district [illegible] with his intimate and varied knowledge of [illegible] district is more likely to be able to do this adequ[illegible] than any other official who could be substituted [illegible] him. Finally, it is urged that to deprive the co[illegible] of all magisterial power would weaken his [illegible] and influence in the district. Life is still very [illegible]

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ire in India and the main function of government to put down crime. If the agency responsible for bringing criminals to justice found that its action was impeded by a weak or dilatory judiciary, a fatal blow would be struck, not only at the influence of the district officer himself, but at the cause of peace and order in the country.

Conclusions.—From this conflict of opinion the following general considerations appear to emerge. In the first place, the union of executive and judicial powers in the persons of the collector and his subordinate magistracy, though strictly analogous to the union of powers in England in the justices of the peace from the fourteenth century to the county councils act of 1888, is an anomaly to which strong objection may be taken on theoretical grounds. The system, moreover, arouses keen dissatisfaction amongst an influential section of the educated Indian community, and particularly the lawyers, who regard it as a violation of an elementary principle of the common law that the prosecutor should not also be the judge. This feeling of dissatisfaction is more widespread in some provinces than in others, and in certain areas may be the result of shortcomings in the working of the judicial system, which are not connected with the union of powers. As to the extent of the mischief, if mischief there be arising from the system, there is a clear divergence of opinion. Some witnesses affirm, and others deny that substantial hardship has been caused. In the next place it is clear that behind a theoretical union of powers there is already a great deal of practical division, and it may be that separation will be a necessary consequence of the natural increase in the volume of legal business in the country. In the presidency towns separation is already an established fact. In Madras it already exists in the lower grades. In Burma we were told that the expansion of work was gradually solving the problem for itself. In Bengal, where there is already complete separation so far as the provincial civil service is concerned, the experiment has been made of appointing special deputy collectors to try estate lands act suits, &c.; whilst additional district magistrates have also been established in certain areas. Administrative exigencies will doubtless carry the process of separation further, stage by stage; and even among the upholders of the merits of the present system there is a certain body of opinion which would be prepared to admit the principle of separation in selected districts where the work of administration is especially heavy, and where the results of the experiment might carefully be watched. Finally, the evidence on both sides suggests that it would be inexpedient to sanction any scheme of separation which does not provide for the retention by the collector of the preventive powers entrusted to him by the criminal procedure code, and for some adequate supervision over the inferior magistracy. Such supervision might be secured either by adding to the number of sessions judges or by appointing special officers to discharge the magisterial functions now vested in the collector. But upon these points of administrative detail, as upon the large question of principle, we do not feel that we are entitled either by the terms of the reference or by the character of our inquiry to make positive recommendations."

II. Mr. Chaubal.

"I agree that chapter XVI of the annexure as far as it goes states fairly the contentions of the two sides which maintain differing views on this question. But I am afraid it does not cover the entire ground of the criticism to which those who are opposed to it subject the present system. It seems to me that the report takes cognisance of this criticism only as regards the superior executive officers, the collector and the deputy commissioner. It ignores the fact that a large body of provincial revenue or executive officers exercise considerable magisterial and criminal powers. The officers designated deputy collectors, and mamlatdars in some provinces, and their equivalents in the others, are all magistrates either of the first, second or third class, and exercise the powers respectively given to them by the criminal procedure code. So far as this question enters legitimately into the scope of our reference, the question of the proper recruitment for these posts, and that of the judicial training both in civil law and criminal jurisprudence necessary in persons exercising the powers they do, have not, I am afraid, been alluded to in the report. Those who advocate a complete separation of the two functions rest no small portion of their criticism on the judicial work done by these officers. The majority, or practically all of them, have no grounding whatever in the principles of law, and get no training whatever in criminal jurisprudence, which enters largely into the performance of their duties, or in the principles of civil law, with which also they have to do, though not to the same extent as in the former..... The opponents of the present system contend that with such meagre qualifications in law as these officers have, the wonder is that the work is not worse done than it is at present. They further contend that side by side with these officers there is a trained body of provincial judicial officers who, notwithstanding their study of and training in criminal law, are purely confined to disposing of the civil litigation in the province..... They contend that the administration of justice would be improved if these magisterial powers were severed from the executive officers and permanently transferred to the judicial branch; and they contend that the cost of effecting this severance ought not to be extravagant, as though a large number of judicial officers may be required, there will be a corresponding reduction in the number of the executive officers, who will have purely revenue duties to perform..... I can only indicate here that.....a large volume of Indian evidence incidentally came before us which put forth the existing combination of functions in the same officers as a grievance that should be remedied if possible by a complete or partial separation of the two powers as may be found practicable."

III. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

"*Separation of judicial and executive functions and the recruitment of magistrates* :— I have already referred to the despatch of 1917 in which the Government of India observed: 'It is most frequently in criminal matters that the native newspapers attack our administration of justice and that errors and irregularities have been a subject of public criticism. It is in such cases in all countries that miscarriage of justice attracts most attention.' These observations were made with particular reference to the shortcomings in the training of the Indian civil service officers for the performance of judicial duties generally. But there is another cause not dealt with in that despatch that has materially contributed to the unsatisfactory state of the administration of justice in criminal matters, namely, the combination of

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judicial and executive functions in the present organisation of the civil services. This question for the purpose of our inquiry was formulated (Nos. 88 and 18 respectively in the lists of questions for the Indian civil service and the provincial civil services) in these words: 'To what extent are the functions of the officers of the executive and judicial branches of the Indian civil service differentiated? Is any change desirable, and, if so, in what directions?' Considerable evidence was collected in every province and the Indian public opinion showed itself keenly interested in the subject. It was not until a late stage in the inquiry that it was even suggested that the matter fell outside the terms of our reference. I do not think the suggestion is well founded. In inquiring into the methods of recruitment and training it was necessary that we should keep in view not only the nature of the work to be done, but the conditions of employment of the officers. It could hardly have been contemplated that if we found that the official arrangements under which particular classes of officers were employed in the performance of certain duties were not conducive to efficiency, we should be precluded from drawing the attention of the authorities to the matter or from making appropriate suggestions for rectifying the arrangements. Nor can there be any doubt that by the interrogatories as we framed them, we intended to elicit opinions on the well-known subject of separation of judical and executive functions which has long agitated the public mind and not the separate recruitment of judicial officers. The subject is dealt with in paragraphs 71 to 75 of annexure X. to the majority report, and with all deference to the majority, I must freely express my opinion that their treatment of it shows a very inadequate comprehension of the real issues. Nor has it been possible for me to understand clearly the drift of their conclusions as stated in paragraph 75. If what is meant to convey is that the evils arising from the combination of the functions are more theoretical than real, and that a differentiation of the functions is being evolved, then the conclusion is based on a misconception of the situation.

The principal points in the complaint refer to the office of the district magistrate and collector which is a "strange union of the functions of constable and magistrate, public prosecutor and criminal judge, revenue collector and appeal court in revenue cases." It is this officer who has the entire administrative control of the subordinate magistrates who are also employed under him in the discharge of revenue and general executive duties. What has been asked for is that magistrates should form a separate class of officers from the executive and revenue officers. Their duties are different and often clash with each other; their training and the administrative arrangements for their employment must be separate and suitable to each class of work. Magistrates should not be liable to be employed in revenue and executive work, nor should revenue and executive officers be employed in magisterial work. The officer responsible for the peace of the district and for its general executive and revenue administration should have no authority and control over the magistrates. The present state of things does not satisfy these conditions, and there can be no doubt as put by Sir Harvey Adamson the then home member of the Government of India in his speech on the budget delivered in 1908 that 'the inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials affecting the general peace of the district are not always conducted in the atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a court of justice. Nor does this completely define the evil which [illegible] so much in what is done, as in what may be [illegible] ed to be done; for it is not enough that the [illegible] tration of "justice should be pure; it can never [illegible] bedrock of our rule unless it is also 'above [illegible] picion.' Gross miscarriages of justice have also [illegible] arisen as a result of the combined system, as [illegible] applications and the allegations that are constantly made to the high courts bear indubitable testimony to the fact that confidence in the magisterial [illegible] of cases is much weakened by the present arrangements. To quote again from the same [illegible] 'The exercise of control over the subordinate magistrates by whom the great bulk of criminal cases are tried is the point where the present system is defective. . . . . But if the control is exercised by the officer who is responsible for the peace of the district, there is the constant danger that the subordinate magistracy may be unconsciously guided by other than purely judicial considerations.' The main, if not the only, argument advanced in support of the system is that the district officer is deprived of his magisterial powers and of his authority over the subordinate magistracy his prestige will suffer. One would have thought that his position as the chief revenue and executive officer, and in fact the local representative of Government, was sufficiently important and did not require any further enhancement by the addition of magisterial functions. On the other hand, I have no hesitation in stating my belief that the prestige of the Government in all the advanced provinces distinctly suffers in the public estimation by having up a system by which its administration of criminal justice is subject to suspicion. It is for a long time that the system has been condemned, not merely by the press and the political bodies of India, but by eminent judges and the legal profession generally whose knowledge of its evils is direct and first hand.

Having regard to the importance of the question and the fact that it has been growing in acuteness I shall here set out a memorial which was addressed to the Secretary of State for India in July 1883 by Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, who had recently retired as Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Richard Couch who also had been chief justice, Sir Charles Sargent who had been chief justice of Bombay and by other retired judges and high officials.

To the Right Honourable Lord George Francis Hamilton, M. P.,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, India Office. Whitehall, S. W.

My Lord,

We, the undersigned, beg leave to submit to you in the interests of the administration of justice the following considerations in favour of the separation of judicial from executive duties in India. The present system, under which the chief executive official of a district collects the revenue, controls the police, institutes prosecutions, and at the same time exercises large judicial powers, has been, and still is, condemned not only by the general voice of public opinion in India, but also by Anglo-Indian officers, and high legal authorities. The state of Indian opinion with reference to the question is so well known as to require neither proof nor illustration. The separation of judicial and executive functions has been consistently urged throughout a long series of years alike by the Indian press and by public bodies and individuals well qualified to represent Indian opinion. We propose, however, to refer briefly

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some of the numerous occasions upon which the principle of separation has been approved by official authorities; next, to explain the nature of the existing grievance, and the proposed remedy; and, finally to discuss objections which have been or may be advanced against alteration of the present system. This memorial, therefore, consists of three sections, which it may be convenient to indicate as follows:

(a) An historical retrospect (paras. 2 to 10;)
(b) The existing grievance, and the remedy (paras. 11 to 14); and
(c) Answers to possible objections (paras 15 to 18).

(a) *An historical retrospect.*

2. So long ago as 1793 the Government of India, under Lord Cornwallis, recognised the dangers arising from the combination, in one and the same officer, of revenue with judicial duties. Section 1 of regulation II., 1793, contained the following passage:—

'All questions between Government and the landholders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenue, and disputed claims between the latter and their rayats, or other persons concerned in the collection of their rents, have hitherto, been cognisable in the courts of *maal adawlut*, or revenue courts. The collectors of the revenue preside in these courts as judges, and an appeal lies from their decision to the board of revenue, and from the decrees of that board to the Governor-General in council in the department of revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure whilst the revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these courts from their irregular, summary and often *ex parte* proceedings, and from the collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them for administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property and to the rights attached to it before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing in its executive capacity the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders. The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the regulations, must be subjected to the cognisance of the courts of judicature superintended by judges who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and collect the public dues subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it. No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the regulations can be infringed, or, the value of landed property affected."

3. These observations aptly anticipated the basis of the criticisms which during the succeeding century have so often been passed as well by individuals as by public bodies of the highest authority, upon the strange union of the functions of constable and magistrate, public prosecutor and criminal judge, revenue collector and appeal court in revenue cases. In 1838 a committee, appointed by the Government of Bengal to prepare a scheme for the more efficient organisation of the police, issued its report. As a member of that committee, Mr. F. J. Halliday (after Sir Frederick Halliday, sometime Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and member of the council of the Secretary of State) drew up an important minute in which, after citing at length the considerations that had been urged in favour of separating police from judicial duties in London, he stated that they applied with double force in India. The passage quoted with approval by Mr. Halliday declared that there was nomore important principle in jurisprudence than the separation of the judicial from the executive ministerial functions; that a scheme to combine the duties of judge and sheriff, of justice of the peace and constable in the same individuals would be scouted as absurd as well as mischievous; that a magistrate ought to have no previous knowledge of a matter with which he had to deal judicially; and that the whole executive duty of preventing and detecting crimes should be thrown upon the police. In support of the proposition that these remarks applied with double force to India, Mr. Halliday wrote:—"In England a large majority of offenders are, as here, tried and sentenced by the magistrates; but in the former country the cases so tried are comparatively of a trivial and unimportant nature. In India the powers of the magistrates are much greater; their sentences extend to imprisonment for three years, and their jurisdiction embraces offences which, both for frequency and importance, are by far the weightiest subjects of the criminal administration of the country. The evil which this system produces is twofold: it affects the fair distribution of justice and it impairs at the same time the efficiency of the police. The union of magistrate with collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the junction of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied. For this evil—which arises from a constant and unavoidable bias against all supposed offenders—the power of appeal is not a sufficient remedy: the danger to justice, under such circumstances, is not in a few cases, nor in any proportion of cases, but in every case. In all, the magistrate is constable, prosecutor, and judge. If the appeal be necessary to secure justice in any case, it must be so in all; and if—as will follow—all sentences by a magistrate should properly be revised by another authority, it would manifestly be for the public benefit that the appellate tribunal should decide all cases in the first instance. It is well known, on the other hand, that the judicial labours of a magistrate occupy nearly all his time, that which is devoted to matters strictly executive being only the short space daily employed in hearing *thana* reports. But the effectual management of even a small police force and the duties of a

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public prosecutor ought to occupy the whole of one man's time, and the management of the police of a large district must necessarily be inefficient which, from press of other duties, is slurred over in two hasty hours of each day. I consider it, then, an indispensable preliminary to the improvement of our system that the duties of preventing crime and of apprehending and prosecuting offenders should, without delay, be separated from the judicial function."

4. Mr. Halliday's opinions on this subject were substantially approved by two other members of the committee appointed by the Government of Bengal—Mr. W. W. Bird and Mr. J. Lowis. Mr. Bird, who was president of the committee, stated that he had no objection to the disunion of executive from judicial functions. He added that he had invariably advocated the principle alike in the revenue and the judicial departments, but as it was at that time pertinaciously disregarded in one department it could not very consistently be introduced into the other. Mr. Lowis characterised Mr. Halliday's proposals as "systematic in plan, complete in detail, and sound in principle." With reference to Mr. Bird's observation, just cited, Mr. Lowis said that it was fallacious "to aver that a departure from right principle in one branch of administration requires, for the sake of consistency, a departure from it in another." It is true that Mr. Halliday, 18 years later, held a different view, and thought that British administration should conform to the oriental idea of uniting all powers into one centre. But his personal change of opinion does not affect the force of his former arguments.

5. Again, in 1854, in the course of a letter to the Government of India, Mr. C. Beadon, secretary to the Government of Bengal, wrote :—"The only separation of functions which is really desirable is that of the executive and judicial, the one being a check upon the other ; and if the office of magistrate and collector be reconstituted on its former footing I think it will have to be considered whether . . . . the magistrates should not be required to make over the greater portion of their judicial duties to qualified subordinates, devoting their own attention chiefly to police matters and the general executive management of their districts." In November of the same year, as a member of the council of the Governor-General, the Hon. (afterwards Sir) J. P. Grant recorded a minute in which he said that the combination of the duty of the superintendent of police and public prosecutor with the functions of a criminal judge was objectionable in principle, and the practical objections to it had been greatly aggravated by the course of legislation which had raised the judicial powers of a magistrate six times higher than they were in the days of Lord Cornwallis. "It ought," Mr. Grant continued, "to be the fixed intention of the Government to dissever as soon as possible the functions of criminal judge from those of thief-catcher and public prosecutor, now combined in the office of magistrate. That seems to me to be indispensable as a step towards any great improvement in our criminal jurisprudence."

6. Two years later—in September 1856—a despatch of the court of directors of the East India Company (No. 41, judicial department) on the reorganisation of the police in India pointed out that "to remedy the evils of the existing system, the first step to be taken is, wherever the union at present exists, to separate the police from the administration of the land revenue.....In the second place, the management of the police of each district should be taken out of the hands of the magistrate."

7. In February 1857 a further minute was recorded by the Hon. J. P. Grant, member of the council of the Governor-General, upon the "union of the functions of superintendent of police with those of a criminal judge." Mr. Grant, in whose opinions Mr. (afterwards Sir Barnes) Peacock generally concurred, wrote :—"The one point for decision, as it appears to me, on which alone the whole question turns, is this—in which way is crime more certainly discovered, proved, and punished, and innocence more certainly protected—when two men are occupied each as thief-catcher, prosecutor, and judge, or when one of them is occupied as thief-catcher and prosecutor, and the other as judge ? I have no doubt that the principle of division of labour has all its general advantages and an immense preponderance of special and particular advantages, when applied to this particular case ; and I have no doubt that if there is any real difference between India and Europe in relation to this question, the difference is all in favour of relieving the judge in India from all connection with the detective officer and prosecutor. The judicial ermine is, in my judgment, out of place in the byeways of the detective policeman in any country, and those byeways in India are not usually dirty. Indeed, so strongly does this feeling operate, perhaps unconsciously, upon the English minds of the honourable body of men from whom our magistrates are chosen, that in practice the real evil of the combination is, not that a judge whose mind has been put out of balance by his antecedents in relation to the prisoner, tries that prisoner, but that the superintendent of police, whose nerve and honesty are indispensable to the keeping of the native police officers in order, abandons all real concern with the detection of crime, and the prosecution of criminals, in the mass of cases, and leaves this important and delicate duty almost wholly in fact to the native *darogahs*. . . . If the combination theory were acted upon in reality—if an officer, after bribing spies, endeavouring to corrupt accomplices, laying himself out to hear what every tell-tale has to say, and putting his wit to the utmost stretch, for weeks perhaps, in order to beat his adversary in the game of detection, were then to sit down gravely as a judge, and were to profess to try dispassionately upon the evidence given in court the question of whether he or his adversary had won the game, I am well convinced that one or two cases of this sort would excite as much indignation as would save me the necessity of all argument *a priori* against the combination theory." Unfortunately the theory has been acted upon in reality. Actual cases—more than one or two—have excited the vehement indignation against which Mr. Grant sought in 1857 to provide. Mr. Grant added that the objections to separation of judicial and police functions seemed to him, after the best attention he could give them, to be founded on imaginary evils. He refused to anticipate "such extreme antagonism between the native public officer and the native judge as would be materially inconvenient." "Under a moderately sensible European magistrate, controlled by an intelligent commissioner, who would not talk or act as if police *peons* and *darogahs* were infallible, and dispassionate judges were never right, I cannot see why there should be any such consequences."

8. These and similar expressions of opinion were not lost upon the Government of India, as the history of the legislation which was undertaken immediately after the suppression of the mutiny shows. In 1860 a commission was appointed to

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inquire into the organisation of the police. It consisted of representative officers from the North-West provinces, Pegu, Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, and Oudh—"all," in the words of Sir Bartle Frere, "men of ripe experience, especially in matters connected with police." The instructions issued to the commission contained the following propositions :— "The functions of a police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder, or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace. These functions are in no respect judicial. This rule requires a complete severance of the police from the judicial authorities, whether those of higher grade or the inferior magistracy in their judicial capacity. When, as is often the case in India, various functions are combined in the hands of one magistrate, it may sometimes be difficult to observe this restriction ; but the rule should always be kept in sight that the official who collects and traces out the links in the chain of evidence in any case of importance should never be the same as the judicial officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case..... It may sometimes be difficult to insist on this rule, but experience shows it is not nearly so difficult as would be supposed, and the advantages of insisting on it cannot be overstated." Again : "The working police having its own officers exclusively engaged on their own duties in preventing or detecting crime, the question is at what link in the chain of subordination between the highest and lowest officers in the executive administration is the police to be attached, and so made responsible as well as subordinate to all above that link in the chain ? The great object being to keep the judicial and police functions quite distinct, the most perfect organisation is, no doubt, when the police is subordinate to none but that officer in the executive Government who is absolved from all judicial duty, or at least from all duty involving original jurisdiction, so that his judicial decisions can never be biased by his duties as a superintendent of police..... It is difficult to lay down any more definite rule as to the exact point where the subordination should commence than by saying that it should be so arranged that an officer should never be liable to try judicially important cases got up under his own directions as a police officer..... This raises the question—who is to be responsible for the peace of the district ? Clearly that officer, whoever he may be, to whom the police are immediately responsible. Under him it is the duty of every police officer and of every magisterial officer of whatever grade, in their several charges, to keep him informed of all matters affecting the public peace and the prevention and detection of crime. It is his duty to see that both classes of officers work together for his end ; as both are subordinate to him, he ought to be able to ensure their combined action. The exact limits of the several duties of the two classes of officers it may be difficult to define in any general rule ; but they will not be difficult to fix in practice if the leading principles are authoritatively laid down, and, above all, if the golden rule be borne in mind that the judicial and police functions are not to be mixed up or confounded, that the active work of preventing or detecting crime is to rest entirely with the police, and not to be interfered with by those who are to sit in judgment on the criminal."

9. The Police Commission in their report (dated September 1860) expressly recognised and accepted this "golden rule." Paragraph 27 of their report was as follows :—"That as a rule there should be complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities ; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case, even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal. As the detection and prosecution of criminals properly devolve on the police, no police officer should be permitted to have any judicial function." But although the commission adopted without question the general principle that judicial and police functions ought not to be confounded, they proposed, as a matter of practical and temporary convenience, in view of "the constitution of the official agency" then existing in India, that an exception should be made in the case of the district officer. The commission did not maintain that the principle did not, in strictness, apply to him. On the contrary, they appeared to have stated expressly that it did. But they recommended that in his case true principle should, for the time being, be sacrificed to expediency. They reported :— That the same true principle, that the judge and detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice. But, with the constitution of the official agency existing in India, an exception must be made in favour of the district officer. The magistrates have long been, in the eye of the law, executive officers, having a general supervising authority in matters of police, originally without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the magistrates has not been widely departed from : in other parts extensive judicial powers have been superadded to their original and proper function. This circumstance has imported difficulties in regard to maintaining the leading principle enunciated above, for it is impracticable to relieve the magistrates of their judicial duties ; and, on the other hand, it is at present inexpedient to deprive the police and public of the valuable aid and supervision of the district officer in the general management of police matters." The commission recognised that this combination of judicial with police functions was open to objection, but looked forward to a time when improvements in organisation would, in actual practice, bring it to an end. "That this departure from principle will be less objectionable in practice when the executive police, though bound to obey the magistrate's orders *quoad* the criminal administration, is kept departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers, and constitutes a special agency having no judicial function. As the organisation becomes perfected and the force effective for the performance of its detective duties, any necessity for the magistrate to take personal action in any case judicially before him ought to cease."

10. The recommendations of the Police Commission were adopted by the Government of India and, in accordance with them, Sir Bartle Frere introduced in the legislative council on September 29, 1860, a bill for the better regulation of police. The debate on the second reading of this measure, which afterwards became act V of 1861, and is still in force, is important as showing that the Government of India regarded the exceptional union of judicial with police functions in the district officer as a temporary compromise. Sir Barnes Peacock, the vice-president of the council, stated that he "had always been of opinion that a full and complete separation ought to be made between the two functions," while in reply

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to Mr. A. Sconce, who had argued that some passages in the report of the Police Commission were at variance with the principle of separation, Sir Bartle Frere said: "It was one thing to lay down a principle, and another to act on it at once, and entirely when it was opposed to the existing system, to all existing forms of procedure, and to prejudice of long standing. Under such circumstances it was often necessary to come to a compromise..... He hoped that at no distant period the principle would be acted upon throughout India as completely as his hon. friend could desire. The hon. member had called the bill a 'half-and-half' measure. He could assure the hon. gentleman that nobody was more inclined that it should be made a whole measure than he was, and he should be very glad if his hon. friend would only induce the executive Governments to give it their support so as to effect a still more complete severance of the police and judicial functions than the bill contemplated." The hope expressed by Sir Bartle Frere in 1860 has yet to be fulfilled. It might have been realised in 1872, when the second code of criminal procedure was passed. But the Government and the Legislature of the day were still under the dominion of the fallacy that all power must be centred in the district magistrate, and the opportunity of applying the sound principle for which Sir Bartle Frere had contended was unfortunately rejected. In 1881 the code of criminal procedure was further revised, and the select committee, in their report on the criminal procedure bill, said: "At the suggestion of the Government of Bengal we have omitted section 38, conferring police powers on magistrates. We consider that it is inexpedient to invest magistrates with such powers, or to make their connection with the police more close than it is at present."

(*b*) *The existing grievance, and the remedy.*

II. The request which we have now the honour of urging is, therefore, that—in the words used by Sir J. P. Grant in 1854—the functions of criminal judge should be dissevered from those of thief-catcher and public prosecutor, or—in the words used by Sir Barnes Peacock in 1860—that a full and complete separation should be made between judicial and executive functions. At present these functions are to a great extent combined in India, especially in the case of the officers who, in the districts of regulation provinces, are known as collector-magistrates, and in the non-regulation provinces are known as deputy commissioners. The duties of these officers are thus described by Sir W. W. Hunter* :—"As the name of collector-magistrate implies, his main functions are twofold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he also is a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the home secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more; for he is the representative of a paternal and not a constitutional government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his district are to him matters of daily concern." It is submitted, just as Lord Cornwallis's Government held a century ago, that the proprietors of land could never consider the privileges which had been conferred upon them as secure while the revenue officers were vested with judicial powers, so also the administration of justice is brought into suspicion while judicial powers remain in the hands of the detective and public prosecutor.

12. The grounds upon which the request for separation is made are sufficiently obvious. They have been anticipated in the official opinions already cited. It may, however, be convenient to summarise the arguments which have been advanced of late years by independent public opinion in India. These are to the effect—

(i) that the combination of judicial with executive duties in the same officer violates the first principles of equity;

(ii) that while a judicial officer ought to be thoroughly impartial and approach the consideration of any case without previous knowledge of the facts, an executive officer does not adequately discharge his duties unless his ears are open to all reports and information which he can in any degree employ for the benefit of his district;

(iii) that executive officers in India, being responsible for a large amount of miscellaneous business, have not time satisfactorily to dispose of judicial work in addition;

(iv) that, being keenly interested in carrying out particular measures, they are apt to be brought more or less into conflict with individuals, and, therefore, that it is inexpedient that they should also be invested with judicial powers;

(v) that under the existing system collector-magistrates do in fact neglect judicial for executive work;

(vi) that appeals from revenue assessments are apt to be futile when they are heard by revenue officers;

(vii) that great inconvenience, expense, and suffering are imposed upon suitors required to follow the camp of a judicial officer who in the discharge of executive duties, is making a tour of his district; and

(viii) that the existing system not only involves all whom it concerns in hardship and inconvenience, but also, by associating the judicial tribunal with the work of the police and of detectives, and by diminishing the safeguards afforded by the rules of evidence, produces actual miscarriage of justice, and creates, although justice be done, opportunities of suspicion, distrust, and discontent which are greatly to be deplored.

There is, too, a further argument that the separation, which arises out of the very nature of the work incidental to the judicial office, and which of itself might well be regarded as conclusive in the matter. It is no longer open to us to content ourselves with the pleasant belief that to an Englishman of good sense and education, with his unyielding integrity and quick apprehension of the just and the equitable, nothing is easier than the patriarchal administration of justice among oriental populations. The trial in Indian courts of justice of every grade must be carried out in the English method, and the judge or magistrate must proceed to his decision upon the basis of facts to be ascertained only through the examination and cross-examination before him of eye-witnesses testifying each to the relevant facts observed by him and noting. It is not necessary for us to dwell on the

* "The Indian Empire," p. 513 (3rd edition).

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importance of this procedure, nor is it too much to say that with this system of trial no judicial officer can efficiently perform his work otherwise than by close adherence to the methods and rules which the long experience of English lawyers has dictated, and of which he cannot hope to acquire a practical mastery, unless he makes the study and practice of them his serious business. In other words, it is essential to the proper and efficient, and we might add impartial, administration of justice that the judicial officer should be an expert specially educated and trained for the work of the court.

13. In appendix B* to this memorial summaries are given of various cases which, it is thought, illustrate in a striking way some of the dangers that arise from the present system. These cases of themselves might well remove, to adopt Sir J. P. Grant's words, "the necessity of argument *a priori* against the combination theory." But the present system is not merely objectionable on the ground that from time to time it is, and is clearly proved to be, responsible for a particular case of actual injustice; it is also objectionable on the ground that so long as it exists the general administration of justice is subjected to suspicion, and the strength and authority of the Government are seriously impaired. For this reason it is submitted that nothing short of complete separation of judicial from executive functions by legislation will remove the danger. Something, perhaps, might be accomplished by purely executive measures. Much, no doubt, might be accomplished by granting to accused persons in important cases the option of standing their trial before a sessions court. But these palliatives fall short of the only complete and satisfactory remedy, which is, by means of legislation, to make a clear line of division between the judicial and the executive duties now often combined in one and the same officer. So long as collector-magistrates have the power themselves to try or to delegate to subordinates within their control cases as to which they have taken action or received information in an executive capacity the administration of justice in India is not likely to command complete confidence and respect.

14. It would be easy to multiply expressions of authoritative opinions in support of the proposed reform. But in view of the opinions already cited, it may be enough to add that, in a debate on the subject which took place in the House of Lords on May 8th 1893, Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, and his predecessor, Lord Cross, showed their approval of the principle of separation in no ambiguous terms. Lord Cross said, on that occasion, that it would be, in his judgment, an "excellenent plan" to separate judicial from executive function, and that it would "result in vast good to the Government of India." It was in the same spirit that Lord Dufferin, as viceroy of India, referring to the proposal for separation put forward by the Indian National Congress, characterised it as a "counsel of perfection." Appendix A† to the present memorial contains, *inter alia*, the favourable opinions of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth, late chief justice of Bengal, the Right Hon. Lord Hobhouse legal member of the viceroy's council, 1872—77, the Right Hon. Sir Richard Couch, late chief justice of Bengal, Sir J. B. Phear, late chief justice of Ceylon, Sir R. T. Reid, Q. C., M. P., attorney-general. 1894-5, Sir William Markby, late judge of the High Court, Calcutta, and Sir Raymond West, late judge of the High Court, Bombay. These opinions were collected and compiled by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and among other important indications of opinions prevalent in India, we beg to refer you to the series of resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress—which Lord Lansdowne, as viceroy, referred to in 1891 as a "perfectly legitimate movement" representing in India "what in Europe would be called the more advanced liberal party." In 1886, the congress adopted a resolution recording an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions had become an urgent necessity," and urging the Government of India "to effect this separation without further delay." Similar resolutions were carried in 1887 and 1888, and the proposal formed in 1889, 1890, and 1891 the first section of an "omnibus" resolution affirming the resolutions of previous congresses. In 1892 the congress again carried a separate resolution on the question, adding to its original resolution a reference to "the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of judicial and executive functions." In 1893 the resolution carried by the congress was as follows:—"That this congress, having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all judicial and executive functions in their own provinces with as little additional cost to the state as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix." A similar resolution was carried in 1894, 1895, and 1896. During recent years, also, practical schemes for separation have been laid before the congress.

(c) Answers to possible objections.

15. The objections which, during the course of a century, have been urged against the separation of judicial and executive functions are reducible, on analysis, to three only: (i) that the system of combination works well, and is not responsible for miscarriage of justice; (ii) that the system of combination, however indefensible it may seem to western ideas, is necessary to the position, the authority, and, in a word, to the 'prestige' of an oriental officer; and (iii) that separation of the two functions, though excellent in principle, would involve an additional expenditure which is, in fact, prohibitive in the present condition of Indian finances.

16. It is obvious that the first objection is incompatible with the other two objections. It is one thing to defend the existing system on its merits; it is another thing to say that, although it is bad it would be too dangerous or too costly to reform it. The first objection is an allegation of fact. The answer—and, it is submitted, the irresistible answer—is to be found in the cases which are set forth in appendix B to this memorial. These cases are but

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typical examples taken from a large number. It may be added that, among the leading advocates of separation in India, are Indian barristers of long and varied experience in the courts who are able to testify, from personal knowledge, to the mischievous results of the present system. Their evidence is confirmed, also from personal knowlege, by many Anglo-Indian judges of long experience.

17. The second objection—that the combination of judicial and executive functions is necessary to the "prestige" of an oriental officer—is perhaps more difficult to handle. For reasons which are easy to understand, it is not often put forward in public and authoritative statements. But it is common in the Anglo-Indian press, it finds its way into magazine articles written by returned officers, and in India it is believed, rightly or wrongly, to lie at the root of all the apologies for the present system. It has been said that oriental ideas require an officer entrusted with large executive duties and with the further power of inflicting punishment on individuals. If the proposition were true, it would be natural to expect that the existing system would be supported and defended by independent public opinion in India, instead of being—as it is—deplored and condemned. It is not reasonable to assume that an Indian of to day demands in the responsible officers of a civilised Government a combination of functions which at an earlier time an arbitrary despot may have enforced. The further contention that a district magistrate aught to have the power of inflicting punishment because he is the local representative of the sovereign appears to be based upon a fallacy and a misapprehension. The power of inflicting punishment is, indeed, part of the attributes of sovereignty. But is not, on that ground, any more necessary that the power should be exercised by a collector-magistrate who is head of the police and the revenue system, than that it should be exercised by the sovereign in person. The same reasoning, if it were accepted, would require that the viceroy should be invested with the powers of a criminal judge. But it is not suggested that the viceroy's "prestige" is lower than the "prestige" of a district judge because the judge passes sentences upon guilty persons and the viceory does not. It is equally a misapprehension to assume that those who urge the separation of judicial from executive duties desire the suppression or extinction of legitimate authority. They ask merely for a division of labour. The truth seems to be that the somewhat vague considerations which are put forward in defence of the existing system on the ground that it is necessary to the due authority of a district magistrate had their origin in the prejudices and the customs of earlier times, revived, to some extent, in the unsettled period which followed the Indian mutiny. We venture to submit that these considerations are not only groundless and misplaced, but that the authority of Government, far from being weakened by the equitable division of judicial and executive duties, would be incalculably strengthened by the reform of a system which is at present responsible for many judicial scandals.

18. The financial objection alone remains, and it is upon this objection that responsible authorities appear to rely. When Lord Dufferin described the proposal for separation as a "counsel of perfection", he added that the condition of Indian finance prevented it, at that time, from being adopted. Similarly, in the debate in the House of Lords on May 8, 1893, to which reference has already been made, Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State, said: The difficulty is simply this, that if you were to alter the present system in India, you would have to double the staff throughout the country," and his predecessor Lord Cross, said: "It [the main principle raised in the discussion] is a matter of the gravest possible importance, but I can only agree with what my noble friend has stated, that in the present state of the finances of India it is absolutely impossible to carry out that plan, which to my mind would be an excellent one, resulting in vast good to the Government of India." The best answer to this objection is to be found in the scheme for separation drawn up in 1893 by Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, C.I.E., then commissiner of the Orissa division (at that time district magistrate of Midnapur) and printed as appendix A to this momorial.* In these circumstances it is not necessary to argue either (i) that the expense which the separation of judicial from executive duties might involve would be borne, and borne cheerfully, by the people of India; or (ii) that it might well be met by economies in certain other directions. Mr. Dutt shows that the separation might be effected by a simple rearrangement of the existing staff, without any additional expense whatsoever. Mr. Dutt's scheme refers specially to Bengal, the presidency, that is, for which the reform had been described as impracticable on the ground of cost. Similar schemes for other presidencies and provinces have been framed, but it was understood that the most serious financial difficulty was apprehended in Bengal.

19. In view of the foregoing considerations, we earnestly trust that you will direct the Government of India to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of judicial and executive functions, and to report upon this urgently pressing question at an early date.

We have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servants,

HOBHOUSE,	JOHN BUDD PHEAR,
RICHARD GARTH,	J. SCOTT,
RICHARD COUCH,	W. WEDDERBURN,
CHARLES SARGENT,	ROLAND K. WILSON,
WILLIAM MARKBY,	HERBERT J. REYNOLDS.

1st July 1899.

My recommendation is that there should be complete separation of the judicial and executive functions. This already exists in the presidency towns and the arrangements which obtain there could easily be adjusted to the district conditions. The collector should have no control over the magistracy, and should have no magisterial powers greater than those possessed, for instance, by the commissioners of police in the presidency towns. The magistrates should be a separate class of officers and for the purposes of administrative arrangement of business one of the magistrates at the head quarters should have the same powers as the chief presidency magistrates possess in Calcutta and other presidency towns. At present the junior members of the Indian civil service and officers of the provincial services are employed partly in magisterial and partly in revenue and executive work. It will be for the administration to determine the number necessary for each department. For provincial service officers who would be recruited for magisterial duties the aim should be to require a degree in law as the qualification."

* Not reprinted.

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THE PROSPERITY OF INDIA

THE growth of Indian prosperity is the theme of chapter III. of the majority report. Long ago, the late Mr. Gokhale, in proposing in the Imperial legislative council four tests of the progressive character of a government, mentioned as his first test the moral and material improvement of the mass of the people, but he was careful to add :

"Under this head I do not include those appliances of modern government which the British government has evolved in this country, because they were necessary for its very existence, though they have benefited the people, such as the construction of railways, the introduction of posts and telegraphs, and things of that kind."

The majority report however deals with these things, and proceeds in the following strain :

"Valuable light on the general effect of this material development on the condition of the people of India has been thrown by the recently issued report of the committee of enquiry which the Government of India appointed to investigate the course of prices during the two previous decades. The conclusion there reached is that a remarkable growth of national prosperity has taken place, which has been accompanied by a rise in prices."

This is followed by some quotations in the footnote from Mr. K. L. Datta's report, and the Commissioners have not even forgotten to note that Mr. Datta is a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society. Mr. Chaubal, alluding to these observations, says :

"The relevance of the figures of material prosperity to the three great questions in connection with the services, which we have been commissioned to enquire into, is not very obvious. The really important figures that have a distinct bearing on the problems before us are those relating to the intellectual progress of the country during the last 30 years. The want of careers for young men is more or less a problem of anxiety to parents in most countries, but perhaps in no country in the world is it so acute and accentuated as in India."

Mr. Justice Rahim deals with this point somewhat more in detail. Here is what he says :

"In chapter III. of the majority report, under this heading [changed conditions of India] a large amount of matter is introduced whose relevance to the questions under enquiry is but of a remote character. The only paragraph which has a distinct bearing on one of the subjects referred to us, namely, the employment of Indians, is the one dealing with their intellectual progress. Some of the paragraphs bearing on the economic condition of India raise questions of a highly controversial kind, which the Commission was never asked to consider and did not in fact investigate. They cannot be said to be lifted out of the plane of controversy because certain figures have been quoted in support of a particular inference. That inference is expressed in the words of Mr. K. L. Datta, a member of the Indian finance department, who was deputed to inquire into the rise of prices in India. His conclusion is that an enormous rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life in India has been accompanied with a proportionate rise in wages, as that the agricultural and labouring classes at least, who form the great majority of the population, have both been improved in their material condition. This conclusion has been keenly controverted by the Indian press, which does not recognise his authority to speak on economic questions. Without attempting to discuss the matter in its various bearings, I shall only mention a few broad facts which go to show that in more than one direction the picture sought to be presented of the material progress of India's general population is inaccurate and misleading.

From the report of Mr. Datta himself it appears that in 1896-97, 62 millions, in 1907-8, 50 millions of the population were affected by famines within certain areas mentioned, and from 1888 to 1908 more than 160 millions were affected by famine conditions. In paragraph 71 of his report he prefaces his narrative of the factors affecting the growth of population in these words :—"The most important factor affecting the growth of population between 1891 and 1911 was famine. The familiar furies in the train of famine are cholera, dysentery, and fever, which play havoc with an already enfeebled population." Since 1896, when plague made its first appearance in India, it seems to have secured a permanent foothold in the country. Mr. Datta says, "Since the black death of the fourteenth century" (I believe he means that which raged in Europe) "there has never been such mortality from plague as in India between 1896 and 1912. The mortality was even from 70 to 85 per mille though at times it was considerably higher. The Punjab" (the home, I may parenthetically point out, of India's brave soldiers) "had lost by 1912 about 2,250,000 persons from plague out of a total population of under 20,000,000 ... It is interesting to note that the million limit in the plague mortality was not reached till 1904, when 1,143,933 deaths were recorded." The lowest death rates during the period from 1901 to 1912 seem to have been in those two years, the figures standing at 29·4 and 29·7 per 1,000 respectively ; during the intervening years they varied between 30.9 and 38.2 per thousand. The seriousness of these facts cannot be discounted, because, inspite of them, India has shown considerable recuperative powers, as indicated by the increase in the total population between 1891 and 1911 from 287 to 315 millions. Nor in the face

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of them is it possible to accept the conclusion that "judging from the quantity of food, clothing, and housing accommodation, and the comforts of life, there has been a remarkable increase in material welfare of the country as a whole, and that there has been an equitable distribution of the means of enjoyment."So far as this is a matter for personal observation, one should have thought that the standard of living among the great mass of Indian population could hardly have been any lower. The increase in the quantity of precious metals imported into India and the expansion of the import trade referred to, might only indicate an increase of wealth in a limited class residing or carrying on business there.

"The spread of education among the masses of the population is an important index to their material no less than their moral condition. The census report of 1911 shows that of the total population of India only 59 persons per mille are literate. In paragraph 18 of the majority report allusion is made to the opinion of those who allege that the western educated classes do not represent the interests of the many scores of millions of India. The fact, however, is that for sometime they have been making the most earnest endeavours in this direction. If Mr. Gokhale's bill for popular education, supported as it was by the entire educated opinion of the country, has not been placed on the Indian statute book, the blame cannot be laid at their door. ... we look for light on the material and moral condition of the general population of British India from the facts revealed in the statistics of crime, there appears to have been no diminution in the proportion of criminal cases returned as true to the total population..... On the question of industrial development, the Indian opinion has been persistently expressed to the effect that the industries of the country stand in need of special attention, and that the existing facilities for technical education and training are of the most meagre and primitive description. Then it is said that some of the services have been concerned with commercial and quasi-commercial undertakings, the success of which have been a source of considerable profit to the country. The state railways are specially cited. In this connection the fact should be borne in mind that at the beginning of this enterprise, for many years it was a source of considerable loss to the state. And after all, what is the inference, even if it be assumed that India has somewhat improved in material prosperity? This is quite consistent with the existence of considerable defects in the organisation of the public services."

POL.

THE MEDICAL SERVICE

THE annexure dealing with the Indian Medical service states that its organisation is based entirely on military considerations, and Mr. Chaubal is right in saying that this peculiar constitution of the service makes it difficult to suggest proposals for the larger employment of the indigenous agency in this service. The actual strength of the service is 772 officers, of whom 62 per cent were engaged on civil duties at the time the war broke out, and up to the end of March 1915, no less than 286 out of the 475 officers in civil employ had been surrendered. The Commission says that

"it should no longer be the case that the Civil departments should be the adjuncts of the military services. We also think that steps should be taken to secure that, even under the gravest war conditions, the Civil cadres shall not be unduly depleted, and in particular that no dislocation of the educational and scientific work of the country shall take place."

But the Commission proposes practically to shelve the question to a subsequent investigation at the close of the war. Mr. Chaubal however recommends that one-third out of the whole war reserve should be utilised in peace time by the civil administration, and the remaining two-thirds should be open to civil recruitment. 'These higher posts in the civil administration should be filled by medical men of the highest qualifications, European and Indian.' The majority also recommend that the clinical chairs of medicine, surgery, clinical surgery, opthalmology and midwifery and their connected posts should be reserved for officers of the civil medical services, 'however recruited.' Mr. Chaubal has no difficulty in pointing out that in practice, these posts, if so reserved, will continue, as hitherto, to be the monopoly of the Indian Medical Service, and he is opposed to the interests of medical education in India being sacrificed to the interests of any service whatsoever. For the rest, the Commissioners recommend that a few more listed posts should be thrown open to the Civil Assistant Surgeons, and lay down that in the annexure dealing exclusively with the education department, the commissioners observe :

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the scientific chairs of physiology, pathology, anatomy, materia medica (or pharmacology) and biology... and their connected posts should be thrown open to all comers, and officers of the civil medical services should compete for them on the same terms as the general public."

Mr. Abdur Rahim observes :

"I have proposed the exclusion of all professional chairs whether in the ordinary arts colleges or in special institutions like the medical colleges from the cadre of any service. To fill these appointments for which men of original powers of mind and thought with distinguished work to their credit are wanted, it is obviously inexpedient, as the facts disclosed in the evidence have amply shown, that the authorities should be required, or ordinarily expected, to confine their choice to the limited personnel of a service. The ordinary service conditions are not always favourable to the growth of such men and cannot at least be depended upon to ensure an adequate supply. I have therefore recommended that for all appointments of a professorial status the practice should be to secure men of achievement wherever found for the more important subjects of study and research, and that the state should offer them such reasonable terms as will be suitable in each case. I have shown in the appropriate annexures that the report of the majority has failed to give full recognition to this obviously sound principle for fear of causing injury to the Indian educational service and the Indian medical service. While this apprehension of theirs is unfounded, their proposals show an inadequate appreciation of the real needs of general, professional, and technical education in India at the present day."

Again,

"I think it is a just demand that all professorial appointments and also the directorships of the larger laboratories in the bacteriological department should be filled only by men who have distinguished original work to their credit, and should not be treated as prizes for a close service. The incumbents of such posts should be sought in the open market, but if the best man available for a particular post is to be found in the Indian medical service, or in the locally recruited services, there will be no objection to his being appointed. I should also mention here that the head of the Indian medical service himself admitted that there were a great many Indians "who would do extremely well as professors." That men like Dr. Rau of Bombay, Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary, Dr. Nilratan Sircar, and Dr. Kedar Nath Das of Calcutta, and Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras, to mention only a few prominent names, should be precluded by the present arrangements from professorial appointments in their special subjects and from hospital work altogether is in itself a sufficient condemnation of the present system." "Stress was laid before us upon the necessity of providing European doctors for the families of the European employes of the Government as they do not like to be treated by Indian practitioners. ..... If the argument on the European side is sought to be pushed to this length that because there happens to be one or two European officials in a district, the state must provide them with a European doctor or a member of the European medical service, it is *prima facie* unreasonable and cannot be admitted to override the larger interests of the country and of the general population." "One has only to look at the schedules to annexure XII of the majority report to realise that no real change in the situation is intended, and that appointments in the proposed civil medical service will remain as much the monopoly of the officers of the Indian medical service as they are at present, with this difference, that they will adopt a different official designation."

Justice Abdur Rahim then proceeds as follows :

That the Indian medical service in the past has done good work is not denied, nor is it denied that it contains able men. The services rendered by it in developing medical education in India are fully appreciated by educated Indians. But we have now a body of Indian medical practitioners whose average efficiency is of a high level, and not a few among them have acquired distinction in the pursuit of their profession as surgeons, physicians, gynoecologists, and so on. It is through these Indian practitioners that the blessings of the modern medical sciences have begun to be realised by the people of India. But there are, however, still numerous classes of the population who do not benefit by western medicine and with whom it has yet to be popularised, and this will only be effected if and as the strength of the indegenous medical profession increases. The total strength of Indian practitioners with registrable qualifications is about 1,500, and their number must be enormously increased before it will be possible to combat with any degree of suceess the various diseases of which India is at present the victim. Having regard to the still very limited character of the classes which offer a lucrative field for the practice of western medicine, the pratical exclusion of Indians from those valuable inducements and opportunities which the civil medical department offers is naturally keenly felt. Its inevitable effect will be to check the growth of the medical profession ; and of all the professions in India medicine is preeminently the one to which it ought not to be said, "thus far and no farther !"

The chief specific complaints made against the present system are: First, that qualified Indians do not find proper scope in civil medical work in the country. Secondly, the exclusive control by officers of the Indian medical service, of the civil hospitals almost all of which are under the management of the Government and also of the bacteriological department, practically means the exclusion of the members of the independent medical profession from hospital work and from the opportunities of laboratory research. On this point, what could be gathered during the inquiry was that it was not possible for experienced and competent members of the independent profession—apart from the question of post graduate training—to have a fair and honourable sphere of work, especially in the hospitals, side by side with members of the Indian medical service. Thirdly, it was a general complaint that the employment of this military service in the civil department is producing all the injurious effects of subsidised competition. Fourthly, that the reservation for this service of professorial chairs both scientific and clinical, has in a number of instances led to unsatisfactory appointments. The evidence shows that all these points in the complaint are well-founded, and indeed the facts being as they are it could hardly be otherwise."

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THE EDUCATION SERVICE

THE Commissioners in their report say that the 'provincial' branch of the education department originally connoted only a difference of pay, as in the public works department, but it has gradually "drifted into a definitely inferior position, notwithstanding that it contains a number of officers who are doing work of no less importance and value than that done by members of the imperial service." In attempting to justify different rates of salary for Europeans and Indians for the same work, the report makes certain observations from which we quote the following:

"We think that the grievances which now exist are due rather to the prevailing differences of dignity than of pay, and that harmony can exist in a service even without absolute equality of emoluments.... It does not, however, follow from the acceptance of this general principle that statutory natives of India must at all times and in all circumstances get less pay than their European colleagues, or that the difference between British and Indian rates can be measured by an identical amount or proportion in every service. Such a conclusion would rightly be regarded as derogatory to India."

To illustrate what the commissioners mean, they add:

"... There may be a service in which suitable Europeans can be obtained from Europe at a very modest cost, either because the standard of preliminary education required is comparatively low, or because the qualities needed are very generally possessed by British schoolboys, or for both these reasons; and yet this same service may be one into which no statutory native of India should be admitted without having given guarantees of the highest qualities. In such a service the salary of the statutory native of India required may well be as high in relation to the general run of Indian salaries as the salary of the European officer is low in relation to the general run of British salaries."

After the enunciation of this strange doctrine of equality both of material prospects and in moral qualities, the Commissioners proceed:

"We feel, moreover, that the reasons of sentiment which suggest equality of payment are stronger in the case of the administrative posts generally; and of the education service in particular, where the officers affected are in such close touch with the youth of the country that it is specially important to avoid any element of suspicion about their treatment."

Then, discussing the question of the pay of Indian educational officers with European degrees, the commissioners observe:

"Obvious objections can be urged to offering higher rewards to men educated abroad than are offered to those who have passed through the educational institutions of their own country. Such a policy must tend to retard the development of Indian education and appears to give official recognition to the view that the universities of India are inferior to those of Europe. We are, however, assured by our Indian colleagues that public opinion in India attaches importance to securing absolute equality between Europeans and Indians who have passed through the same educational course. The number of persons concerned is not large, and in view of the strength of the sentiment expressed we are not prepared to recommend a departure from existing practice."*

* Four members of the Commission, e.g., the Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Murray Hammick, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr. F. G. Sly, have recorded a strong minute of dissent against this recommendation of the commissioners. They consider that between Indians and Europeans, difference of pay is 'a legitimate ground of differentiation,' because the latter have to serve abroad, among surroundings, climatic and otherwise, which impose upon them a heavy strain. To maintain the same distinction of pay among Indians educated at home and abroad is howevillogical, unjust, inexpedient, and 'the height of folly,' because (1) it is an invidious and unpopular distinction, (2) it gives an undue advantage to the rich boy of moderate abilities who can proceed to England to prosecute his studies, (3) it diffuses a false and most undesirable idea that the Indian educated in his own country is inferior in status and ability to his fellow countryman who has been partly educated abroad, (4) it places a perpetual and irritating discount, in the eyes of the youth of India, upon the institutions of their own land. The arguments against, according to Indians, the better terms of service and the higher rates of pay and the more generous leave rules which are granted to Europeans are, therefore, in the opinion of these members, 'overwhelming and unanswerable.' The remedy is the establishment in India of institutions 'capable of satisfying the highest educational aspirations of the people,' and the commissioners as a body 'recommend measures designed to achieve this object.' But Sir Theodore Morison, another member of the Commission, is not satisfied that the arguments for differentiation in the matter of salaries are convincing. "At present the Government of India does not pay the Indian who is serving in his own province any less than the Indian who is serving far from his home, and yet the Madrasi who has to serve in the Punjab has perhaps a better title to a foreign service allowance than an Englishman serving in the same province whose parents have made their home in the Himalayas. The suggestion wisely declines to investigate the personal and

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"The position of the education department, in India is peculiar in view of the important part which it is playing, and which it is destined to play, in the experiment of blending eastern and western culture into a harmonius whole. That being so, grounds of policy suggest that the staff should contain officers who are typical of what is best in both civilisations, and that in the initial stays the European element should be substantial."

The Commission divides the superior service into two classes, class I and class II, and also provides certain special grades above class I. In class I they propose the appointment of qualified Indians in what they consider to be substantial numbers. The term 'professor' is henceforth to be reserved for the highest class of educationists as a personal distinction, the others being called lecturers and assistant lecturers. They further observe :

"... a strong case has been made out for the creation of a certain number of professorial chairs—we suggest twenty in the first instance—the holders of which should expressly be liberated from the ordinary work of preparation for the B. A. Examinations. These chairs should be outside the college staffs, should be open to all alike, whether Europeans or Indians, and whether Government servants or not, on the same terms, and should carry a rate of pay sufficiently high to attract men of distinction who have already established their reputation in Europe or India. Care should also be taken that no chair is created save in a subject capable of being pursued to the point of originality in India. Thus it would be wrong to establish chairs of English literature or English history ; right to create those of physics, geology, and Indian archaeology."

In a Note submitted by the Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, they state that the colleges might have a chance of thriving if they were relieved of all work up to the standard of the intermediate examination. In the Indian colleges,

"The professors are largely concerned with work of a character more elementary than any which is undertaken in the universities of the west. The professor of an Indian college, though he may be a man of great intellectual eminence, is not a professor in the sense in which that term is employed in the universities of Great Britain and Germany. He is part school-master, part college lecturer, and save in rare instances, lacks the leisure or the appetite for original work."

Then they proceed to consider 'how best to create and sustain a passion for learning among the university teachers' and observe :

First, then, India should possess a body of teachers who have the root of original work in them. Then these teachers should be given facilities for the highest forms of intellectual development and influence. They should have the use of good libraries and laboratories. They should work to the stimulus of a congenial intellectual society. The bulk of college drudgery should be taken from their shoulders * and whatever teaching of a more popular nature they may be called upon or may desire to give should be regarded as a minor feature of their activities. The main part of their teaching energy should be expended upon a few selected pupils desirous of fitting themselves for the life of study. It is not too much to say that such a body of professors working under favourable conditions would in the course of a generation

mestic circumstances of its officers and to make them a ground for a differentiation of salary, because it knows that it would be impossible to assess them justly in terms of money." "Even if it be held that the economic arguments for differentiating between Englishmen and Indians are stronger than I conceive them to be, the political reasons against such a course are, to my mind, overwhelming. Indians feel that they are slighted by being assigned, as a class, less pay than Englishmen when they are doing the same work. In India the rate of salary is so commonly taken as a criterion of merit that this is not altogether unreasonable But whether reasonable or unreasonable the feeling is there, and we have to take account of human nature as it is, not as it might be. The political unwisdom of appearing to put a slight upon Indian officers as a class needs no demonstration. The misconstruction to which this policy is open in the minds of malevolent people is also obvious. "The Government of India," they argue, "is composed of Englishmen, and they take good care to look after their own countrymen ; so they have found an excuse for giving them bigger salaries than Indians." Even a Government as clean-handed as the Government of India cannot afford to give such a handle to its enemies ; it must be seen and acknowledged to be fair. When the arguments are so evenly balanced as they are in this case, it should choose the course which is not open to any misconstruction." Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, alluding to the enormous rise in the cost of living, speaks of "those social and religions obligations which in the East still largely take the place of those amenities of life which among Europeans have come to be regarded as indispensable," and would have the Government bear this in mind in fixing the Indian rates of pay. The extracts from Mr. K. L. Datta's report quoted by the commissioners go to show that the standard of living among Indians has also risen higher and higher with the rise of prices. All this has been in a manner admitted in the report of the commission, in para 22 of which the majority observe : "They [Indians] too, had been affected by the general rise in prices and they, too, had their own special financial burdens. Moreover, amongst educated Indians new standards of living were gaining general acceptance. Already many of the higher officials had come to live in European style either from preference or because of the obligations imposed upon them by their official position." It would thus appear that all the grounds, whether of policy or justice, of differentiating between Europeans and Indians doing the same kind of work, when closely examined, are found to be without substance.

* Let us hope that this will not mean in practice that all the drudges will be Indians, and all the professors, living in the pure and calm atmosphere of study and research, Europeans.

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raise the whole intellectual tone of the Indian universities."

The Note rightly concludes :

"Western knowledge is valuable in itself; but for young minds in India the most fruitful discipline is afforded by those branches of learning in which western ideas and methods are brought to the interpretation and criticism of eastern things."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's opinion may be gathered from the following extracts from his minute of dissent :

"The present arrangements in the education department have proved a failure because, in the first place, the principle of making appointments on the basis of specialised qualifications was hardly recognised, the whole department being practically organised under a rigid service system. In the second place, though the theory was that both the imperial and provincial services contained posts of equal importance, the salaries &c., fixed for officers recruited in England and in India respectively were grossly unequal, giving rise to inequality in status, and thirdly, because there was no promotion allowed from one service to the other. For this department an integral part of my recommendations is that a sufficient number of professorial chairs and some other important educational appointments should be set apart for men who have already done valuable work and for the less important appointments my recommendation is that these should be a service recruited for in India. Officers of the former class should be obtained wherever available. For officers of the latter class there should be a liberal provision for study leave to enable them to carry on special studies and research in Europe. The proposals of the majority on the other hand are based on some "grounds of policy," which according to them necessitate the employment of young English graduates and a practical confirmation of the present close service system."

Mr. Justice Rahim proposes that 90 such posts should be set aside and filled by the appointment of specialists who have already done original work of a high order, and these men should be paid from 1,000 to 2,000 rupees a month. The remaining 486 posts should be recruited from among the best Indian graduates available, on a salary rising from Rs 250 to 1000.

"I am convinced that no scheme less radical than this will adequately meet the present requirements of India, combining economy with a great incentive to our best men to devote their lives to the higher educational work. This is to my mind the only way to create a true academic atmosphere in India and steadily raise the general level of learning in the country, enabling India ultimately to take her proper place among the nations of the world as a contributor to the stock of human knowledge." "In perhaps no other department have the defects of the artificial division into imperial and provincial, obnoxious enough wherever it exists, led to such deplorable results. The chief cause has been the gross disparity of pay, which has naturally resulted in the officers drawing the larger salaries assuming a superior status. In administrative services like the Indian civil service and the police, it is possible for the head of the department to allege that the administrative ability of officers of the service to which they themselves belong is of a higher order than that of the personnel of the locally recruited service, which is mostly engaged in the less important duties. But in assessing the respective merits of men in a department like that of education, which gives scope and opportunity to the officers to achieve work whose value can be appreciated by the world at large, the departmental judgment counts for very little. That Dr. P. C. Roy, the well-known chemist, Mr. Sircar the historian, and some others who could be named should be condemned to the service of a lower status, while an average young English graduate is appointed to a service with more than double the emoluments and with a higher status is a sufficient proof of the unsoundness of the arrangement. It was by a hairbreadth chance that the famous physicist Dr. J. C. Bose has escaped being treated as a member of the lower service, and if Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, had chosen an educational career in the Government service he also would probably have found himself in the provincial service."

POL.

THE PROBLEM STATED

I—The Majority Report.

It is also to be noted that within the decade covered by the census of 1911 literacy in English increased by 50 per cent, and was claimed by nearly 1¾ million persons. These bold figures, however, convey but a very faint impression of the extent to which the spread of western education, despite all its existing deficiencies, has tended not only to enlarge the circle of Indians more or less directly familiar with western thoughts and western methods, but to break down, however slowly, the barriers which social and religious customs interpose between the different Indian communities and castes as well as between Europeans and Indians. Western education may, indeed, be said to have produced a body

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Indian opinion which, through the medium of the English language, has brought the communities of the vast Indian peninsula not only into closer communion of thought among themselves but also into closer contact with the minds of the British people. We need only mention in this connection the Indian national congress. With its political activities we are not concerned. But it brings together periodically from all parts of India a large body of Indians who have been educated on western lines, and whose discussions are conducted in English because it is the only language they have all in common. Founded four years before the Public Services Commission of 1886—87 issued its report, this body has since assumed considerable importance, and in the evidence given before us we have had proof of the influence which it exercises over the public opinion of the educated classes in every quarter of India. Another very significant indication of the stimulating effect of western education is the rapid increase of literary and journalistic activity. In 1890—91 there were only 1,484 printing presses, 547 newspapers, and 330 periodicals, whereas in 1911—12 the totals were 2,851 presses, 659 newspapers and no less than 2,269 periodicals. The number of books published in European languages—the vast majority in English—rose from 664 at the earlier to 1,596 at the later date, and of books published in Indian languages from 6,395 to 9,988. Indians in rapidly growing numbers have gone into the legal profession. But the study of the higher branches of science, for medicine, for engineering, and for other technical purposes, has likewise come into growing repute, whilst the urgent demands for the improvement of industrial and commercial education indicate a realisation of the part which the development of the vast natural resources of India on modern lines must play in the progress of the Indian people. Financial and economic questions have also attracted increasing attention, and as we have already noted, there has been a growing appreciation of the value of organisation especially for agricultural purposes. In a word the value of a liberal education is being more and more widely recognised; more and more men who have made contributions to science and literature, or have achieved distinction in other walks of life, are being produced; and amongst the boons announced at the Delhi Durbur during the royal visit to India none was more gratefully appreciated than the promise of a generous grant for educational purposes....."

"We have shown in the preceding chapter the increasing extent to which Indians have been playing a part in various branches of public life. In the public services, however, as will be seen from the figures which we shall quote in detail in a later chapter, the progress achieved by them has been less marked. This position of affairs has been vigorously discussed in India for some years. On the European side the objection is not so much to the larger employment of Indians as to the form in which the demand for their employment is often put forward. It is also claimed that the number of Europeans admitted to the public services is small compared with the area and population of the country, and that the maintenance of British rule has its corollary in the employment of a European element in the more important services. Attention is also drawn by Europeans to the practical necessity of obtaining from Europe recruits for many of the scientific and technical services owing to the lack of educational facilities for producing candidates with the required qualifications in India. Doubt is expressed as to whether there is as yet in India a sufficient supply of young men with the capacity for administration to justify anything more than a slow and cautious advance in the utilisation of an indigenous agency in the highest ranks of the public services, and stress is laid on the point that the maintenance of a high level of efficiency in those services, is necessitated by the conditions of government in India. The reply on the Indian side is that Indians are not wanting in the qualities required for administrators and that such deficiency as may have been proved against individuals is largely due to their being persistently relegated to subordinate positions in which those qualities have little chance of being developed. It is urged that even when in theory Indians are supposed to enjoy the same status as their European colleagues, and are often actually performing the same duties, they are subjected in various ways to differential treatment, and that this produces a galling sense of inferiority, which reacts on the quality of their work. Thus they are practically debarred from admission to the higher branches of certain of the public services, whilst in others they suffer under serious disabilities. They must in some cases proceed to England to pass the necessary examinations or to receive the educational training which cannot at present be obtained in India. All this, it is urged, is a breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the statute of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. 4, Cap. 85), and of Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858. Indians contend that their familiarity with the peculiarities of Indian character and customs and ways of thought, as well as with the vernacular languages, constitute in the discharge of administrative duties an inherent advantage which hardly any European official acquires in the same degree. A further point which they urge is that however valuable may be the services of the European official so long as he remains in India, the experience he has acquired is lost to that country as soon as he retires* and goes back to Europe; whereas the experience acquired by an Indian official endures in many ways to the benefit of his fellow-countrymen even after he has retired from the service. Whilst, therefore, admitting the necessity, on various grounds, of retaining an adequate European element, the Indians hold that the time has come when, if properly qualified they should be admitted in substantial numbers and on terms of equality with Europeans to the higher as well as to the lower branches of the administration. This, then, is one of the main problems which have been submitted for our consideration."

II—Mr. M. B. Chaubal.

"The questions relating to the salary, leave, pension, and prospects in the services, are, comparatively only of subsidiary importance. By far the most important part of the existing problem relates to the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the service. The lower branches of the service, and the subordinate services, have ever been and must continue to be mainly recruited from the natives of the country, partly because Europeans cannot afford to serve on the salaries generally attached to the posts in them. The question relating to their larger em-

* Justice Abdur Rahim has shown that in some branches of the public service Europeans earn full pension and retire as early as their 40th year, whereas in most branches they are eligible for retirement on full pension between their 45th to 50th year.

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ployment in the higher services requires, under the present political conditions of India, to be approached and looked at from a broad, far reaching, and statesmanlike point of view, and these are certain factors which must, under the present circumstances, be steadily kept in mind.

The too limited employment of Indians in the higher service is one of the main causes of the discontent and unrest which has recently become so marked among the educated classes, and about which so much has been heard and written. To understand the genesis of this unrest one must consider what young educated India is at the present day and how it has come to be what it is. Young men of the present day do not and cannot appreciate the benefits of the British rule to the same degree as did the men of a past generation. The latter contrasted the peace and security of life and property with the troublous times before the British rule, and felt happy and contented. The young man of the present day takes these great blessings as his birthright. When western education was started and schools, colleges and universities were established, the young Indian began to study eagerly the history and literature of free and advanced western countries and the biographies of great men, studied their careers and how they struggled for freedom and liberty; he studied the birth and growth of liberal institutions in western countries, and he began to contrast their state with his own helpless dependence. A vague discontent took possession of his mind, and a wild enthusiasm to break through his environment seized him. He fancied that his progress in every direction was hampered. Nearer home he saw how a small nation, comparatively recently quite as low as his own country in civilisation, rose in splendour and worked out its own salvation. These forces, which had been working silently, found expression in the annual national Congress, came to a head at the noted Surat Congress, and the school of anarchy of which we now find exhibitions had its origin in this discontent. The phenomenon of practically all the higher offices in the state being monopolised by the foreigner and the European* loomed large in the view of those young men, who formed originally the extremist school. A few wise and far-seeing men, like the late Mr. Gokhale, saw the trend of events, and were afraid of the pit into which young India was being led. To counterbalance this school they wisely placed before their educated countrymen the goal of a "colonial self-government" and the privilege of the citizenship of the largest empire in the world; and they declared that as they made themselves fit for it, they would draw nearer to this goal, until India took its proper place in the empire as a self-governing colony. In the speeches in the viceroy's legislative council, the restricted employment of Indians in the higher service was the frequent theme of attack on the lines on which the administration of the country was run. By their incessant efforts, they have now been able to persuade a very large body of young educated Indians to adopt this ideal, and those who believe that that ideal is attainable by self-improvement and constitutional agitation form what is recognised as the *moderate* school in Indian politics. A wider and more liberal employment of highly educated and capable Indians in the higher posts under Government will, it is believed, in no small degree strengthen this party and correspondingly break through the strength of the other school."

* Mr. Chaubal might have added, as he has himself shown, "and most of the less high by the domiciled Anglo-Indian."

III—Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

"The main significance of the changed condition in India is to be found in the growth of a nation sense within the last few years. Like all great ideas it is showing a remarkable rapidity of development whose full meaning is not easily grasped by o siders. The factors that have contributed to are manifold, and cannot be discussed here in det It will be useful, however, for a broad comprehens of the situation to refer to some of the more pro nent movements in this connection. In the region social reforms which have been instituted in t Hindu community by a notable galaxy of reformers in all parts of India, the Brahma Samaj of Beng the Arya Samaj of the Punjab, the depressed class mission of Madras, and the Servants of India Soci of Bombay, the last founded by Mr. Gokhale, are a few of the more visible manifestations. No o who lives in India and knows the people can fail perceive that a vast welding force has come into e istence. It may be safe to assert that whatever desirable significance the caste system may have h in the past, the educated classes of Hindus would the present day regard it as an undesirable and cr aspersion of their character to have it suggested th they do not sympathise with the uneducated mass or would not deal fairly by them in the discharge their official duties. No doubt there are erratic a narrow-minded men among the Hindus, but so th are in all nations and communities. The Hind above all have been the organisers of the Indian National Congress, whose proud boast today is th its title "national" has been amply justified. It pointed out that almost all the important item its original programme have received warm supp of the leaders of all Indian communities, whe they speak from the Congress platform or from t of the Moslem League or from the Sikh Khalsa. T unifying and democratic spirit of Islam is w known, and among the Muhammadans there h been no such relics of an old system as the caste mislead those whose knowledge of the Indian peo is mostly historical and theoretical. Further, must be remembered that care for the poor, so d nitely enjoined by all religions of the east, has loped in the Indian character generally almost overflow of charity and generosity, while the m movements have helped largely to divest much that fund of philanthropy into more regular channels.

The inquiry has disclosed a remarkable chan in the attitude of the Muhammadan commun towards the questions debated before us from w it was in 1886-87. At that date the Muhamma views were dominated by a revived hope that c siderable encouragement would be afforded by Government to their desire to regain a fair and fit place in the public service of the country. T representatives therefore pleaded for some spec measures of protection not, perhaps, entirely co patible with a high standard of educational qu fication. In the meantime, however, mainly u the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmad and his fello workers, the community has shown an earnest in keeping abreast of the times not unworthy their past traditions. It now holds its own in primary education along with other communi

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and Muhammadan graduates have increased within the last nine years by 80 per cent. There is much more way to be made up yet, but the unflagging determination with which the Muhammadan leaders are now seeking to adjust the ideals of the people to modern conditions indicates that the community is inspired with a new confidence. This again, is but a proof that the Indian Muhammadans have not remained unaffected by the recent national movement. Their sense of the duty to live in amity and friendship with one's neighbours so strictly enforced by their religion has now insensibly glided into the channels of nationalism. The younger followers of Sir Syed Ahmad cite with cordial approval the simile in which he likened the Hindus and the Muhammadans to the two apples of India's eyes. They repudiate with equal warmth the dissent which he had at one time expressed from some of the more advanced political measures advocated by the Indian National Congress as being inconsistent with his own ideal. This change in the political outlook of the community was reflected in the views expressed before us by its repesentatives as to the principles which should regulate recruitment for the public service. The keynote of their attitude is the same as that of the others, a demand for a more intimate and a more extensive association of the people with the administration and a complete removal of disabilities.....

As for the allegation that the Indians are wanting in initiative, driving power, resource, and the faculty of control, so far as it depends upon *a priori* assumptions, it could not affect our deliberations. The facts relating to the services enquired into, however, show that so far the Indians have been mostly employed in the lower ranks of the administrative services. If they have not found their way to the higher appointments in the administration above those included in the cadres of the provincial services, it is because these appointments have been reserved for officers recruited in Europe into the imperial services. In the imperial services the number of Indians has been so few that they cannot be said to have been given anything like opportunity for competing in this respect with Europeans..... There are, however, other facts from which a clear inference can be drawn, the reverse of this allegation.

Looking back to past history, India until the disruption of the Mogul empire, always produced men of high administrative talents, and at the present day in the more advanced native states, wherever opportunity exists, Indians are successfully bearing the burden of the entire administration; some of them achieved notable distinction, such as Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhav Rao. It should also be noted that a fair proportion of these men were originally in the British Indian service but only found an adequate opportunity for a full play of administrative capacity when they were appointed either as ministers or heads of departments in these states. Then where there are large Indian commercial communities, such as in the Bombay presidency, Indians successfully conduct the affairs of industrial concerns of considerable magnitude.

In professions where success is dominated by free competition and the value of work accomplished is judged under conditions different from what prevails in an Indian official department the merits of the Indian's work cannot be gainsaid. In the profession of law which, it must be observed, was wholly unknown to the Hindu and the Mahomedan systems and is, of all institutions, peculiarly occidental, Indians have acquired such remarkable proficiency that it is now conceded to them as being particularly suited to their aptitudes. In western medicine, in the practice of which they suffer from many disadvantages as I shall have to point out, their success has been equally remarkable. Not only is the general level of efficieny of Indian qualified practitioners highly satisfactory, but some of them in the more advanced presidencies have achieved eminent distinction as surgeons, doctors and gynœcologists, and a few men have also done research work of value with such facilities as were within their reach. Of those who devoted themselves to politics, it would not be difficult to mention the names of a number of men of commanding gifts of political judgment and foresight and of platform oratory, debate and organisation. In the region of scientific research of higher order, at least two names may be mentioned, those of J. C. Bose and P. C. Roy who have won more than an Indian reputation, while the Nobel prize of literature was awarded the year before last to Rabindranath Tagore, whose poems have become familiar to most cultured men and women of Europe and America. Then to everyone who knows India will occur the names of those men who organised momentous movements of social, religious, educational, and political reforms that have so largely changed the outlook of India. Under Lord Morley's scheme of reforms, Indians have been found fit for appointment in the executive councils of the Viceroy and of the council of the Secretary of State for India. While on the benches of the High Courts Indians have long established their reputation. An Indian sits on the judicial committee of the privy council. In the face of these facts it is hard to believe that India is deficient in wealth of intellect or character."

POL.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

"THROUGHOUT the history of the administration of India the Indian Civil Service has been regarded as the senior of all the services and as the one upon which the responsibility for good government ultimately rests."

With these words the commissioners begin the introductory chapter of annexure X, the most important of all in the report. References to the Indian civil service will be found all over the volume, and we shall have to deal somewhat at length with this premier and 'heaven-born' service, in order

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to make it clear that it was really in their interest that the commission was appointed and that all the hopes which the Indians had formed of gaining a substantial footing in this service have dismally failed.

The *sub-junta* Service.

The members of the civil service are nicknamed *sub-junta* (all-wise), and not without reason. For we find from para 29 of the Report that they are employed as superior officers in the Northern India salt and revenue, the post office, the lands records (Burma), registration, salt and excise, survey (Madras), agriculture, customs, police, finance, and settlement departments. The majority of the commissioners recommend that henceforth the Inspector Generalship of police will not be the monopoly of the Indian civil service, but will also be open to qualified police officers, if available. Mr. Chaubal rightly says :

"Now I fail to see how any distinction can be made between the highest office in the police department and those in any of the miscellaneous departments which have been reserved for the Indian civil service. Just as there may be a fit and capable police officer, so there may be officers of suitable standing and experience in each of these departments, who may be fit for the highest place."

They also recommend that members of the Indian civil service will no longer be employed as directors in the department of agriculture, as 'they do not ordinarily possess the necessary technical knowledge.' But in surrendering this appointment the civilian is a gainer and not a loser, for he has been compensated by the creation of a new post of rural commissioner, having a status analogous to that of a member of the board of revenue, whose duty it will be 'to control the work of the agricultural and civil veterinary departments, the cooperative credit movement, and the measures taken for the improvement of arts and crafts.' Mr. Chaubal says:

"The report very rightly recommends that these posts [directorships of agriculture] should no longer be included in the Indian civil service cadre. But the effect of this recommendation, which would reduce the strength of the cadre by a few posts, is nullified by the recommendation to create the new posts of rural commissioners, and definitely reserving them for the Indian civil service. This is tantamount to saying that a civil servant has no special training, or the necessary technical knowledge in agriculture or veterinary medicine or arts and crafts, he ought not to occupy the highest post in any of these departments, but he is the fittest man for an office for which technical knowledge to some extent in the three departments is necessary, and the fittest man for effectively organising and co-ordinating the various agencies concerned with the rural development of the country."

The Recommendations of the Commission as to Reduction of Age &c.

While the Indian public were agitating for the extension of the field of Indian recruitment by holding simultaneous examinations in India, the commissioners were seriously considering whether the London door should be left open to all alike. The commissioners "realise how greatly the problem of recruitment could be simplified if only candidates educated in Europe were allowed to compete in England and only those educated in India in that country. At the same time there is behind the present arrangement sixty years of user, and the fact that the great bulk of Indian opinion would regard any deviation from it as inconsistent with the spirit of the undertakings which have been given on this subject." This consideration prevented the commissioners from expressly and in so many words shutting the London channel to Indians which, they were moreover agreed, "has hitherto not provided a sufficient number of statutory natives of India for the service." But they reduced the age for the open competitive examination from 22-24 to 17-19, abolished the classical languages, provided for the representation of Indian experience at the medical examination of India from the curriculum of the examination, and laid down that the candidates must produce a certificate from the headmaster of a secondary school that they have attended a school course for a continuous period of not less than three years. The result of this, in the case of Indian students, may be expressed in the language of the commissioners themselves. They say :

"It would be extremely difficult to select Indian boys at thirteen or fourteen with any feeling of security that they had, or would maintain, the necessary qualifications [for benefiting by an English school course] ; whilst it seems doubtful if an appreciable number of Indian parents would be willing to part with their children at so early an age, and still more doubtful whether it would be wise for them to do so if they would."

And in paragraph 18 of the annexure the Commissioners distinctly observe that the lower age limits will tell against such candidates, so much so that the Commissioners exclude Indians successful at the

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London competitive examination from calculation. For Indian candidates, the Commission recommend a separate examination in India, and the appointment of natives of India to 25 per cent. of the superior posts. This would give them a total of 189 posts of these, 41 appointments are to be filled by promotion from the provincial civil services and 40 are to be recruited from the bar. This leaves 108 posts for directly recruited officers. On the basis of the existing calculations this will allow of a recruitment of nine officers a year. Of these, two candidates to be called the King Emperor's cadets, should be nominated by the Government, and the remaining seven posts are to be thrown open to competition, but the competition will be restricted to 100 graduates to be selected by the five committees to be allotted to the five existing universities. Indian recruits are to be over 20 and under 22 years of age. These nine recruits will stand on exactly the same footing as the English recruits, and seniority will depend on the result of the examinations to be held at the middle and the end of the probationary course of three years, prescribed for all successful candidates, European and Indian, at the English universities of London, Oxford, and Cambridge. It is interesting to note that a character test in addition to a literary test was proposed for the London examination on the allegation that the suitability of the recruits had undergone deterioration, and that there has been a larger proportion of actual failures. "In this category we include assertions with regard to lack of manners, decline in social status, want of consideration for Indians, and absence of the power of leadership." The commissioners after considering these objections. came to the conclusion that "nothing suitable has as yet been devised" as a character test, and that "the severity of the examination in itself secures the presence of several of the qualities required from successful candidates." In India, "however, the arguments against a purely competitive test...gain added force from the communal and religious differences which prevail in the country," and so the local committees on whom the selection of candidates will rest will take into account "their suitability for Government service from the point of view of physique and character."

Mr. Chaubal says :

"I do not approve of the introduction in the medical examination of a person of Indian experience..... The suspicion may be ill-founded, but there is undoubtedly a suspicion in certain quarters that a retired Indian official does not look with much sympathy on Indians trying to get into the premier service in India."

On the question of age limits Mr. Chaubal says:

".....even considering the question from the point of view which regards the interests of British students only, but with the main object of securing the good government of India, I must confess that the grounds given for the reduction of the age are weak and unconvincing, whilst the reasons against such a material reduction of the age-limits are far more cogent, and the conclusion arrived at is against the whole mass of Indian evidence received, and also against the evidence of a highly respectable body of European witnesses. When I say "Indian evidence" I must not be understood as referring to evidence given under any apprehension of the reduction of age being unfavourable for Indian candidates to complete for the examination in London, but to that large body of evidence which considers that the British official in India must have arrrived at some maturity of judgment before being invested with the large Civil and magisterial powers which even as a young officer he is called upon to exercise soon after his arrival in India. This aspect of the age-limits question is, to my mind, far more important than the administrative point of view to which my European colleagues attach so much importance."

"It is said that at 25 or thereabouts a man comes too late to India, as at this age ordinarily he would have his tastes, aptitudes, and outlook more or less fixed, and in consequence is less easy to train in the detailed drudgery of administrative work. His early ideas are said to have been cast in a mould which is in no way Indian. Looking to the present political conditions and progress of India, I think it is a distinct advantage that the young officer who comes to India should be capable of forming his opinion about the Indian people, their ways of living and thinking, rather than be of that tender and susceptible age at which he can easily inherit the traditions of the older Indian official. As it is, the environment of a young officer on his arrival in India is that of his own people ; he becomes a member probably of some exclusively European club, where he hears the conversation of senior officers, and accepts the views and shibboleths current among them with unquestioning respect and faith. A university man with a completed British education is more likely to think for himself. According to the generally accepted Indian belief, all European official opinion about the people of India is formed in one mould without much appreciable variation ; so that a couple of years' difference in the age of arrival in India would not affect the question. But the most important point which seems to be ignored is that the Indian public do not desire that the large civil and criminal powers with which the civil servant is invested within a short time of his arrival in India should be exercised by a raw and inexperienced youth. Even as a junior officer, he has control over provincial service officers older in age and experience, who are mostly well-educated men, and it is necessary that these men should think well and highly about the young recruit to power. The wishes of the people of India

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in this respect are entitled to far more weight than all the considerations mentioned in the report taken together.

"Then it is said that if the Indian civil service is to be kept efficient, it is important that an officer should attain a position of responsibility at a comparatively early age, *i.e.*, at about 30, that at present, or even if the age limits were reduced by a year, he would be 33 or 32 by the time he attains that position, and this is too late. It seems to be assumed that as a junior officer his position is not one of trust and responsibility. I think, on the contrary, that the position of an assistant collector or an assistant judge is one of considerable responsibility, though not the same responsibility as that of a collector or district and sessions judge. Looking at the large civil, criminal and revenue powers exercised by collectors, district magistrates, and district and sessions judges, I should say that no one ought to be entrusted with them before he is 35,* and surely there ought to be no complaint if, out of a total service of 35 years, a person passes only 8 to 10 years in a junior position of responsibility. The argument that officers in selection posts as members of council, &c., may be in some cases a little over sixty is not one to which much weight need be attached."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has the following on the proposed reduction of the age-limits :

"This to my mind would be a retrograde measure directly in contravention of the best university opinion of great Britain and the unanimous views of the Indian witnesses..... I am unable to follow how it is possible to allege administrative necessity for the change in the face of decided Indian opinion to the contrary. If in 1886—87 the Secretary of State and the Government of India agreed with the finding of the Aitchison Commission that having regard to the large powers, magisterial and executive, which an Indian Civil servant exercises soon after arrival in India, the age of 17—19 to which it is now proposed to revert was too low, it is difficult to understand how at the present day, when the powers which they exercise are not less, and the complexities of the situation have much increased, it is feasable to recruit school boys for the service. As regards the theory about tastes and aptitudes being set and so forth I do not think it can bear analysis. On the other hand it is not very difficult to understand that a civil servant's education and training which has to be completed at least two years earlier must be defective to that extent, while the three years' probation will entail unjustifiable expenditure to the state.†

"Another serious objection to the reduction of the age is that it will have the effect practically of closing the London door of entry to the Indians. This apprehension is considerably borne out by the fact that only 2·5 per cent. of the places offered were secured by Indian candiates between 1878 and 1891, when the age was 17-19, while the proportion of successful Indians increased to 5·6 per cent. between 1892 and 1912, when the limits of age were either 21 to 23 or 22 to 24. If the majority's proposal for reducing the age be considered in conjunction with their other proposal to make it a condition precedent for admission to the London examination that the candidates must produce a certificate that for a continuous period of three years before the examination he has been pursuing his studies in certain schools to be named by the civil service commissioners, it being left entirely to their discretion whether to dispense with the production of such certificate in the "exceptional circumstances" of candidates coming from India, Indian public opinion will be justified in inferring that the London examination, by which 80 per cent. of the civil service appointments are to be filled under the scheme of the majority report, will in future be closed to Indian candidates. The so-called compensation which is spoken of is that about twenty per cent. of the appointments will be filled in India. This is but little more than what was laid down and enforced for some years under the rules of 1879. The only part of the scheme which has some claim to be regarded as an advance upon the past is the institution in India of an examination for a portion of the cadre, but this change of method however welcome cannot mitigate the serious aspects of their other proposals. I am convinced that even if the compensation were far more substantial and much ample Indian public opinion would refuse, and in my opinion rightly, to assent to a virtual effacement of their right to a free and equal opportunity for appointment to the premier civil service of their country. I am unable to conceive that advanced political bodies in India like the Indian national congress, representing the constitutional school of politics who have for years been agitating for simultaneous examinations for the Indian civil service, will now, when the slower moving Muhammadans and the others have supported the demand, should accept an arrangement diametrically opposed to its main principle that Indian candidates should not be limited to a fixed proportion of the civil service appointments."

The Proportion of Indians in the Service.

As for the proportion of appointments to be thrown open to Indians, viz., 25 per cent. of the superior posts, Mr. Chaubal observes that this should be raised to at least 25 per cent. of the whole cadre of the Indian civil service, and not of the superior posts only.* Mr. Chaubal has no difficulty in showing that the so-called 'training posts' or 'inferior posts' of assistant judges and assistant collectors are posts of pos-

* Justice Rahim says : "I disagree with the view of the majority that a civil servant should expect to act as a collector, and necessarily also as a district and sessions judge, at the age of 30. This may well be in the interests of the officers but not of the administration."

† Every recruit will receive an allowance of £150 a year out of the Indian revenues during his period of training in England.

* Sir Theodore Morison, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, agree on this point with Mr. Chaubal. Mr. Justice Rahim would go further, and so to the extent of Mr. Chaubal's recommendation, he may be taken to agree with him. The result is that four of the members of the commission agree that nine appointments in India are insufficient. Had Mr. Gokhale been alive, there can be no doubt that his powerful support would have been given to this strong minority.

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tion and influence, carrying considerable powers and substantial salaries, and are held by a large number of civilians. Hence to confine the calculation to the 'superior' posts, on the plea that the Indian civil service exists for filling up these posts only, is to ignore evident facts. He proceeds :

"It has been pointed out in a previous part of this minute that if the full number of appointments to the civil service posts had been made as contemplated by the rules of 1870, by the end of 1914 there would have been no less than 200 Indians in all appointed to the posts in this service. The scheme proposed by the Commission increases this number only by 30, which, in the circumstances, I consider to be inadequate.

"Again, it is not as if this increased number is going to come into existence immediately. It will take something like a generation more to work out the full proportion granted ; and, therefore the latter must be based on a reasonable calculation of the general progress and advance in education that may be expected in India during the next 30 years. For these reasons I consider that 362 out of a total of 1,411 is by no means an excessive demand. It appears to be the minimum that could be reasonably claimed and fairly granted to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of educated India.

"It should be further noted that the acceptance of a proportion at all, which means the introduction of a system of allotting a certain number of appointments to be competed for by Indians and Europeans respectively, is a departure from the principles of the statute of 1833 and the Queen's proclamation, as it involves an artificial exclusion of candidates on grounds of race for appointments for which they may be in other respects the best qualified persons....."

Mr. Justice Rahim says as follows :

"The justification for such a low proportion [21 per cent. of the total cadre of the Indian civil service and 25 per cent. of the superior post only] is mainly sought in the present strength of the statutory natives of India in the civil service which amounts altogether to 127. They [the commissioners] do not attach much weight to the previous history of the matter, the proportion that was sanctioned as far back as 1879 and recruited for several years ; and apparently, to the great progress which India has made since 1879. If the present position of Indians in the civil service is so unsatisfactory, it is so owing to the admitted unsoundness of the procedure followed by the Government both in 1878 and in 1886-87. It seems therefore hardly fair to adopt what is rightly considered an injury as a standard for future arrangements..... To my mind, a fraction such as that proposed by the majority will solve no administrative or political problem. Why Indians are most needed on the executive side is to give them a substantial opportunity for effective cooperation in the higher administration, and this purpose will not be achieved with a proportion like that recommended. From this point of view the recommendations of the Aitchison Commission were in some respects better conceived ; they specifically provided for the appointment of Indians to a proportion of the higher posts in the administration such as commissionerships of divisions and memberships of the board of revenue. These are very few in number and if the proportion of Indians in the Indian civil service be no more than 25 per cent. of superior posts, their chances of attaining any of them under the scheme of the majority will be very problematical indeed. I am convinced that the proportions recommended by the majority for recruitment in India will be received with feelings of absolute disappointment. In my opinion a fair and reasonable proportion of appointments on the executive side for recruitment in India will be one third of the total including the listed executive posts. Nothing less than this will be regarded as an adequate compensation for denying Indians an equal opportunity along with the British candidates for competing for this service, which they would have if the examination was held simultaneously in their own country as well as in England. The government of Madras, as far back as 1893, was of opinion that one-third of the civil service appointments could well be recruited for in India....."

Simultaneous Examinations.

The annexure to the majority report refers to the "much vexed question" of simultaneous examinations, alludes to the "deep-rooted sentiment" for the appointment of more Indians in the civil service on equal terms with Englishmen, and to "the loud and persistent demand for the acceptance" of this solution, which was suggested "almost exclusively by the Indian witnesses". After hinting at "the practical difficulties which must surround any simultaneous system in totally different longitudes and in separate continents," the commissioners proceed to observe that under such a system "the maintenance of the British character of the administration will be made to depend on the chances of an examination," and they feel convinced that "the introduction into India of an examination fashioned on English lines for the purpose of bringing clever Indians into the Indian civil service is to be deprecated."

Let us hear Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim on this point :

There is hardly any other demand in connection with the Indian public services to which Indian public opinion attaches so much importance ; it has formed the subject of persistent agitation, and its refusal hitherto is cited as a glaring illustration of the wide divergence that still exists between declarations of policy as made by British statesmen and their enforcement in actual practice by those immediately concerned with the Indian administration. The main object of the proposal is to remove the otherwise insurmountable handicap against Indian candidates which now artificially secures for British candidates a virtual monopoly of the most important and best paid civil appointments. It is based on the principle that appointments to public office in India must be settled on the test of qualifications and not on presumptions arising from race or place of birth. If the desire to secure what is mildly called a "British minimum," but which, in the contemplation of the majority of the commissioners, really means 80 per cent or

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more of these posts is to be given precedence over the test of qualifications, that can only be justified on a priori considerations of racial superiority. This, according to the Indian view, should be regarded as inadmissible. Their contention is that the test of an examination such as that conducted by the Civil service commissioners should be supreme, and the advantages which racial characteristics or training give to British candidates ought to, and will in fact, find expression in the results of the examination. The English candidates have the advantage of the language and of a more efficient system of training and education; that ought to suffice—as all Indian witnesses think it will—to secure for such of them as are of average intellectual gifts a predominance in the service. Only those British candidates whose mental powers are below the average will fail in the competition. Any arrangements which would secure men of the latter class, far from ensuring the British character of the administration, would only do serious disservice to it as well as to the prestige of the British people.

"It is suggested that the institution of simultaneous examinations in India will in some way or other retard the development of Indian education. The truth, however, is that it will considerably help such development. The history of western education in India simply justifies this belief..... Certain practical difficulties in the way of applying the simultaneous system in "totally different longitudes and on separate continents" are also vaguely hinted at. These in my opinion are more imaginary than real....."

"As far back as 1860 an influential committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to consider the subject of the employment of Indians in the Indian civil service reported in favour of adopting simultaneous examinations "as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of the general competition for a common object." In June 1893 the question was raised in the House of Commons and a resolution was passed that all open competitive examinations held in England alone for appointments to the chief services of India should henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England. And yet the majority of the Commissioners would, at the present day, reject this obvious method of justice essentially on racial grounds, in the teeth of evidence which showed that in making this demand all the different communities of India (excepting, of course, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians) and all the provinces were united and practically unanimous. His Highness the Aga Khan, in supporting the demand said, 'I am in favour of a simultaneous examination in England and India. I would give full effect to the House of Commons resolution of June 1893..... It will do away with any feeling of discontent that may exist at the idea that the Indian civil service has been kept as a preserve for Englishmen and that the children of the soil are shut out from their proper and legitimate share in controlling the administration of the country.' In my opinion, in the interests both of justice and political expediency, simultaneous examinations should be conceded for the Indian civil service proper."

The Listed Posts.

Regarding the method of promotion from the provincial civil services, the majority observe:

"Against this it was urged that the officers so selected enjoyed only an inferior status, and that they were promoted towards the end of their careers when ordinarily they had only a short while to serve before they reached the prescribed time for retirement. The effect of this was to allow a succession of statutory natives of India to become collectors or district and sessions judges, but to shut them out practically from any chance of rising to the higher judicial and administrative posts." This argument the Commissioners rightly regard as conclusive against making this the principal method of recruitment, and they reserve only 41 appointments with this object. Sir Valentine Chirol, however, places on record his very great regret that it has been found necessary to reduce the number of these posts, for "the provincial civil service constitutes the backbone of the civil administration. It is drawn, for the most part, from the same classes of Indian society from which the bulk of the Indian members of the Indian civil service are themselves drawn."

Mr. Chaubal on the other hand, would add these 41 posts to the 40 reserved for members of the bar, on the ground that the 41 posts throughout India are hardly any appreciable prizes for the provincial service consisting of 2,572 officers. According to Mr. Chaubal, the general prospect of rising to posts of about Rs. 800 a month is the main attraction of the service, though in theory they can rise to the highest posts, in practice they will rarely go beyond the headships of districts owing to having served for years in a subordinate position, 'they will find it difficult to adapt their outlook to the new positions of responsibllity' and the selection for these few posts is calculated to be a source of discontent in the whole service, as it is likely to degenerate into a mischievous form of nomination. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has noticed the evils of the system of confidential reports, to which loud and repeated complaints were made to us during enquiry.' Just as the system of nomination saps the manliness of the educated aspirant to Government service and in the words of the majority report, 'encourages a spirit of servility among the applicants', so the selection to the 'listed posts' is based on these confidential reports, and thereby renders the servility complete. It is on these grounds that the public would press direct appointments to the Indian civil service through the open door of competition to the method of recruitment by promotion from the provincial civil service, of which Sir Valentine Chirol seems to be so fond.

Over-recruitment.

The majority of the Commissioners entertain very liberal views on the subject

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of the increase of the numerical strength of the cadre of the civil service. They say :

"We received a large body of evidence to the effect that the cadre of the Indian civil service should be strengthened to cope with its duties. This was said to be necessary on the judicial side generally, and on the executive side in the larger districts. We are satisfied that the conditions of administration in India are growing daily more complex, and that increases of establishment will need to be faced in the manner experienced in other countries which are undergoing similar development throughout the world. In the case of the judiciary the remedy for this state of affairs is obvious. Additional officers should be appointed to keep pace with the increasing volume of litigation, and they should be appointed promptly. .....On the executive side there is greater difficulty. The troubles which are now experienced are confined mainly to the larger districts, and it is they which have as a rule the most historical associations. The process of dividing them is thus complicated and open to criticism. We think, however, that serious steps should be taken to grapple with the evil. Pending division, or if division is found to be impossible, extra district officers with full powers should be appointed to work under the general control of the collector of the district, and additions should be made to the cadre of the collectors with this object... Even if increases are made the cadre of the Indian civil service will not be large in comparison with its responsibilities."

The annual rate of recruitment for the Indian civil service has been calculated on the observed rate of decrement for a period of 50 years. But in para 63 of their report, the Commissioners observe that at present the 4.17 rate, which has been fixed upon calculation, 'is viewed with suspicion by those who have had practical experience of its working,..... it appears to give more recruits than are needed." In the annexure the majority of commissioners remark that the process by which the calculation of the rate of recruitment has been arrived at should not be 'distorted to obtain results which it will not naturally give. For example, a tendency has manifested itself in Bombay to endeavour to get out of the arrangement a larger number of junior officers than the accepted percentages will supply. A similar feeling showed itself in Bihar and Orissa. This is radically unsound. The true remedy in such cases is to recruit the provincial civil services with a view to the actual necessities of the subordinate administration in each area." Yet as we have seen above, the commissioners freely recommend an addition to the staff of the Indian civil service.

Adverting to this subject, Mr. Chaubal says :

"Under its present organisation every superior post is practically required to have a junior officer in training. Thus for every new superior post for members of this service the state has to engage two men. Now I do not believe that the members of this service carry a monopoly of the high talent and organising power necessary for the highest offices in any department whatsoever under Government. But as things have been managed, many superior posts in the miscellaneous departments as they are created are filled by members of this service—often to the prejudice of the most senior and experienced men in the department. The result is that the cadre of the Indian civil service is continually increasing, and a number of posts are thus added in effect to the schedule. The report of the majority recommends practically a continuance of this practice..... But there is no reason whatever for this practical enlargement of the schedule of reserved posts. It unnecessarily increases the cadre of the service by adding so many undercharges."

Mr. Justice Rahim has the following :

"While saying in paragraph 61 that it did not fa within their province to make a definite recommendation for increasing the staff of any particular department, the majority of commissioners have at the same time distinctly suggested that in some of the departments they have found signs of overstrain on the present staff. In the annexures, specially of the civil services, the police, agricultural and educational departments, the suggestion has assumed the form of emphatic recommendations, though necessarily made in general terms. Except for certain vague and wide statements on the part of a few officials, particulary in the departments for which appointments are made in England, there is not a shred of evidence which would justify us in giving the lead to the authorities to increase the number of officers.....

"I wish especially to record my emphatic dissent from the general observations which the majority of Commissioners have thought fit to make in paragraph 39 of their civil service annexure and paragraph 10 of the police department annexure, showing the desirability of partitioning districts or otherwise adding to the number of district civil service and police officers. These questions have raised keen controversy in India, and well they might—considering their effect on the financial resources of the country and the alterations in the administrative arrangements which they must produce, entailing considerable pecuniary loss to many people and a disturbance of their occupations, social habits and customs. As regards arguments based on the area and population of a district, it must be remembered that, in the civil administration or in the police, the chief function of a district officer consists in supervising the work of his assistants and subordinates, and in proportion as the subordinate agency has improved in efficiency there should be less and not more need for supervision. That there has been a great improvement in their efficiency since 1886—87 does not admit of denial. The Aitchison Commission was in a position to recommend even at that date that recruitment in Europe for the Indian civil service, which then amounted to 1,003 officers, should be substantially curtailed so that the members might be reduced to a *corps d'elite*, and it appears to me almost incredible that now, when the number has been gradually and steadily swelled to 1,300 odd, there should still be a cry for more and more. My recommendation is that there should be no further addition to the Indian civil service or the imperial police force. If the work of the administration

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requires more officers they should be obtained entirely in the country.....

"For the Indian civil service the reserve for one hundred superior posts has been laid down at 94·5 ; thus for one hundred required superior officers a strength of 194·5 is maintained, and an annual recruitment of 4·17 has been laid down.....That the Indian civil service and the police service should be recruited in England on the basis of the superior appointments alone is admitted. But there has been much laxity in defining a superior post resulting in considerable increase of unnecessary cost, in blocks of promotion and in an encroachment on the province of officers recruited in India. The 4·17 per cent. as the annual rate of recruitment in the Indian civil and in the imperial police services is apparently too high.

"But the most important point is that the definition of a superior appointment in the civil service should be modified as I have suggested in its annexure so that it should include only such appointments as are the objective of every civil service officer, the lowest being a collectorship or an office of similar independent responsibility and control. It must be one from which the bulk of the officers expect to retire. The result of so altering the definition will be that about 83 appointments will be classed as inferior instead of superior, with the effect that for so many appointments there need not be any training or deputation reserves and a much smaller leave reserve. A corresponding number of minor appointments so set free could well be merged in the provincial civil services. The saving in cost will be about 12 lacs of rupees per annum.

"I have agreed with the majority that the annual rate of recruitment should be recalculated. The evidence clearly shows that it is to over-recruitment that blocks in promotion are mostly due ; and these have often to be redressed by the grant of allowances. But what is still more serious is that they have a tendency to originate pressure for the creation of more highly paid appointments."

The Classical Indian Languages.

Though the classical languages of India,—Sanskrit and Arabic—have been omitted from the curriculum of the examination for the Indian civil service, their importance is recognised by introducing them in the probationary course. The last Public Services Commission found a place for them on the ground that

"the case of Sanscrit and Arabic is somewhat different. These classical languages possess a philological and educational value of their own, while at the same time exceptional importance attaches to them in connection with the vernacular languages of India."

The Islington Commission expresses similar views while excluding these languages from the optional course prescribed for the open competition. "It is in them that the best thoughts of the eastern races are enshrined, and without some knowledge of them no stranger can be in touch with the deeper springs of eastern feeling." The Indian civilian should also 'for his ordinary everyday work be thoroughly familiar with the princip[al] vernacular language of his province.' T[he] Commissioners seem to have formed [an] exaggerated opinion of the value of [an] optional Indian subject. "This optio[nal] subject, which should be taught intensively will, we anticipate, prove a valuab[le] means of quickening the interest of t[he] probationers in India, and of illuminati[ng] the whole field of their studies. I[ts] functions will be to arouse an interest [in] Indian thought and the Indian people. [It] matters little whether this is fir[st] awakened by Persian poetry, Indi[an] religions, Indian law or the study [of] primitive institutions. When once aroused it will create a link of sympathy betwe[en] the civil servant and the people amo[ng] whom he works, and create an enthusias[m] for India which the present probationary course is not suited to beget." M[r.] Justice Abdur Rahim is rightly of opini[on] that Persian should be added to the list [of] optional modern languages, and says [as] follows :

"For appointments such as those included in [the] Indian civil service for which the highest educationa[l] equipment of a liberal nature is admittedly requir[ed] it is undesirable that the candidates should be sel[ec]ted before their education has been completed a[nd] that the state should bear the expense and the ris[k] of their finishing it after they have been practica[lly] enrolled in the service. The majority's recommen[da]tion for three years' probation for the Indian civil service recruits consequent upon their proposal to reduce the age of the candidates from 22-24 to 1[9] is opposed to the true purpose of probation and contrary to well-understood usage. The combi[ned] result of their proposals will be that for the most important administrative service of India young men of a distinctly incomplete type of western educati[on] much the same as for the police and lower than that for the education, agriculture, geological survey, forest, medical and other like departments, will be enlisted in England, while the three years' probation will not help them to become either lawyers [a course of jurisprudence will form a principal part of the probationary training] or oriental scholars, nor [will] able them to acquire familiarity with a single verna[cular] cular language to any greater extent than at present ..... It should be the aim by attaching somewhat greater importance to oriental subjects in the syllabus for the open competition to draw those young Eng[lish]lishmen for whom the "magic of the east" is a entirely computable in salaries and pensions, instead of attempting to achieve "a more pronounced orientation" during the period of probation.

As for acquiring an Indian vernacular, it is best for all parties to recognise frankly from the lessons of prolonged experience the limits to which such acquisition can ordinarily be carried by an English officer and also to rely for this purpose more on an Indian civilian's training in India during the first two years of his career. This also is practically an added period of probation though not so regarded with regard to salary, pension and other privileges of service.

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Statesmanship in the Civil Service.

The Majority of Commissioners observe:

"The problems, legal, philosophical, historical, and social, with which an Indian civil servant will have to deal in after life, involving as they do the whole question of the interaction of the east and the west, are among the most complex to the history of the world.....The Indian Civil Service supplies India not only with her judges and magistrates, but with the statesmen who help to control her policy In England the House of Commons is a school of statesmanship ; in India the statesman is a product of the bureaucracy. For this reason it is of advantage if the civil servant proceeds to India with a wide perspective of the field of statesmanship, and if he is alive to the political problems which are agitating the progressive societies of the west, and are reproducing themselves in increasing measure in the east. The facility to treat political problems with wisdom cannot be taught in academies. What can be imparted is a certain width of mind and an interest in the political problems of the hour as illustrating large principles of public conduct."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's proposal is more practical. With regard to such high offices as lieutenant-governorships and memberships of the various councils which are filled up by members of the civil service, he sees no justification for treating them as appendages of the service, and adds :

"In their incumbents, who exercise the privileges and functions of legislators, rulers and ministers, the gifts and the sympathies of a statesman are needed rather than the training of a department official. The enlightened public opinion of India would like these positions to be generally filled by men who are in no way fettered by traditions of a service. I have come to the conclusion that in the present circumstances of India it has become extremely desirable that the choice of the crown in these cases should be absolutely free and in no way confined to a few civil servants who in the ordinary course of promotion have reached the higher ranks of the service."

Equal Salaries to Indians and Europeans.

The Commissioners were greatly exercised over the question as to whether to pay equal salaries to Indians and Englishmen, but eventually in paragraph 38 of the annexure they come to the conclusion that all members of the Indian civil service, whether Indians or Europeans, should be paid alike, as has been hitherto the case. In paragraph 54 of the report we find how this rule of equal treatment in the premier service originated, while so much difference in pay was tolerated in the other services.

".....in the Indian civil and Indian medical services the position of equality has been reached almost insensibly. These services are recruited by a system of examination open to all comers, and this practice dates from a time when statutory natives of India, though eligible, srarcely endeavoured to compete. No differentiation of salaries had thus originally to be considered."

In the next paragraph the Commissioners summarise the arguments, for and against, thus :

"The advantages of equal pay for all officers, who do the same work are obvious. Under such a system there can be no suspicion that Europeans are favoured at the expense of Indians, whilst the danger of racial friction in the services is reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, to set in India for the public services a standard of remuneration which is in excess of what is required to obtain suitable Indian officers is to impose for all time on the country a burden which she ought not to bear..... The choice is thus between the two evils of inequality on the one hand and disregard of economy on the other."

But the Commissioners forget the obvious reply to this appeal to economy, for a due and sincere regard to the interest of the taxpayer would land them in the difficult position of advocating the abolition of the England-recruited services altogether.

Conditions of Salary, Allowances, &c.

The Commissioners have equalised the salaries of the superior posts in the different provinces, introduced an incremental scale, and incorporated the exchange compensation allowance with the salary, at a cost of Rs. 8 lacs. The junior posts have been so rearranged as to permit of a gradual rise to the Rs. 900 grade in the eigth year of a civilian's service, whilst the allowance for officiating in superior appointments during this period has been raised from Rs. 200 to Rs. 350 a month. The cost of this reorganisation of the cadre of junior officers is nearly 3 lacs of rupees annually. The exchange compensation, it may be noticed in passing, is allowed at what the commissioners call a privileged rate of 1s 6*d* per rupee, and not at the market rate of exchange, which is fixed at 1s 4*d*. The concession therefore represents an addition of 6¼ per cent. to salaries, and this compensation at the privileged rate will now be added to them. This increase of 11 lacs, constituting, as Mr. Chaubal has shown, more than a quarter of the total net additional cost of Rs. 42 lacs recommended by the commission for all the services that came under inquiry, is advocated on the ground that blocks in promotion have caused grave dissatisfaction among the members of the Indian civil service. "We are satisfied," the majority of commissioners observe,

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"that this is reacting prejudicially on recruitment, and that young men in England are now turning their thoughts in the direction of the Home civil service in consequence." Mr. Chaubal does not agree with this opinion, and he considers the present rates to be above the standard of remuneration in England, 'in some cases rather much above it.' 'One has only to compare them with the rates for the home and the colonial services for all of which there is at present one common examination for entrance.' Mr. Justice Rahim says :

"I have already shown that the Indian civil servant receives a salary far in excess of any other class of officers of similar qualifications, either in India or Great Britain or the colonies, and that there can be no good ground for complaint..... In paragraph 36 of the report it is alleged that nothing less than the terms proposed will suffice "to reestablish the attractiveness of this service" but apparently it is overlooked that in paragraph 5 they found that, "taken as a whole the personnel now recruited has not in any way deteriorated, and that India has been obtaining men who are keeping up the high level and best traditions of the service." It is difficult to reconcile the two findings. If the latter conclusion is correct then the fact that some recruits have favoured the home service can be of no concern to India."

Mr. Justice Rahim brings together certain very instructive facts regarding the conditions of service in this premier department, which prove with what excessive liberality the members of this as well as the other Europe-recruited services are treated. For instance, the fixed pay of an officer is supplemented by the following allowances : (1) acting allowance, (2) personal allowance, (3) special allowance, (4) settlement allowance, (5) charge allowance, (6) deputation allowance, (7) horse allowance, (8) conveyance allowance, (9) town allowance, (10) house rent, (11) travelling allowance, (12) tentage allowance (13) Burma allowance (14) presidency allowance, (15) frontier allowance, (16) Sind allowance, (17) Baluchistan allowance, (18) outpost allowance, (19) Pushtu allowance.

"The amounts ordinarily range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300—the acting allowances in the Indian civil service, however, may amount to more than the pay and sometimes come up to over Rs. 800 a month. These allowances do not enter into calculation in fixing the basis of the salaries and are not generally mentioned among the terms on which officers are recruited."

The favourable rate of exchange mentioned above is allowed not only in calculating the "exchange compensation allowance,' but also for payments made in England from the Indian exchequer either on account of leave allowances, deputation allowances, or pensions. During the "period of training," which in the Indian civil service extends in theory to eight years, he is employed in work of minor importance generally performed by locally recruited officers of provincial services, but while the average pay of a provincial service officer is Rs 440, that of the Indian civil servant, holding the same post, is Rs 700, the loss to the state in excessive payment being Rs 260 for every civilian officer during eight years. In addition there are rewards offered, varying from Rs 500 to Rs 5000, for various degrees of proficiency in the oriental languages. During his service an officer is entitled to medical attendance free of charge, and where there are family pension funds the state makes a certain contribution to insure the officers' wives and children against his premature death. Officers on first appointment in England are also provided with passage and outfit money.

Leave Rules.

The European service leave rules are admittedly much more liberal than those for the Indian service. The commission considered 'whether it would not be possible to do away with this distinction and to have only one set of rules for all officers.' But as in such case it would be necessary to bring all the officers under the European service rules—for Europe-recruited officers could not be expected to be satisfied with the Indian leave rules which are so much less agreeable—the commissioners approved of the principle of maintaining a double set of regulations. The commissioners, in recommending one year's furlough on full pay for the Indian civil service remark that 'it is undesirable that an officer should remain at work for six years without relaxation,' but

"The evidence has clearly revealed the fact that provincial service officers very seldom take furlough, and it is wellknown that they grievously suffer in health through overwork and want of rest. This is, undoubtedly, because of the inadequacy of their furlough allowances, for these cannot exceed half their pay, which is pitched on a much lower scale than that of the appointments governed by the European Service rules." (Justice Rahim).

The different kinds of leave are privilege leave, furlough, special leave, extraordi-

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nary leave without allowances, leave on medical certificate, study leave, and subsidiary leave.

"How expensive these leave rules are, especially under the European service rules, may be judged from the fact that in the most highly paid service, the Indian civil service, the leave reserve is 5 per cent. of the superior appointments, that is for the work of five superior officers the state has to engage permanently two additional officers. Generaly speaking, after three years' continuous service an officer can take leave up to two years, and on medical certificate it may be extended to three years." (Abdur Rahim.)

Pension Rules.

The age for retirement, after 25 years' gross and 21 years' active service, is at present 49 in the Indian civil service, but under the new rules for earlier recruitment proposed by the commissioners a civil servant will be entitled to retire at the age of 49. (In the public works an officer can retire at the age of 44, in the geological survey at the age of 45). The rates for special invalid pensions having been increased as recently as 1904, the commissioners did not revise them as they are already 'sufficiently liberal.' The rules for the Indian Civil Service family pension fund have however been considerably improved by the Commissioners. "It will be remembered that every one of the 1,350 members of the Indian civil service is entitled to the annuity [of £1,000] at the end of 25 years' service; this service would seem to be as much better off in this respect than officers of a similar class in Great Britain or the colonies as in the salaries they receive. "It should also be remembered that the state contributes substantially to the Indian civil service family pension fund," and has recently assumed responsibility for all charges incidental to the management of the fund, amounting to more than 6 lacs of rupees a year. The Commission also recommends a special pension of £1,200 a year to officers who have held the responsible position of Lieutenant-Governor of a province. The Indian civilian contributes 4 per cent. of his salary to the fixed annuity of £1,000 which is the most attractive feature of his service. Roughly, he thus contributes £250 and the state contributes £750 of his total annuity of £1,000. The most important recommendation of the commission in regard to pension rules is that henceforth this annuity of £1,000 will be paid free of contribution. This will mean an additional cost to the state of nine lacs of rupees a year. The contribution, however, will be utilised as a general provident fund and refunded at 4 per cent., and as the state can only borrow at 3½ p.c., this will involve the state in fresh outlay. Some of the European members of the commission, as well as Messrs. Chaubal and Rahim, are emphatically against the abolition of the 4 per cent. contribution, as the pension rules for the Indian civil service are already extraordinarily generous.

The following extract from the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's speech in the imperial legislative council on the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya in March last will bring this long article to a fitting close :

An Unchanging Civil Service for the Changeless East.

There was a cry, an insistent cry, from every part of India that we, Indians, were unduly unjustly, kept out of the proper share that was due to us in the higher services of our country, and, Sir, there was good and just reason for that cry. Rulers may come, and rulers may go. Viceroys may come and Viceroys may go. I speak of them with all respect, but they leave little impression upon the character, or the course, of our administration. Councillors may sit, and talk and abuse each other, and they may be permitted to sneak away, but they also do not, as at presnt constituted, much matter in the affairs of life. But what it is that does matter is the great Civil Servie of India, a body which lasts for ever. Men may come and men may go, but, my friends, the members of the Civil Service, say, they will go on for ever with their traditions, of which they are justly proud. But, alas, they become hidebound, and cast in a rigid mould. They are good men. They are guided by the one principle of doing the best that they can for the people of India. These are things which we readily admit. But they sometimes fail to see how their administration operates upon the people, for whose good they labour in India. Sir, for us, therefore, not for the appointments, not for the handsome salaries, it was for the purpose of putting in our claim in the higher machinery of Government, for putting in some wheel at least in the machinery, that we, Indians, have been pressing for a long time for the recognition of the great principle that Indians should have an adequate share in the administration of the country and be given facilities for admission into the Civil Service. Well Sir, for this reason, we have asked for

Simultaneous Examinations.

Just imagine, Sir, if English lads were told to go to Kamchatka to qualify for the Civil Service of England, to learn, I don't know what language the Kamchatkans talk, their language, to pass examinations in their language, and then go back to England to rule, what would be the attitude of the

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Englishmen towards that arrangement. The same has been our case. I have taken an extreme case, by the well-known principle of reduction, of the difficulty, should I say the absurdity, of the present arrangement. You ask boys of India to pass difficult examinations in your language. Do you for a moment realise the great handicap that the language test imposes upon us, a great and pressing handicap? Why should we not be content with that, you are at a loss to know. You go further. You are not content with imposing on us the task of learning your language or trying to learn your language and it is one of the most difficult to learn; you ask us to go to your country for the examinations. We do our best to comply with your tests in your country, and then, if we are declared fit to be put on the same level as the English youth, we ask, why not admit us. The report of the Commissioners says, that will not be enough. There are other considerations. I do not ignore them. You say "Not only are you to learn our language, but you must go to England to pass your examinations." Well, Sir, whether that is right or wrong, whether such a procedure can be justified in the higher court of humanity or not, we have submitted to it. We have submitted to it under protest, and we have agreed. If you think a sojourn in England is necessary to give the necessary experience to our youths aspiring to the public service, to our boys making that sojourn, let them go with the certainty that they will be admitted into the precincts of the Civil Service. Let them pass their examinations in this country under the same test. That is the point, Sir. The Commission have thrown these 20 bulky volumes at our heads. With what result? We could have competed, we, Indians, could have ventured to acquire your language to some extent at least, if we had been given a chance, but the Commission sits in judgment on our claims, and says here is our judgment. "We have

Double-barred the Gate.

"We have reduced the age from 22 to 17, because 17 is the age that suits our boys who leave schools. The time may not suit you, but it suits us. We have done more. We have said that previous to the examination, there must be a three years' residence in a public school in England. We have done yet more. We have scored out your

Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian

from the languages. Are you not content that, instead of this, though we have practically absolutely done away with the inconvenient scrap of paper the Queen's Proclamation, we have not taken away your chances altogether? We have given you

Seven Appointments,

to be competed for in India. Are you not content?" I ask you, Sir, I ask the representatives of the Civil Service, who are arrayed against me,—no, I beg their pardon, I will not say arrayed against, but in front of me, I ask them, would they expect any body of Englishmen in England to accept such an arrangement, if it was proposed in the case of English youths? But what they should not accept in their own case, would they expect us in India to accept? I have taken only one example, one prominent example from this blessed Commission, which has cost, I do not know how many thousands of pounds, and will no doubt bring decorations to the Commissioners. But, Sir, is not one example enough? Very strong expressions were coming into my mind to clothe and demonstrate that what the Commissioners have done is not acceptable to the people of India. It is

An Insult

to our common sense. It is a denial of right. We were told in clear and unequivocal language that the Civil Service is closed to us, that we could have understood. Plain language we can understand, but subterfuge we do not understand. I say it is an insult to the common sense of India. Why, Sir, what is the use of a Commission like this, what is the use of all this expenditure of money and energy for the sake of 7 appointments to be competed for in India? And these seven appointments to be given under what conditions? Not an easy open competition but by selection by our universities. Well, Sir, again you are trying to bring in an element of election. I do not wish to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in this Council at this stage. But I do rise to give a great warning that better, far better, abandon the report of the Commission, for the condition of things have entirely changed. The two years of the War have accelerated Indian conditions by nearly 50 years. The Commission is an anachronism. It is altogether out-of-date. Leave it alone, India will not be sorry. But, if you worked upon this Commission without ascertaining the public feeling, how far the recommendations of that Commission were acceptable to the masses of the people of India, and if I am incorrect in using the term masses, how far such recommendations were unacceptable to those classes for whom the Commission was meant, you would be taking a grave risk. Indeed, to talk of

Discontent.

My friend here forges instruments for the fettering of the body, but do not forge instruments for the fettering of the mind. You talk of discontent, you talk of disaffection: but do not take measures which will intensify and accentuate that discontent and that disaffection. Do not for God's sake. Do nothing which will create a greater distrust of the Government of India than even the present arrangements would seem to justify. For, Sir, whether Home Rule comes or not, whether Self-government on Colonial lines comes or not, whether it comes in 20 years or 50 years, what we shall feel, what we daily feel is that, whatever may be the future, if you give India a greater share in the higher administration of the country by including a larger number of Indians in the Civil Service, you will make, apart from other questions, you will make your system of Government more acceptable than it is. Therefore, Sir, I think it is a very modest request, which my Hon. friend, Pandit Malaviya has made, namely that no action should be taken upon the Report of this Commission before the opinions of the public bodies and of the members of this Council in open debate have been ascertained. For, after all, Sir, if you do not do that, what is it that the Commission gives? The members of the Commission get increased emoluments, increased facilities

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for leave and pension. It gives them an increased hold upon the services. It restricts in a greater degree the admission of Indians into the Civil Service.

Should you be the judges in your own case? You may be,—you are,—honourable and honest men, but who is the man who would venture to sit as a judge in his own case, who is he, Sir, and in this matter in which practically the case is between the Civil Service and ourselves? Would it be right without the enlightenment which may come from public criticism and public debate? Is it right that you should be entrusted with the very serious power of deciding in your own case?

POL.

THE HIGHER JUDICIARY

THE majority of Commissioners in their annexure on the Indian Civil Service. observe:

"One of the methods suggested to us was to exclude from the Indian civil service cadre all the superior judicial appointments and to recruit for them separately from the bar. But this was an extreme position. The more moderate advocates of such a solution were satisfied with a superior judiciary, of which one-third would be manned by practising lawyers. Such an arrangement would have the merit of simplicity. It would also accord with English practice, be economical in that the lawyer would have paid for his own training, and would give satisfaction to a class which is growing in number and importance in the country. On the other hand, the course of our enquiry made it obvious that no such development, taken as the sole measure of relief,* would be generally acceptable. Nor could we advise any solution to the recruitment problem which might be open to the construction that statutory natives of India were fit only for judicial work. We are satisfied indeed that more Indians can be profitably employed in the executive as well as in the judicial branch of the service. We, therefore, prefer a solution applicable to both branches and would not separate into racial channels the present method of joint recruitment. At the same time we think that, in view of the ability, attainments, and influence of the legal profession in India, the administration would benefit from some bar appointments. In theory this is no new step, as the Public Services Commission of 1886-87 contemplated that one quarter of the listed posts would be filled by statutory natives of India, who were not members of the provincial civil services, but in practice hardly any such appointments have been made..... We would avoid any such danger in future by reserving certain specified judgeships. To begin with, forty posts of district (divisional) and sessions judge should be set aside for this purpose, and these should be filled up from the bar, in accordance with rules to be framed under the statute of 1870, so soon as the present vested interests in them have been met. Such an arrangement would concede an important principle, and afford valuable experience of the possibilities of this method of recruitment."

As for the members of the Indian civil service, the commissioners are of opinion that 'a knowledge of law is of prime importance', and accordingly they advise that this subject be made the principal field of study throughout the whole period of probation. The commissioners quote the following from the Government of India despatch dated 4th July 1907, advocating the extension of the probationary course to two years in order to enable the cadets to have some grounding in law.

"The necessity for some improvement is abundantly borne out by the replies of the local Governments and has been illustrated by the course of recent events in more than one province; but before formulating our proposals it seems expedient that we should demonstrate in some detail the gravity of the present situation. We would preface our remarks by pointing out that in every branch of the duties on which an Indian civilian is employed a knowledge of law is necessary. Law is the basis of our whole system of administration. Not only as a magistrate or as a judge, but also as a revenue officer, the civilian deals with a system of codified law, he must be acquainted with the procedure of civil justice, and must be prepared to meet the questions raised by skilful legal practitioners. As an executive officer, he must be able to apply enactments to facts, must be expert in the law of contracts, must be competent to conduct executive investigations in accordance with legal methods, and not infrequently he requires sufficient legal skill to draft rules which will have the force of law. Not only his conclusions, but the methods and procedure by which he arrives at them are open to the light of criticism and must be legally valid. Most important of all, he must know the legal limitations of the extensive powers that are entrusted to him. From the very commencement of his career in India, the young civilian is in part a lawyer and in part a judge. If, however, we contrast the circumstances of the present day with those

* This evidently means that to recruit the higher judicial posts entirely from the bar would be equivalent to surrendering them entirely to Indians, and since Indians would not even in that case abandon their claims to higher executive appointments, such a course cannot be contemplated. But the 'bar,' as Justice Rahim shows, includes the purely English bar as well as the Indian bar; and in the second place, if Indians are more fit than civilians for all the judicial posts, why should they not get them without being asked to give up their other legitimate claims?

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of a generation back, the considerations at once suggest themselves that the law which the modern civilian is called upon to administer is far more complicated, while the legal profession has vastly increased in numbers, and has attained to a far higher standard of training. At the same time the knowledge of law possessed by the natives of India generally, and their disposition to appeal to the courts wherever possible, has gone through a remarkable development. The question, therefore, naturally presents itself—What legal training has the civilian of the present day for the important duties which devolve upon him? The answer, we fear, is somewhat as follows: He has read in England the Indian penal code, the code of criminal procedure, and the evidence act. That may be the sum total of his legal knowledge. He need have learnt nothing of the underlying principles of law. He has not even seen the inside of a court. When he arrives in India he is subjected to a desultory and unscientific form of training which consists of learning by heart more codes, and of doing a little practical work. He then takes his seat on the bench, where he has to cope with lawyers highly trained in law and endowed by nature with subtlety and ingenuity in an uncommon degree. The natural result follows. Some time or other he has to deal with a case presenting more than usual difficulty, in which a subtle lawyer is engaged. Conscious of his ignorance, he becomes flurried and makes errors of all kinds. Then he is pilloried in the press, which, in this country, is controlled by the legal profession to an extent scarcely paralleled elsewhere, and thus English justice is brought into contempt. We do not think that this picture is overdrawn. It is most frequently in criminal matters that the native newspapers attack our administration of justice, and that errors and irregularities become the subject of public criticism. It is in such cases in all countries that miscarriage of justice attracts most attention, but in civil and revenue cases affecting private rights it can scarcely be doubted that similar errors occur, and the departmental proceedings which come before us frequently display a surprising ignorance of elementary legal principles on the part of the officers concerned. It is unnecessary for us to elaborate the subject further. We have said enough to demonstrate the truth of our contention that there is urgent necessity for improvement and that unless some remedy can be found the influence and reputation of the service and the Government itself are bound to suffer."*

* The above extract proves that the Government knows as well and even better than the general public that the civilian as a dispenser of justice is an absolute failure, and that on the other hand, natives of India possess great legal acumen and have 'attained to a far higher standard of training.' The inevitable conclusion which any body of sane persons would be disposed to draw from this state of things is that in all judicial, magisterial and revenue functions requiring a knowledge of law the civilian should, in the interests of the administration of justice, be replaced by the trained Indian lawyer. But this obvious conclusion does not suggest itself to either the Government of India or the Public services commissioners. They both apply themselves to tinkering with the training of the Indian civilian, and suggest slight modifications which will effect no real improvement in the situation. Why do they do so? Not in the interest of the masses surely, at whose expense the civilian acquires such legal training as he possesses. They do this because they are conscious that they must not tread upon the vested interests of the Indian civil service or suggest remedies which though thoroughly sound in themselves, would prejudicially affect the prospects of the service. This is what the arguments of efficiency, economy, and regard for the welfare of the masses as opposed to the interests of the classes really comes to. Nor should we forget Justice Rahim's remark that the 'subtlety' displayed by the Indian lawyer in unraveling a system of jurisprudence peculiarly western speaks highly of his power of assimilation.

We shall now quote from Mr. Justice Rahim's able minute, where he deals with the subject with a mastery born of intimate first-hand knowledge.

"The recruitment of judges from the Indian civil service should be materially curtailed and then gradually abandoned.—The removal of judicial appointments from the cadre of the Indian civil service is no overdue and should be fully recognised. The conditions under which that service was drawn upon for filling a number of judicial appointments has long been obsolete. The object of employing such officers was primarily to help in placing the organisation of judicial administration in India on a systematic basis, the actual work of administering the laws being left at first entirely in the hands of Indian judges and lawyers trained in the Muhammadan and Hindu systems.....The profession of law has steadily and rapidly grown both in numbers and efficiency all over India not only in the presidency towns but also in the provinces. In the larger provinces—Madras, Bengal and Bombay—the indigenous element of the profession has become so strong that the predominance of English barristers, who until recently led the bar, has entirely disappeared from the first two provinces and is on the point of disappearing from the other. The keen competition that now exists in the profession has had its natural effect in enhancing the average standard of efficiency; while the leaders of the Indian bar to-day would stand comparison in learning and ability with their confreres in other countries. That the higher branches of the professions consisting of the barristers, the vakils of the high courts and chief courts, advocates and pleaders today offer a very ample field for recruitment of the judiciary in India does not admit of any real doubt. This fact is now receiving proper recognition so far as the highest tribunals, viz., the high courts, are concerned, where senior barristers and pleaders are being appointed in increasing numbers, and it might be presumed that their services would have been still more largely utilised, but for the statute which requires that one-third at least of the number of judges of the high courts must be members of the Indian civil service. The junior members of the profession have always been employed in the provincial judicial services and try the great bulk of the suits in the district. The reputation won by Indian judges of all grades recruited from the profession is high and has not been questioned before us. On the other hand, the constitution of the Indian civil service and the conditions of its recruitment are such that it has not afforded sufficient opportunity to its members to keep pace with the vast development of the Anglo

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Indian legal system or with the growth of specialised knowledge and aptitude in the profession which has taken place within the last 30 years.

Not the least of the objections to the method of filling district and sessions judgeships from the Indian civil service is the cost of the training which it involves. A civil servant will have for at least eight years to do work of a less important appointment either as a magistrate and executive officer as at present, or as a munsiff and a subordinate judge. The average pay of provincial service officers who fill the great bulk of magisterial and executive appointments of the same class is Rs 434 a month, and the munsiff's and subordinate judge's average pay is Rs 424, while the average pay of the Indian civil servant holding a similar appointment is Rs 862 a month, including acting allowances. There are at present 153 Indian civil service judicial posts, and the total cost of the minor appointments which have to be reserved for their training is about 8 lacs, and the difference in cost infilling these minor appointments by Indian civil servants and by provincial service officers is about 4 lacs a year. So much additional expenditure would only be justified by a clear and substantial gain in efficiency : far from that, the Indian civil service organisation is ill-suited for recruitment of the judiciary.

The defects of the Indian civil service system in ensuring the qualification needed for judges have long agitated the minds of the Indian authorities and have been growing more and more manifest with time, until after an active correspondence which went on between the Government of India and the Secretary of State from 1903 to 1907 the Government of India (Lord Minto, Lord Kitchener, H. Earle Richards, law member, E. N. Baker, of the Indian civil service, C. H. Scott, military member, and J, F. Finlay, of the Indian civil service ; J. O. Miller, of the Indian civil service, and H. Adamson, of the Indian civil service dissentients) recorded its opinion of the situation in these emphatic terms :—'It would be difficult to exaggerate the political dangers of the present situation or the importance of effecting a material improvement in the capacity, training and status of the Indian civil service judges. It is impossible at any rate in the advanced provinces to justify a system under which a gentleman who has no knowledge of civil law and who has never been inside a civil court in his life can be and often is at one step promoted to be a judge of appeal in civil cases, and to hear appeals from subordinate judges who are trained lawyers with years of legal experience.'

The history of the service shows that the reluctance of its members to adopt a judicial career has been increasing with time, so that it became necessary to offer the inducement of increased pay. Even then the tradition has persisted that the executive department is more sought after by the best men than the other branch.

Not only has the freer atmosphere of revenue and executive work more attractions for them, but there is a feeling that as a judge they would be like square pegs made to fit round holes. That feeling was very graphically described to us by an able member of the local civil service of Madras.

A civilian judge who has never been behind the scenes, never drafted a plaint or a written statement nor examined or cross-examined a witness in his life, must be at a considerable disadvantage in arriving at the true and important facts of a case. He can but dimly realise the value of interlocutory proceedings in bringing issues to a head, and his control over the conduct of the trial in court must tend to be weak and uncertain. Not the least formidable of his difficulties is the inevitable lack of understanding and sympathy which must ordinarily be between him and the bar. Supposing he has had the opportunity, which he has not, to bring to the bench a sufficient stock of knowledge of the law, he will have realised on the first day of his judicial career that the really difficult task for which he had no preparation was to apply the right law to the facts before him. That is not capable of being learned except by years' experience and training. It is not learned by passing an examination however difficult. It is possible to acquire it on the bench, but only at a great cost to the litigant public. There have been civil service judges who surmounted all these difficulties and made the continuance of the system possible for so long. But the system itself is unsound, and the authorities should, I think, be prepared to discard it. The proposals for its improvement should be regarded only as a provisional measure. The only reform which is worth trying in the Indian civil service system as a recruiting field for judges would be by effecting a bifurcation immediately after the open competitive examination. From this stage their special training must be regulated with a view entirely to the requirements of a judicial officer. This was the proposal made by Lord Kitchener, and approved by Lord Minto and the members of his executive council except Sir Harvey Adamson and Mr. Miller. It should be understood that any time diverted to executive work is not only lost but must retard the growth of a habit of mind which is best described as the judicial as contradistinguished from the executive manner of doing things. I would, to that extent, modify the recommendation of the majority on this point made in paragraph 32 of annexure X.

I am aware that some members of the service told us that in their opinion the best training for a judge in India was ensured by his employment for a sufficiently long time in executive duties. On the other hand the Indian public opinion, both lay and professional, strongly expressed before us, was to the reverse effect ; the thing they deprecated most was what they called excutive bias.

The training of a civil service judge will have to be graduated as far as it is possible having regard to the constitution of the courts in India. There are two grades of civil courts under a district judge ; that of munsiffs (in Bombay called subordinate judge, class II.), and of subordinate judges, already described. It would be necessary for a civilian recruit to act for at least four years as a munsiff and for another four years as a subordinate judge before being appointed to officiate with any degree of permanency as a district and sessions judge. It might also be arranged that while a civil servant is working as a munsiff he sh uld have the powers of a magistrate and try some criminal cases.

I may as well notice here the argument urged before us in favour of appointing judges from the civil service that some such system prevails in several continental countries, notably Germany and France, where it has been found to work satisfactorily. We

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were not, however, furnished with any data which would enable us to say how far the analogy holds good. It would be necessary to know, for instance, how many grades of jurisdiction there are, how the procedure is adjusted to each class of court, whether the judges sit singly or in bench, whether the judges or the juries find facts, what are the provisions for rectifying errors, the nature of the litigation, whether the law is codified, how far the rulings of the court are regarded as authoritative on questions of law, how many systems of law have they to administer and so on. The pecuniary limits of courts of civil jurisdiction in India are high enough to cover the great bulk of civil suits, they are not limited to any particular class of actions, and the judges have to find facts as well as to apply the law. They also exercise summary jurisdiction which precludes appeals and have frequently to dispose of difficult and complicated questions of law and procedure. The judges of all grades have to be familiar with the Hindu law and the Muhammadan law, with numerous acts of the Indian legislature, the rulings of the high courts and the Privy Council and they must have a good grasp of the principles of the English common law and equity law. A man without initial legal training and experience of proceedings in the courts will have to find his way very slowly indeed, and it is not expected that an Indian civil servant sitting as a munsiff or a subordinate judge will be able to cope with much work. Apart from anything else the mass of vernacular documents and accounts he will have to deal with every day will be a serious difficulty to him.

The other sources from which to obtain district or sessions judges are (i) the bar in India and in England, and (ii) the munsiffs and subordinate judges. The advantages of appointing from the bar are obvious. You get a man who is already trained, and the expense of training which is considerable in the case of a member of the Indian civil service is saved; and provided the field of selection is large enough the chances of making a mistake should be very little. It has been said that in India the competent barristers and pleaders are too rich to accept a district judgeship and the rest are not competent. Such a form of reasoning hardly needs refutation. My estimate is that, in the larger provinces specially, barristers and pleaders of considerable attainments and practice would be available in sufficient numbers to fill all the district judgeships and more. The Aitchison Commission in 1886—87 recommended that some appointments to district and sessions judgeships should be made from the bar, and it is remarkable that, though the recommendation was accepted by the Government it has not yet been given effect to. The growth of the profession in the meantime, in numbers and efficiency, has on the other hand been phenomenal. Similarly in England we were told by the master of the rolls and Lord Justice Swinfen Eady that considering the salary of the district judges (which is on the average Rs. 2,300 a month) there would be so many candidates of the standing of the county court judges that the difficulty would lie in making a selection. I feel sure that such men would be welcomed by the profession. If after they have been selected in England they are allowed say six months to master the rudiments of the vernacular of the province to which they will be posted and another six months in India to acquire a certain amount of familiarity with the spoken dialect and with the procedure of the Indian courts, they will have little difficulty in grasping the essentials of Indian legal business. If the civil servant judge having been longer in the country has some advantage in the matter of knowing the people better—though that knowledge is much exaggerated—that will be more than counterbalanced by the superior training of the barrister judge. Besides it should be remembered that in most district and sessions judges' courts there are interpreters and translators, the arguments are conducted in English and there is always the bar to be relied upon in matters of difficulty. The great advantage which a trained barrister from England would bring to bear upon the administration of justice in the districts will be a habit of mind inspired by the best traditions of the English courts. I would suggest that a beginning at least be made with, say, ten appointments throughout India, and when experience has been acquired, the number of judges from England for the district courts may be substantially increased."

POL.

THE NECESSITY FOR RECRUITMENT IN INDIA

[Quoted from the minute of Justice Abdur Rahim in the Report of the Public Services Commissioners].

"WHEN the question of employment in the public service of India has to be considered in its important aspect of affording an adequate career to the educated Indians wishing to serve their country. In this connection it will not be inappropriate to take a bird's-eye view of the field of recruitment in England for Indian public services. The evidence shows what was naturally to be expected that under normal conditions an Indian career does not rank at all high in the estimation of English youths of more than average capacity and ambition.* Such men prefer one of the many careers open

* Elsewhere Justice Rahim urges that greater importance should be attached to oriental subjects in the Indian civil service examination, "to draw the young Englishmen for whom 'the magic of the east' is not entirely computable in salaries and pensions." The bureaucratic attitude with regard to India pithily expressed in their favourite phrase, "the [illegible] of recreation".

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to them in England, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, the church and the law, journalism, literature, education, business, and the home civil service. It has also been brought to our notice that the increasing activities of social life in manifold directions have, in England, so augmented the demand for educated men that only a very limited number of youngmen of superior calibre are available for foreign employment, and to this small number, service in self-governing colonies seems to appeal more strongly than service in India. There can be no doubt that the offers which Indian services ordinarily get proceed mostly from candidates of average attainments and rather limited outlook, more or less obliged by circumstances to seek for a living in a land which otherwise does not evoke much enthusiasm in their breasts. I am not inclined to depreciate the many good qualities of such men, and have no doubt that they prove quite equal to the daily duties of official business. But we cannot look with confidence to recruits of this type as a body to supply the higher order of administrative talent which alone can enable a foreigner to understand the real forces at work in the very complex conditions of modern India and to guide them with sympathy. I have no hesitation in recording my opinion that the country in its present circumstances cannot satisfy or fairly be called upon to accommodate more than a very limited number of English officials of this class.

"On the other hand, as was to be expected, the Indian field of recruitment has been steadily expanding. The response of India to the demands of modern ideals of civic life has for sometime been growing rapidly emphatic, not only among the Hindus and Parsis, but among the Muhammadans, the Sikhs and in other communities. Western education is spreading in all parts of India and amongst all classes, in castes and families whose hereditary occupations have been of a purely intellectual or literary character, amongst those whose ancestors carried on the military, civil and revenue administration of the country under the Mogul emperors, and also among growing sections of the commercial and industrial communities. The educational institutions of India, from the most primitive primary schools known as maktabs and pathsalas to the universities and colleges, are literally full to overflowing. If they were multiplied five-fold they would soon be filled. Indian students are also flocking to foreign countries; they are crowding, not only at the doors of British universities, but are spreading to America and Japan, and some also come to France, Germany and Switzerland. Leaving aside a fair proportion of inefficients, the number of those well qualified for a useful civic career has been growing larger day by day.

"But on the other hand the careers open to an educated Indian are grievously limited. To him, whether he be a Sikh, a Pathan, a descendant of the Moguls or a Rajput, the Commissioned ranks of the army and the navy still remain closed. Literature, owing to the absence of a large reading public, affords very limited attractions as a career except to the specially gifted, journalism presents more difficulties than prizes, while the larger commercial and industrial enterprises mostly belong to foreigners whose reluctance to employ educated Indians except in purely clerical work has been specially brought home to us. Law possibly has had more than its fair share of recruits, and medicine, the only other large independent profession, though crowded in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay, can still accommodate a certain number, and so also teaching so far as it is a private enterprise. Indians cannot look for a career in any capacity in the colonies, nor for all practical purposes anywhere else outside their own country. The pressure therefore on the public service of India from the Indian side is so great that the question, as is well known, has assumed considerable political proportions. No doubt the number of men that can be absorbed in such service must necessarily be small compared to the total educated force of the country; all that can reasonably be expected, and is asked for, is that the disabilities should be removed and the conditions of entry be such as to make the service freely accessible to honest effort and merit. For the rest other forces must be relied upon to open other avenues of employment.

"In this connection I may notice that it has been urged before us that the first and foremost duty of the British government in India is towards the vast masses of the people, and so long as the interests of peace and security are safeguarded and there is no demand from the general population for the larger employment of Indian officials, the Government need not pay much heed to the cry of educated Indians. The sphere of duties here suggested for the Indian government is so obviously primitive and reactionary that it hardly calls for an elaborate refutation. It was never anticipated that the duty of the Indian Government as a civilised government would be fully discharged by merely keeping peace and order which is as much necessary for its own existence as for the well-being of the people. On the other hand it has from the very commencement undertaken to uplift the general level of the people in their material, intellectual, and moral conditions, to spread modern science and culture, and to develop the instincts of enlightened citizenship affording at the same time ample and growing opportunities to qualified Indians to manage the affairs of their own country. The time seems to be ripe when a much freer and larger admission of Indians into the higher regions of administration has become necessary, if there is to be harmony between the Government and the reawakened life of India. An English official in so far as he represents a high level of western knowledge and training, has a sincere and earnest desire to help the cause of progress combined with an aptitude for adapting western methods to the changing conditions of an ancient oriental country, and above all a determination to deal justly not merely between one Indian and another, but what is much more politically important and far more difficult, between conflicting Indian and English claims which constantly crop up in various forms, has a very useful career in India, and will always be welcomed by competent Indian public opinion. A few such men will considerably strengthen the bonds between the Government and the people; on the other hand an English official of a lower type or with lower ideals would at the present day be felt as an anachronism and proved a fruitful source of political friction. I would also point out the obvious fact that an English official is at best a bird of passage in India, his ties and cherished associations lie outside the country, he stands in need of frequent and prolonged absences from his work leading to constant shiftings of official arrangements, his knowledge of the people, their wants and aspirations must always be more or less limited, and when he retires at the age varying between 40 and 55 all his training and ripe experience are entirely lost to the country. He is expensive

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to train, expensive to employ—two men, roughly speaking, being required to do one man's work*—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires. Even supposing that he initially brings to his work some superior qualifications, still the balance of advantage must in the nature of things be heavily on the side of the Indian official. Further, an efficient Indian administrator has a value to the country far greater than is to be measured by the actual output of his daily routine work. He becomes a centre of ferti growth."

* This is no exaggeration ; the figure for the Indian civil service is that for every 100 superior appointments the leave, deputation and training reserves consist of 94·5 junior officers.

CONCLUSION

WE have finished our summary of the Report of the commissioners. We have dealt only with the main features and general principles, and not with the details of the recommendations in such matters as the reorganisation of the services, increase of salaries, proportion reserved for Indians in the various departments, &c. As Mr. Chaubal observes, these recommendations, *if taken in their entirety*, will eventually mean a fair advance, but two things have to be kept in mind in this connection. In the first place, three of the members of the Aitchison Commission gave their adherence to the report on the distinct understanding that the scheme would be acted on as a whole and no alterations would be made on any essential point, but this was soon forgotten and important recommendations which favoured the Indians were ignored, while those of a retrograde character were approved and introduced. In the second place, as Mr. Chaubal very rightly points out, "It is, I believe, the expectation of the Indian public that this commission should recommend a proportion of the higher service for recruitment in India which will not only redress this set-back, but will take into account the progress that India has made since 1886 and such further progress as she may reasonably be expected to make during the next thirty years, for it will take fully that time to work up the proportion recommended, taking into consideration the fact that vested interests must be safeguarded."

The majority of commissioners, in paragraph 36 of their report, observe : "We believe that in the long run the surest security for the employment of a due number of Indians lies in publicity and in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils." To secure this publicity and watchfulness we have made a special study of the report and have presented the results in a form which we trust will succeed in evoking public interest. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald also says, in almost similar terms, that "the only real guarantee of their adequate employment is the improvement of their educational institutions, and the influence they gain in their legislative councils." It is, therefore, necessary that the elected representatives of the legislature should awake to the needs of the situation, and study the question seriously.

Such a study, we are bound to confess, will create a feeling of bitter disappointment, but we must gather courage from our failures. This feeling, as we have been told by persons who knew Mr. Gokhale intimately, contributed not a little to his premature and sudden death, and Mr. Chaubal has spoken in one place of his minute of dissent of the 'painful impression' which the evidence received by the commission for two years left on his mind, and elsewhere he alludes to 'the strength and influence of the forces that work in India for encouraging recruitment from abroad.' The Indian civil service, a strong and organised body, brought all its forces to bear on the occasion, and in respect of the legitimate aspirations of the Indians, adopted the motto of 'no surrender.' Indian opinion was not similarly organised, and the selection of witnesses for examination by the commission being in the hands of the Government whose policy was under criticism, unanimity of views

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on the part of Indians, was not to be expected. The result was, that the official attitude triumphed, perhaps beyond its most sanguine expectations, for the constitution of the commission was not predominantly bureaucratic, and even Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was swept away by the reactionary tide, and told us plainly that unless we gained in power and influence nobody could help us.

Not that there was any lack of fine phrases and generous sentiments; we know from experience that the promise is usually the more loud as the performance is poor. Mr. Justice Rahim refers in one place to "the wide divergence that still exists between declarations of policy as made by British statesmen and their enforcement in actual practice by those immediately concerned with the Indian administration." In paragraph 35 of their report, for instance, the commissioners speak of the tendency of a minimum of high posts reserved for Indians to become a maximum, and on this ground they "wish to establish nothing which will prevent qualified Indians, wherever available, from being appointed *in any number** on their merits." The commissioners even claim to have been inspired by the sentiments of Mr. Gokhale. They say,

"We owe much to the ripe experience gained by him in the lifelong service of his country and are confident that in many of our recommendations the spirit of his counsels will be found reflected."

But no Indian need be told whether this declaration is more in accord with the facts, as they reveal themselves in the shape of recommendations, than that of Mr. Justice Rahim, who prefaces his dissenting minute with the observation :

"I must acknowlegde that I have derived much confidence from the fact that the main proposals which I have ventured to put forward had his [Mr. Gokhale's] entire approval, and were virtually formulated in consultation with him."

The object of the commission of 1886—87 was declared to be to "do full justice to the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service;" it was, to quote their own words once more, "That all Her Majesty's subjects should receive equal treatment" and "all invidious distinctions of class or race should be removed.

When the Under-secretary of state announced the appointment of the present commission in 1912 from his place in the House of Commons, he said :

"The problem before us when we have educated Indians is to give them the fullest opportunity in the government of their own country to exercise the advantages which they have acquired by training and by education."

But what is the result? All the opportunity of government that has been given is represented by the proposal to appoint seven Indians annually in the Indian civil service and possibly two more. There are of course other recommendations, but this is the foremost of them. The following extract from Mr. Chaubal will give a correct idea on the subject :

"The estimate of the net increase in cost involved in the recommendations of the commission is given as Rs. 42,25,760. This, as stated, is an estimate of the ultimate increase which will occur when all our proposals have taken effect. How long it may take to give all of them practical effect is not stated, nor is there any attempt at calculating this time. But *during this indefinite transitional stage increased salaries and better prospects have in the immediate future been recommended for all European officers in those departments which are to be eventually services wholly recruited in India, such as agriculture, civil veterinary, forest, &c., and these increased salaries are proposed, as the present ones are considered to be insufficient to secure and retain the services of men of the required calibre.* * Substantial increases over the present rates are proposed, because it is considered desirable that officers who may be appointed to any of these departments from Europe should be of the highest quality, and their conditions of employment should be such as to make it reasonably certain that they will remain in India *for a full term* of service. This implies that for many years to come there will not only be no decrease in, but an appreciable increase over, the present cost, roughly for about 30 years more in some departments at least, and at least for the next 10 to 15 years in some others. Though it may be difficult to calculate this immediate increased cost precisely, it will, on a rough calculation, come to about Rs. 20,00,000. Then the increased cost for the super-posts in the educational department is not included in the estimate. Assuming an average of Rs, 2,000 a month for these posts, it will cost about Rs 5,00,000 more.

"The cost involved in the proposal to abolish the 4 per cent. contribution towards the pension of Indian civil servants is about Rs. 9,00,000. The increased maximum pension proposed means an additional cost of Rs. 9,00,000. The additional pensions proposed to certain high officers mean an added cost of Rs. 3,00,000. Thus the immediate additional cost involved in the various proposals comes to :—

Rs. 20,00,000	for the officers who will be recruited in Europe in certain services
Rs. 9,00,000	for the abolition of the 4 per cent contribution
Rs. 9,00,000	increased maximum pension
Rs. 3,00,000	additional pension to certain officers; and
Rs. 5,00,000	super-posts in the educational department.
Rs. 46,00,000	or £306,667.

* The italics are ours.

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For practical purposes, therefore, if all our recommendations are given effect to, the Secretary of State must be prepared to sanction an additional cost of Rs. 88,25,760 or £ 588, 384.

The commission was not composed entirely of 'sun-dried bureaucrats' ; but some of its members were trained in the bracing atmosphere of the House of Commons, and there were others who may be supposed to have brought a fresh outlook to bear on Indian affairs ; yet the result of their deliberations was not very different from what the findings of a body of narrow-minded civilians might well be conceived to be. The reason is that so long as the bureaucrat rules supreme in the executive councils, it is idle to expect any views inconsistent with the interests of the bureaucracy, who are in possession of the field, to prevail. Mr. Chaubal contrasts the liberality displayed by government in regard to the educated Indian's claim for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, with the jealousy betrayed in guarding the entrance to higher offices against them. In the one case the material prospects of the bureaucracy are not affected, in the other they have to be substantially curtailed. This is the explanation of the contrast to which Mr. Chaubal draws attention.

The two Indian members on whom, upon the lamentable death of Mr. Gokhale, devolved the duty of championing Indian rights, have nobly played their part. The mastery of fundamental principles, the courage born of a righteous indignation, and the facility of vigorous expression which Mr. Justice Rahim especially has displayed will long be admired by his countrymen, and not the less so because he happens to belong to a community which in the past did not look with favour upon the political views of the advanced school of Indian thought. Neither of the two Indian representatives are disappointed place-hunters or failed B. A.'s—a class which, according to the favourite official theory, is alone responsible for the agitation against bureaucratic rule. On the contrary, both are Government officials, and hold the highest posts open to the natives of India, one in the judicial and the other in the executive line. Their opinions, therefore, possess all the authority which high English officials claim for their own, and more, for, being Indians, they are in a far better position to interpret the thoughts and aspirations of their countrymen. The loss of Mr. Gokhale is indeed irreparable. But in his absence we could not hope to have two stauncher and more faithful spokesmen of India than Messrs. Chaubal and Rahim. The high standard of patriotism, courage and ability set up by them will, we feel, make it impossible for similar highplaced Indians in future to play false to their country under the thin veiled guise of moderation. They have shown that there can be no compromise with truth when momentous issues are involved.

A few out of the many passages quoted in the previous pages will bear repetition and illustrate our meaning. We shall begin with Mr. Justice Rahim :

"If it is meant that the connection of the British people with the Government of India necessarily implies the perpetuation of British officers in certain civil services of the country, like the Indian civil service and the police, the theory mixes up the Government of a country with its administrative personnel. Further, I can well understand the British people deciding in the best interests of both the countries to retain the government of India and gradually relinquishing all share in the civil administration. In fact this is understood by the Indian public to be the legitimate goal of the policy underlying the proclamations and the statutes which declare that the Indians shall suffer no disabilities and limitations in the public service of their country.

".....if Rabindranath Tagore the poet had chosen an educational career in the Government service he would probably have found himself in the provincial service."

".....what is mildly called a 'British minimum' but which, in the contemplation of the majority of the Commissioners, really means 80 per cent. or more of these posts....."

"The main significance of the changed conditions in India is to be found in the growth of a national sense within the last few years. Like all great ideas it is showing a remarkable rapidity of development whose full meaning is not easily grasped by outsiders."

"The Hindus above all have been the organisers of the Indian National Congress, whose proud boast to-day is that its title 'national' has been amply justified. It is pointed out that almost all the important items in its political programme have received warm support of the leaders of all Indian communities whether they speak from the Congress platform or from that of the Moslem League or from the Sikh Khalsa."

".....human nature being as it is, the officers recruited in India will always feel the inequality of treatment when they are given less pay than those recruited in England... The evidence amply shows that the feeling engendered by the differentiation in the higher ranks of the service is so tense that it should no longer be permitted to embarass the administration."

"*Recent revision of pay* :—This has taken place in most of the services recruited in England. ... But the absence of such revision does not necessarily apply except perhaps in the case of the humbler services

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represented at the headquarters, that a particular service has been overlooked. This must specially be borne in mind in the case of the Indian civil service which is constantly and most strongly represented on the Government of India."

"It should be the aim by attaching somewhat greater importance to oriental subjects in the syllabus for the open competition to draw those young English-men for whom the "magic of the east" is not entirely computable in salaries and pensions..."

"All that I wish to express clearly is that in common fairness, so long as any source of recruitment of Indian officials exists in England, the English door must be open to Indians as well not merely in theory to satisfy the letter of the statute, but effectively."

"The distinctive feature which has established it [competitive examination] most in popular favour is the decisive safeguard which it provides against the danger of partiality in the exercise of state patronage."

"Generally speaking, the principle which has commended itself to me, and which is in accord with the practically unanimous opinion of representative Indians of all communities and provinces, is that it is inadvisible as it is unsonnd and unnecessary to emphasise the question of communal or provincial representation in the superior services. The personnel required for these services should be possessed of the highest qualification available and any narrow contraction of the area of recruitment should be avoided."

"The right policy to pursue is to look to India for recruitment to public services generally.... But for services requiring a scientific or technical qualification for which educational opportunities have not yet been fully developed in India, while every step should be taken by the state without delay to develop the educational institutions, it is also necessary, till the institutions are in proper working order, that the state should subsidise selected Indian students desiring to proceed to England with a view to qualifying themselves for such appointments."*

Speaking of lieutenant-governorships and memberships of the council,

"In their incumbents, who exercise the privileges and functions of legislators, rulers, and ministers, the gifts and the sympathies of a statesman are needed rather than the training of a departmental official. The enlightened public opinion of India would like these positions to be generally filled by men who are in no way fettered by traditions of a service."

"I have.....recommended that for all appointments of a professorial status the practice should be to secure men of achievement wherever found for the more important subjects of study and research, and that the state should offer them such reasonable terms as will be suitable in each case. I have shown in the appropriate annexures that the report of the majority has failed to give full recognition to this obviously sound principle from fear of causing injury to the Indian educational service and the Indian medical service."

"The educated classes generally should be able to realise that they have an effective part in guiding and controlling the administration for the benefit of the country. Unless the number reaches this point, the throwing open of a few more posts will solve no problem."

"The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The qustion they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indian..... But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which services and to what extent should appointments be made in England."

"In the region of appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards, the percentage [of Indians] has risen from 34 to 42 since 1887, and in appointments of Rs. 500 and upwards, from 12 to 19 per cent, and in those carrying pay of Rs. 800 and upwards, from 4 to 10 per cent. This during the space of a quarter of a century!"

"I would also point out the obvious fact that an English official is at best a bird of passage in India, his ties and cherished associations lie outside the country, he stands in need of frequent and prolonged absences from his work leading to constant shiftings of official arrangements, his knowledge of the people, their wants and aspirations must always be more or less limited and when he retires at the age varying between 40 and 55 all his training and ripe experience are lost to the country. He is expensive to train, expensive to employ—two men, roughly speaking, being required to do one man's work—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires."

"An efficient Indian administrator has a value to the country far greater than is to be measured by the actual output of his daily routine work. He becomes a centre of further growth."

"The educational institutions of India, from the most primitive primary schools known as muktabs and pathsalas to the universities and colleges, are literally full to overflowing. If they were multiplied five-fold they would soon be filled."

"In the profession of law which it must be observed was wholly unknown to the Hindu and Muhammadan systems and is, of all institutions, peculiarly occidental, Indians have acquired such remarkable proficiency, that it is now conceded to them as being particularly suited to their aptitudes."

"...the idea of the European officials having to deal with the people of India without the medium of the western-educated Indian is too wild for serious contemplation. It would be no exaggeration to say that without their co-operation the administration could not be carried on for a single day."

"...the Indian Muhammadans have not remained unaffected by the recent national movement. Their sense of the duty to live in amity and friendship with one's neighbours so strictly enforced by their religion has now insensibly glided into the channels of nationalism. The younger followers of Sir Syed Ahmad cite with cordial approval the simile in which he likened the Hindus and the Muhammadans to the two apples of India's eyes. They repudiate with equal warmth the dissent which he had at one time expressed from some of the more advanced political measures advocated by the Indian National Congress as being inconsistent with his own ideal."

* The majority report says as follows on the grant of technical scholarships: Such a system has certain advantages in the earlier stages of a country's development, and there is still scope for it today in India. But it should be recognised that it is more profitable to spend money on indigenous institutions with a view to equipping them on a scale which will make India self-supporting in this respect."

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"If Mr. Gokhale's bill for popular education, supported as it was by the entire educated opinion of the country, has not been placed on the Indian statute book, the blame cannot be laid at their door."

"So far as this is a matter for personal observation, one should have thought that the standard of living which obtains among the great mass of Indian population could hardly have been any lower."

Take, again, the following from Mr. Chaubal:

Speaking of the post office, telegraph and some other departments,

"Thus the Indian percentage in the three classes is only 23, 8·2, and 6·4. And yet they are all services recruited in India. This illustrates how large still is the field for the wider employment of Asiatic Indians in services in which recruitment is ordinarily stated to be within the country. In view of the present figures, it would be more appropriate to call them Europe recruited services than Indian recruited."

"The proportions must be such as will cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the Government of the country."

"The evidence received by us in India during the last two years has left on my mind a painful impression that a much more sympathetic treatment by, and a far more liberal association with, Englishmen is required before that sense of subjection is appreciably reduced, and before the desired sentiment of a common citizenship is created, for at present it is indeed non-existent except perhaps in platform speeches."

"...one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to represent the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word "represent". If it implies a knowledge of the conditions of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realise their duties towards all about them, there ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far greater degree than any European or Anglo Indian can claim to have."

"Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there is still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English Official does not like the independence, the self-assertion, and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. As Dr. Wordsworth stated in his evidence before the last Commission, 'deferential ignorance, conciliatory manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now and will always be, at a premium.' It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded."

"It is indeed hardly consistent that while on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for educated Indians for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, and in the imperial and provincial legislative councils, they should, on the other, so jealously guard the entrance of educated Indians into agency into the higher and better remunerated posts in the state."

"It must not be lost sight of that, owing to the necessity of safeguarding vested interests, any recommendations that the Commission make will require about a generation to take full effect; and therefore our recommendations must not be simply based on the present progress and advance of India, but must take into account such further progress as may reasonably be expected to take place within a period of about the next thirty years."

"The very meagre percentage of Asiatic Indians in the higher service must not be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians together, under the plausible excuse of the definition of the 'statutory natives of India' in the Act."

".....the large body of [Indian] evidence which considers that the British official in India must have arrived at some maturity of judgment before being invested with the large civil and magisterial powers which even as a young officer he is called upon to exercise soon after his arrival in India..... The wishes of the people of India in this respect are entitled to far more weight than all the considerations mentioned in the report taken together."

The point of view of the domiciled community is fitly represented by Mr. Madge who quotes the following from Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen:

"It seems to me the first principle which must be borne in mind is that the maintenance of the position of the district officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India, and that any diminution of their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly bought even by an improvement in the administration of justice."

Mr. Madge has the hardihood to speak of the 'ostracism of the domiciled community' from appointments to which they ought to be eligible, and in order to justify the low standard of education which prevails in it, falls foul of the Indian universities as cramming institutions which furnish no test of character, says that 'there is no teaching to compare with that gained in the practical experience of fulfilling duty,' and appeals, perhaps not very successfully, to the "universal law that a child takes its nationality from its father."

While the bureaucrats of the Indian civil service would save Burma and the political departments from the invasion of successful candidates at the open competitive examination (vide the dessentient notes of Sir M. Hammick and Mr. Sly), Mr. Kale insists on at least one-third of the appointments of the entire civil service cadre being thrown open to Indians. By way of compromise, Mr. Chaubal suggests a quarter, and is supported in this by Mr. T. Morison and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Mr. Gokhale, had he been alive, would be more likely to side with Mr. Rahim than

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with Mr. Chaubal. The Commission recommends that Indians should be declared eligible to 25 per cent. of the superior posts only. It may safely be taken for granted that out of eleven members of the commission, at least five, e. g., Sir T. Morison and Messrs. Chaubal, Rahim, K. Macdonald, and Gokhale, are in favour of throwing open 25 per cent. of the entire civil service cadre, and not of the superior posts only, to the, Indians. And nothing less than this is likely to meet the barest requirements of the situation, for as Mr. Chaubal observes,

"Whatever may come after a successful termination of the war, the country is now in a ferment and is anxiously waiting the final pronouncements of this Commission for some substantial indication of the "altered angle of vision" towards Indian problems."

Even the most superficial reader cannot fail to rise from a perusal of the report and its annexures and minutes of dissent without feeling convinced that the moral victory lies with the Indian members of the commission, though they have failed so eggregiously in liberalising the recommendations of the majority. We may be sure, however, that time will come, sooner or later, sooner perhaps than later, when this moral victory will be converted into a triumph in the region of practical politics. Education will spread, for the schoolmaster is abroad, and the legislative councils will gain in power and influence. In the opinion of the majority of commissioners, the function of these councils at present is to bring the Government 'under effective *criticism*' (paragraph 20 of the report). This is a function which the legislative councils of no other country in the world are confined to, for everywhere else their proper business is to bring the Government under effective *control.* And if the legislative assemblies of India are to maintain their usefulness, nay, even their existence, they must be gradually assimilated to the standard of the rest of the world. At present Indian interests on the Government are represented by a foreign bureaucracy which, however well-meaning in the abstract, looks first and foremost to serving its own interests ; and not till Indian interests are represented in the councils of the executive government by Indians who are there in sufficient strength to make their influence felt, will the justice of the arguments in favour of the larger employment of their countrymen in high offices receive its due recognition. Till such a time comes, the plain logic of facts will continue to be overriden by such vague and often unmeaning phrases as 'grounds of policy,' and 'British character of the administration.' But British administration is democratic and not autocratic in character, and democracy means fully representative government.

The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya's motion that no steps should be taken in regard to the recommendations of the commission before a full discussion in the council, is most opportune and proper. The minutes of dissent of the Indian members have fully brought out the fact that not only are the Europe-recruited services practically closed to us, but even the superior India-recruited services are in no better case than the former, so far as Indians properly so called are concerned, for they are monopolised by the domiciled community. The commission has done something to mitigate the evil in regard to the latter class of services in particular by recommending that, instead of appointments being made in the hole and corner fashion which was in favour so long, the vacancies shall be properly advertised and full publicity shall be given to them, and also that Indians shall be represented on the selection committees. But the proportions reserved for statutory natives of India—apart from the fact that the fixing of a proportion is in itself unjust and degrading to our self-respect, though it may be expedient in view of the forces that are at work to exclude us from the higher posts—are in most cases inadequate, specially in view of the fact that the definition includes domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians who have hitherto benefited most largely under such a reservation. Mr. Chaubal has made it clear that by laying down a proportion the interests of the Europeans have definitely been safe-guarded, whereas competition has been introduced between Anglo-Indians and Asiatic Indians 'in which, for reasons not necessary to mention, the former are bound to score.' In some places in the report only 'a pious hope is expressed,' (to quote Mr. Chaubal), that as occasion offers, and gradually, more appointments will be thrown open to Indians, e.g., in the superior ranks of the police. The time is long past when we would be satisfied with any such vague assurances and we have been fed on hopes

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so long that the elected members of the council would do well to insist on more substantial fare this time. It is essential, as Mr. Chaubal has shown, that 'for the convenient purpose of getting into Government employ' Anglo-Indians should not be allowed to call themselves statutory natives of India, and should be definitely classed with Europeans, as they themselves want to, for all purposes. And they should also be required to compete on equal terms with other natives of India by graduating at the existing universities instead of merely going through a European school course. Most important of all, Indian opinion should press upon the Government the necessity of giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission in order of their urgency. The observations of Mr. Chaubal on this point are so important that they deserve to be quoted here :

"If this indication of priority in incurring added cost is necessary (as I think it is), the first item of importance in my opinion is the recommendation to improve the permanent source of recruitment to the services in India by way of providing facilities in India for complete instruction in technical and scientific subjects, by equipping fully the existing institutions and starting such as do not exist and making them capable of imparting the same high standard of instruction as similar institutions in the United Kingdom do. It is this recommendation which requires to be acted upon not only to make the proposed entire recruitment in India for some of the services feasible, but in view of the contribution it must make to the industrial development of the country, and the impetus it will give to scientific and technical research by Indians in their country.

"Next in importance comes, in my opinion, the improvement in the prospects of the provincial services, such as the provincial civil services, the educational service, the provincial medical service, and the introduction of the incremental scale proposed in all of them..... The incremental scale proposed for these provincial services is admittedly a modest one, and although the figure of the net additional cost would appear a large one, it will be found that it is necessarily so owing to the large number of officers affected."

POL.

THE TRUE DEFENCE OF OUR HEARTHS AND HOMES

THE Government of India have issued a resolution (19 May, 1917) deploring "the disappointing response which has been made to the opportunity afforded to the people by the Indian Defence Force." They tax the people with want of patriotism and of loyalty to the Empire inasmuch as the leaders of Indian opinion have adversely criticised the conditions of service [for pure-born Indians].

The Government of India tell us, what nobody had ignored, that "men of position and means in the United Kingdom ... did not think it derogatory to join the ranks both of the Territorials and of the New Army and to serve as private soldiers. They asked no questions as to pay or other conditions. They put forward no pretensions or demands. Their one ambition was to serve their country in her hour of need." The Viceroy explains his maintenance of the colour bar in the commissioned ranks of the Indian Defence Force, by saying that "the matter is engaging the earnest and sympathetic consideration of Government." But "it should be obvious that during the progress of the greatest war in history it was not possible to reorganise or modify radically the general conditions governing the military service of the country." His Excellency hopes that "the leaders of Indian opinion are doubtless aware" of these facts. Yes, they are aware of these facts and of a few others which the lawyer who presides over the Government of Simla appears to have forgotten in the above Resolution, "The progress of the greatest war in history" has *not* made it impossible to give Eurasians the same pay and eligibility for commissions as Home-born Englishmen enjoy in the Indian Defence Force. "The progress of the greatest war in history" has not made it impossible to sanction the enlistment of a regular Eurasian regiment on exactly the same footing as English Tommies. "The progress of the greatest war in history" has *not* made it impossible to increase the salary of the I. C. S. men and some European officers of the Educational

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Department, in anticipation of the finding of the Public Services Commission. Above all, "the progress of the greatest war in history" has *not* made it impossible to give the few Parsis and native Christians who were already Volunteers the status and pay of pure Europeans. Lord Chelmsford evidently does not regard *these* as "important and difficult questions, the hurried consideration [and decision] of which during the emergencies of a great war" could not be justified.

But these Himalayan homilies about the glory of "having one ambition to serve the country in her hour of need," the responsibility of the people to the Empire, and the beatitude of voluntarily serving in perpetual subordination to officers of another race, were reserved for consumption by the Hindus and Mahomedans only; they were not communiqued from Simla when Eurasians "put forward pretensions and demands" of equality with pure Europeans,—and got it.

The question raised by the leaders of Indian opinion which has filled His Excellency with such righteous indignation, is *not a question of sentiment*, as some Anglo-Indian papers regard it. On the one hand there is the stern economic need of a living wage and on the other side the consideration of *a truly efficient and permanent defence* of our homes.

The Eurasian office clerk joins the white branch of the I. D. F. and gets the nice quarters, better rations and higher pay of an English soldier and can become an officer. The educated Indian, leaving a higher position of comfort, pay and power than the Eurasian's, joins the Indian branch of the same Force, and must be content to be a private all his life and draw Rs. 11 a month (as against Rs. 42 of the other). No doubt, the most brilliant and experienced Indian professors in the Colleges under Lord Chelmsford's Government, have to put their self-respect in their pockets and act as subordinates to any and every European that is appointed. But then you make it worth their while to put up with it; you give these Indian professors something more than what they could have got in privately managed Colleges. But to ask educated Indians to serve perpetually as privates and take their orders from Anglo-Indian and even Eurasian officers, in return for Rs. 11 a month, is to expect them to do something which neither satisfies their stomach nor warms their heart. Neither the sordid money-making instinct nor the nobler ambition of rising to the full stature of our manhood even at a pecuniary sacrifice, can be enlisted by such an arrangement as that framed by Simla for the *Indian* members of the Indian Defence Force.

Nor can it supply the best defence of India for the money spent on it. After all, the last defenders of a country are those whose home it is, and not an army of occupation, however efficient. If the worst comes to the worst, and India is invaded by——the Martians—(the censor has warned us not to speak a word about any possible terrestrial nation)—in what respect shall we be better able to repel the attack than His Excellency's ancestors fifteen hundred years ago were? The Britons had been perpetual privates under Roman rule; they were fine soldiers, but had been jealously excluded from being the brains of the army. And "in the hour of need of *their* country," these privates could make no stand against the Picts from the North and the Teutonic invaders from beyond the sea. The military expenditure and organisation of India, therefore, can be of real benefit to India in *her* hour of need, only if she has officers from her own people. It is *not* a matter of sentiment, but a stern lesson of history.

We accept His Excellency's statement that "Indian aspiration with reference to commissioned ranks are engaging the sympathetic attention of the Government of India," but that the question is one "in respect of which that Government is not the ultimate arbiters." "It must be obvious to every thinking man" that the best way of materialising the sympathies of the Simla Government and forcing the hands of the "inexorable Jorkins" at the India Office—or, is it the Horse Guards?—would be to convince that obstructionist that calls for patriotic sacrifice and effort do not go hand in hand with a policy of distrust and political exclusion on the ground of race.

The greatest English historian of Napoleon has said that if Pitt could have broken the aristocratic monopoly of the government of England and given the people a share in the conduct of their own affairs (including commissions from the ranks as in the army of Republican France), then he could have called forth

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the whole man-power of England, and Waterloo would have been won in 1806 instead of 1815 and won entirely by the English troops. We have the greatest respect for Lord Chelmsford's forensic acumen, but it is no disparagement to His Excellency to say that what William Pitt failed to do in England with the assistance of men like Canning and Wilberforce, Wellesley and Dundas, Lord Chelmsford cannot possibly accomplish in India, though he is girt round by such "auld lichts" of the Civil Service as Sir R. Craddock and Sir E. Maclagan.

His Excellency predicts that the inevitable and not unexpected failure of his recent appeal for voluntary service by Indian gentlemen as perpetual privates "can hardly fail to create an impression throughout the Empire prejudicial to the good name of India." We do not share His Excellency's pessimism. We believe that the natural impression of "every thinking man" in the Empire will be that the Indians are after all human beings that the laws of political science apply to them also, that the methods which have succeeded in calling forth voluntary sacrifice from the manhood of other countries can alone succeed in India, and that there cannot be a great *empire* without a great *people*.

X. Y. Z.

NOTES

"Utopia"s.

An English reviewer, in reviewing Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea's book on "Public Administration in Ancient India," spoke of Chanakya's *Arthasastra* as a sort of "Utopia." His reason for holding such an opinion probably was that Chanakya's work gives evidence of a highly organised system of administration, regulating the minutest details of the affairs of the state and of what we now call municipal administration; and it goes against the grain of Britons to believe that the people of India could ever have been highly skilled in administration. Taking it for granted that Chanakya wrote his book as a work of imagination, it must be admitted that he was a very extraordinary man; for he was a great minister of state, and it is not usual to find a combination of such statesmanship and such imagination in the same individual. That, however, is not our point. What we are curious to know is, what stood in the way of such an extraordinary man's reducing to practice a system of administration which he could map out in imagination in such detail? We know the actual always falls short of the ideal. But in the case of men who possess executive and administrative capacity, such as Chanakya possessed, the actual usually does make an approach to the ideal. We are writing on the supposition that Chanakya was really the author of the work which goes by his name. Such an assumption is not, however, absolutely essential for our argument. If a nation can produce a statesman of the calibre and ability of the historical Chanakya, and also an author or authors gifted with the political and economic imagination which could produce the *Arthasastra*, it is not an impossibility for that nation to follow in practice the highly developed and organised system of administration described in that book. Works of fiction are generally written to give pleasure; some are written with a purpose. The *Arthasastra* is not a story. It cannot possibly give any pleasure to readers of stories. Even if it were a Utopia, it was written with a purpose, and that purpose was that the country where it was written should be governed according to the system laid down in it. There is nothing to show that the country which had the ability to evolve the system did not possess the capacity to reduce it to practice. The conclusion which this line of argument points to is supported by the testimony of Megasthenes. This Greek traveller and ambassador corroborates in many details the account given in the *Arthasastra*. We need not, therefore, hesitate to accept it as a work of historical value.

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"Pious Wishes".

In his article on "Oriental Monarchies" published in our last March number, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar says :—

"When our Kingdoms grew into large states, *i.e.*, throughout our recorded history, the royal power was unlimited by any constitutional machinery of popular or ministerial control—because there was no constitution but plenty of pious wishes and counsels embodied in *Niti Shastras*."

In ancient times, like many other countries, India did not probably possess a constitution in the modern Western sense. But is it a correct view of our ancient history to say that the royal power was unlimited or that the counsels and rules to be found in our ancient works of polity and law codes were mere pious wishes? As the editor of this Review is neither a historian nor a serious student of history, he is unable to answer the question. When we printed Prof. Sarkar's article we had hoped that some other historians or students of history would discuss his views. But as no one has done so, we may be excused for making some comments which occur to an ordinary lay mind.

The *Nitis* or works on polity and the Laws of Manu and other similar works which lay down the duties of kings and ministers and rules of statecraft, if they were not embodiments of mere pious wishes, would seem to show that, whatever individual kings might have been, monarchs did not usually possess or wield unlimited power. As Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea says :—

"The system of government may be described as a limited monarchy. There were various checks on the authority of the monarch. The king had to abide by the law as laid down in the Sastras or embodied in the customs of the country. In the practical work of administration he was guided by his ministers, who occupied an important position in society and wielded the real power of the State. Then, there was the influence of the learned Brahmans as a class, who were looked upon by the people as the natural guardians of society. With these checks operating on the governmental system it was very difficult for a king to have his own way in the administration of the country. Occasionally, under a strong and capable ruler like Asoka or Harsha Vardhana, the government might resemble a paternal despotism, but it was very rarely that the power of the King was quite absolute. The Sastras he regarded as embodying a sort of political constitution as well as ethical law, and the ancient system of government may thus be called a constitutional monarchy. It must, however, be remembered that the devices by which the monarch's authority was kept within proper limits were more moral than political. The most suitable term which can be used to describe the system appears in our opinion to be 'Sachiva-tantra.'*

"It should, however, be noted," says Dr. Banerjea, "that in the latter part of the Hindu Period of Indian history, the power of the monarch was much greater than in the earlier, and that such increase of power did to some extent receive the sanction of the writers on Law and Politics; but at no time was the royal power, in theory at least, quite absolute. In practice, it is true, some kings acted in an autocratic manner, but this must be regarded as a usurpation and abuse rather than a normal exercise of authority." Dr. Banerjea also gives evidence to show that "the Ministers recognised some responsibility to the people. And they were held responsible not only for their own actions but also for those of the King." The Vedic kingship was probably elective, and responsible to the popular assembly. There is evidence to show that even in later times some kings were elected by the ministers and the people.

But all these and many similar statements rest mainly on the authority of the works on polity, ethics, or canon law. It has to be shown that what they say regarding the rights, duties, functions, etc., of the King, the ministers, and the people, were not "pious wishes," before any historical conclusions can be based on them. It is not in our power to prove conclusively that they were not pious wishes. But we may urge some considerations which may be of some slight help in arriving at a conclusion.

After recording in his *Buddhist India* (page 2) the fact that "the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence," Professor Rhys Davids writes :—

"It is significant that this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and seventh centuries B. C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe or in India. They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples too exclusively on the brahmin books. And these,

* "The term 'Sachivayatta-tantra,' that is to say a form of Government in which real power exists in the hands of the Ministers, is found in *Mudra-Rakshasa*. Under favourable conditions, such a Government answered to Aristotle's description of an aristocracy, that is to say, government by the wisest.

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partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature, and especially of the law books, ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only recognised, and in fact universally prevalent, form of government was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests." P. 2.

Dr. Rhys Davids also mentions some facts which he thinks "go far to confirm Professor Bhandarkar's recent views as to the wholesale recasting of brahmin literature in the Gupta period.

It is probable, then, that in the composition and recasting of "brahmin literature" the authors and editors had to please the priestly class, and also the kings, whose patronage they stood in need of. These literary men would not, as human nature goes, put down or preserve anything very obnoxious to monarchs. If, therefore, in "brahmin literature," we find things which are in the nature of checks on kingly power, we may be justified in presuming that the rulers were so accustomed to these restraints and they were such familiar contemporary facts that they were not omitted from the books forming part of "brahmin literature." We make these general observations without any reference to the dates of the different works collectively called "brahmin literature." Some of them may have been composed after the Gupta period, but some were also composed before or during the Gupta period, or edited during this period. And if the general testimony of "brahmin literature" be in favour of the conclusion that the Hindu monarchy was not absolute, the presumption may be ventured that the political injunctions contained in Sanskrit works were not in all cases pious wishes.

There are idealists who show little practical capacity, and there are practical men who show very little power of formulating ideals; there are also some practical idealists. Whatever the case may be with individuals, of peoples as collective entities it may perhaps be said that there has never been a people who have only formed ideals but never reduced them to practice, or who have been very practical but without any idealism. In every country there has been some approximation to the ideals held up by its thinkers. There is no reason to think that India is the only country where the men with brains simply dreamed dreams and wrote utopias without there being anybody with either the desire or the power to give them concrete shape to some extent.

In all countries, the history of literature shows that each age or epoch is marked by some prevailing tendency favouring the creation of some particular form of literature, as the drama, the novel, the lyric, &c. The Sanskrit books on polity, canon law, etc., which are the sources of our information regarding the political institutions and ideals of ancient India, were not all contemporary works; they did not belong to the same age. We cannot, therefore, say that in one particular age it was the fashion for Sanskrit authors to indulge in pious wishes, as in the Elizabethan age it was the prevailing tendency for English authors to write plays. If, then, in different ages we find Hindu writers laying down rules regarding the duties of kings, ministers, &c., we must hold one of two theories: (1) that the Hindu mind has been particularly fond of and prone to indulging in pious wishes age after age, in spite of their futility; or (2) that these rules were not all pious wishes, but had some correspondence with objective reality.

In the past history of many countries we find that the supreme check on the tyranny of oppressive kings was their expulsion or deposition, or regicide. And generally in the countries where these means were adopted, lesser checks were also sought to be imposed on the monarchs. The history of England exemplifies our remark. In the ancient history of India, there are examples of bad kings being expelled, deposed or slain by their people. Is it quite unlikely that the people who were capable of putting an end to tyranny in this drastic manner, were also probably accustomed to the imposition of lesser restraints on kingly power?

Historical evidence corroborating "brahmin literature" is not entirely wanting. For instance, the power of the ministers and the people to elect a king in certain cases, mentioned in some Sanskrit works, finds historical corroboration. "From the poet historian Bana as well as from Hiuen Tsiang we know how a successor was appointed to Rajya Vardhana, King of Kanauj." "After the treacherous assassination of Rajya Vardhana by the King of Pundra, the Prime Minister Bhandi, with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers and the approval of the people, placed Harshavardhana on the throne."

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The island of Ceylon is, as regards the type and origin of its civilisation, a part of India. Any strictly historical proofs relating to the political institutions of Ceylon may, therefore, be presumed to confirm conclusions, regarding the existence of such institutions in ancient India, based on data furnished by Sanskrit works. The council of ministers with considerable powers, is thought to have been such an Indian institution. Now Dr. Banerjea writes in his work :—

"From the Ceylon inscriptions we learn that in that island all measures were enacted by the King-in-Council, and all orders were issued by, and under the authority of the Council. In the Vevala-Katiya Inscription of Mahinda IV *, for instance, we find the following : "... all these lords who sit in the Royal Council, and who have come (together) in accordance with the mandate delivered (by the King-in-Council), have promulgated these regulations." When any grant was made by the State to any individual or body, a Council Warrant of Immunity was issued. In the Madirigiriya Pillar inscription of Kassapa V. (980-990 A.D.)† we find the following passage : "Whereas it was so decreed by the Supreme Council, we, all of us, Officers-of-State, namely,.....(five names)... have come... by Order and granted this Council warrant of Immunity to the area." Sometimes Pillars of Council Warranty‡ were set up to inform people of the privileges granted to religious or other institutions. The appreciation of the importance of the Council by monarchs is shown by the Slab Inscription of Queen Lilabati where she says : 'By creating a council of wise, brave, and faithful ministers, she has freed her own kingdom from the dangers (arising) from other kingdoms.||' "

In some Sanskrit works details, such as the constitution and work of village assemblies is given. Corroborative historical evidence is found in such inscriptions as those quoted by Sir C. Sankaran Nair in his article on village government in southern India, contributed to the (March 1914) number of this Review. "Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka I. are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organised local committees or panchayats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction." (V. A. Smith.)

In a previous note we have referred to the fact that some details in Chanakya's *Arthasastra* are confirmed by Megasthenes.

When some of the political deductions made from Sanskrit works are thus corroborated by the strictly historical evidence of inscriptions and of the writings of foreign travellers, it may not be improbable that the other deductions too are not entirely unwarranted.

It is not contended that the checks on kingly power which existed in ancient India in theory always actually succeeded in preventing the arbitrary exercise of power by kings. In fact, this does not seem to have been the case in any country. Take the case of England. Restraints on the power of the king existed in theory before the Great Charter was wrested from King John, before the civil war in Charles I.'s reign, before the revolution which placed William III. on the throne, and at the time when some of the Georges acted like despotic kings. But the very fact that there have been revolutions in England shows that many British kings did not care much for the constitution. Still, we shall not be justified in describing any provisions of the British constitution as a pious wish. In contemporary India we find there are laws which are in practice treated as non-existent by some persons and classes. But that does not make them pious wishes. Of course, there is much difference between our ancient canon laws and *nitis* and modern western statute laws. What we take the liberty to suggest is that even if an injunction or rule was not followed or observed uniformly in every case, it might have been somewhat better than a pious wish ; it might have been more binding.

These observations of ours are in no sense meant to be a substitute for a historical discussion. They are rather intended to evoke such discussion. We have a genuine and earnest desire to know our past history. Our past does not, of course, limit our present or future. But it is good to know our strength in the past, in order that we may be stronger in the present and the future ; it is better still to know our failures and weaknesses in the past and the causes thereof, in order that we may apply the proper remedies. We are prepared to face the whole truth in the calm conviction that as we possess souls like other peoples, we shall find nothing impossible of achievement in human affairs.

* Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I. No. 21.
† Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol, II. No. 6
‡ Vide Pillar-inscription of Dappula V., Ep. 2. Vol. II. No. 8.
|| Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I. No. 14.

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Postings in the Archaeological Department.

For the purposes of the Archaeological Department the Indian Empire is divided into six circles: (1) Eastern circle, comprising Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Central Provinces; (2) Burma; (3) Northern circle, comprising the United Provinces and the Punjab; (4) Frontier circle, consisting of the N. W. F. Province; (5) Western circle, including the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana, and Central India; and (6) Southern circle, consisting of the Madras Presidency.

The University of Calcutta has appointed Mr. Bhandarkar, of the Western circle, the Carmichael Professor of Indian History. There will, therefore, be a vacancy in his place. It is to be hoped that some competent Indian scholar will be appointed to fill the vacancy. Hitherto, it seemed to be the fixed policy of the present Director-General of Archaeology, to recruit officers for the Department from among Europeans, whose special fitness for their work, was not quite apparent to outsiders. Draftsmanship, miscalled knowledge of architecture, rather than archaeological attainments, seemed to be the *forte* of many of these men. But the war having made the further pursuit of this policy impracticable, Sir John Marshall has been obliged to make India his recruiting ground.

Some of his postings seem rather inexplicable. It cannot, of course, be the approved aim of any department in India to prove the Indians' unfitness for it. But as sometimes Sir John Marshall transfers a man from a province of which he knows much to a province of which he knows next to nothing, such postings may result in proving that Indians are unfit for archaeological work. Of course, Europeans being supermen, can sometimes make a name in Indian archaeology without having any local knowledge or without knowing any of the dead or living languages of India. But Indians being ordinary mortals, can work best in provinces of which they have some local knowledge and of which they know the vernaculars. Let us take a concrete example. Mr. V. Natesa Aiyar was good for Madras. But he has been made Superintendent of the N. W. Frontier Province. Whatever knowledge of this province and its language Mr. Aiyar possesses, he was no doubt more familiar with his own native province of Madras, at any rate than the European officer who now fills his place there. This European gentleman, we are informed, is one of Sir John Marshall's glorified draftsmen. Should Mr. Natesa Aiyar's transfer to the Frontier circle be taken as a precedent, then the Musalman gentleman who is Assistant Superintendent in Delhi might be sent to Burma, and Mr. Taw Seiw Ke be transferred to Delhi or Bombay. This would prove the incapacity of Indians, though that may not be the object of the Director.

Bengal and Bihar should be saved from the fostering care of the author of the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." Calcutta is supposed to be the headquarters of this gentleman, though he seldom sets foot here;—not at any rate so long as he can help it. He resides at Bankipur where he is perpetually on tour and draws touring money throughout the year, besides the fat allowance he gets from Sir Ratan Tata for Zoroastrianizing the "ruins" of Pataliputra. This gentleman who is technically perpetually on tour is very much averse to touring. We hear that he is so busy with his excavation work that he can rarely make time to visit the ancient monuments the exploration and preservation of which form a principal part of his duties. For some unknown reason he was brought to Bankipur seven or eight years ago, and during this period the only work he has produced is the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History", which was criticised in this REVIEW by "Nimrod". His headquarters were transferred to Calcutta in 1913 so that he might do some important work in the Calcutta Museum. All that he has done ever since practically amounts to drawing touring allowance for himself and his staff by residing at Bankipur. The Government of India can save a good deal of public money by transferring this person from the Eastern circle to some other locality where his Zoroastrian propensities are likely to be better appreciated.

Nationalism and War.

Speaking at a meeting of the League of Nations Society, Lord Bryce presiding, General Smuts said that the war had stamped into the hearts of millions of men and women the intense desire for a better

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order of things. The old order of things was now useless. All the treaties and optimism of the nineteenth century had ended in suffering and losses baffling description. It had been computed that eight million men had been slain in this war and a greater number permanently maimed. It had been stated that the casualties in this war were equal to the white population of the British Empire. If such wars were allowed to recur, the whole fabric of civilization would be endangered. It was time for action in the matter, not for folding hands and bending heads. If one-hundredth part of the thought given to this war were given to peace, there would never be a war again. "I believe that a passion for peace has been born in this war which will prove greater than any passions for gain or conquest and, as far as is humanly possible, such a war as this should never be tolerated again."

General Smuts struck the right note when he went on to observe: "However, there is a danger in believing too much in treaties until we have a radical change in the hearts of men. But, I think that change is coming." What that change is, was indicated in the first Note in our last February number in the following paragraph.

"Peace is desired,—a lasting peace embracing all countries and peoples, civilised and uncivilised. How is this to be had? Prophets of love have said that if there be good will to man, there will be peace on earth. The *Ishopanisat* says:

'Enjoy what *He* has given: do not covet anyone's wealth.' There can be no question that the root-cause of many wars and of the present war is greed. Monarchs and nations wish to conquer in order to be able to take possession of the wealth of others, either by means of administration or of exploitation or both. The seeking of markets is often an euphemism for the desire to plunder. Many wars have also been caused by tribal, national or racial hatred. The prophets, then, have been true promoters of peace when they have laid stress on *maitri* or friendliness to all, and denounced greed and hatred. They have also tried to convince mankind that mere outward possessions cannot make one truly happy: true happiness is an inward possession."

General Smuts laid down a correct proposition when he said: "Every nation must have the choice of its own destiny and not be cut and carved to please the great powers;" but we do not know whether he fully realized the full implication of what he said. Is he prepared to follow this principle in the case of India, and support the demand of autonomy for India? We hope he is. There can never be lasting peace nor the triumph of humane and just principles, unless statesmen give up the habit of even unconscious mental reservation and of formulating universal propositions which are meant to be applied only where they do not clash with self-interest.

Speaking at the same meeting of the League of Nations Society Lord Hugh Cecil said that of late years European sentiment had retrogressed. "We felt a boundless devotion for our own country but had none for any other." He would like to see ministers of Christianity, of all denominations and in all countries foregather to enforce the principles that war and nationalism were inconsistent with Christianity. It cannot be gainsaid that nationalism has driven powerful independent nations to war and to the spoliation and oppression of foreign peoples, *because the former felt a boundless devotion for their own country but had none for any other.* In the case of dependent peoples, nationalism may mean simply a desire for national unity and freedom. This is a legitimate desire and does not clash with the real welfare of any other peoples. But when dependent or autocratically governed peoples obtain freedom and become strong, their nationalism may lead them to aggrandise themselves at the expense of other peoples. There was a time when Italy lay under the heels of her oppressor Austria. Italian nationalism was then a legitimate and beneficent desire for national unity and freedom. But what a strong, united and independent Italy has done in Tripoli cannot be supported by lovers of humanity. There was a time when Japan was autocratically governed. She then obtained a constitution and became strong. It cannot be said that her nationalism has not subsequently been injurious to the people of Korea.

There is some hope, however, that Russian nationalism will not result in any harm to any foreign peoples. The nationalism of the Russians has got rid of their Tsar. If the Revolution be not followed by any counter revolution, Russia will become stronger than before. How will she use that strength? The following passage from the *Nation* (London) gives some indication:—

THE controversy over war-aims came to a head this week. M. Miliukoff gave to the Press an extreme

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definition of Russia's purposes, which included "the mastery of the Turkish Straits," cessions of German territory, the total dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and the creation of a Tchecho-Slovak State. Two of his colleagues at once repudiated this statement. M. Kerensky had to go to the Workmen's Council, and promise it that an authoritative statement should presently be issued by the Provisional Government, stating that Russia aims at defence only. This statement followed promptly over the signature of the Premier, Prince Lvoff. It opened with a grave warning, which stated that the late Government had left the defences of Russia in a badly disorganized condition. A "new and decisive thrust" is threatened, and Russia must rally all her forces for defence. It then went on in the most definite language to repudiate all designs of expansion or annexation. The Russian nation does not aim "at occupying by force foreign territories," nor does it "lust after the strengthening of its power abroad at the expense of other nations," nor does it wish to "subjugate or humiliate anyone." But neither will it allow its own Fatherland to come out of the struggle humiliated or weakened.

From the above the *Nation* concludes: "This proclamation has settled the question of aims, and the Socialists are now on this matter at one with the Government. *The war will continue as a war of defence and recovery, and the claim to Constantinople is abandoned.*" (The italics are ours). Should Russia be able to maintain her present attitude, should she not develop in future any political or industrial aggressiveness, it will be a proof that nationalism at home is not necessarily synonymous with political and commercial aggression abroad. But even if in future Russia, belie our hope, lovers of humanity may continue to believe that the love of one's own people may be compatible with love of all mankind; for history is still in the making and will continue to be. In any case, dependent peoples cannot give up that desire for unity and freedom which is quite legitimate and which is described by the word nationalism. It is, no doubt, unfortunate that the same word nationalism should be used by independent and dependent peoples to describe things which are somewhat different. But if lovers of humanity think that the word is tainted with bad associations, they will be able to coin another to denote the collective righteous aspirations and endeavours of a whole people.

"Traditions of Freedom and Self-Government."

At a banquet given to general Smuts by the Houses of Lords and Commons, General Smuts said in part that "he hoped that when the time for settlement came we should remember not merely central Europe but the whole British Empire." He added:

> We were not fighting for materiai gain, nor for territory, but for future security. But, the difficult question of future constitutional relations and readjustment within the Empire remained. We were not an Empire in the German sense, but a system of nations almost sovereign, almost independent, rather a commonwealth than an Empire, and its future government was an entirely new problem. The system in the United States would not work and we did not want to standardize the nations of the Empire. The only solution was supplied by our traditions of freedom and self-government.

India is more than three times as populous as the rest of the British Empire; but she is not included in the "system of nations almost sovereign, almost independent." Hence General Smuts' claim that the British Empire was rather a commonwealth than an Empire is unfounded. Even in the Union of South Africa which is represented in the Imperial Conference, the vast majority of the population do not enjoy the franchise, because being non-European in origin, they are held to be unfit for it. As General Smuts says that at the time of the after war settlement the whole of the British Empire should be remembered; as India is the most extensive, populous and important part of this Empire; and as the only solution of the difficult question of future constitutional relations and readjustment within the Empire was supplied by "our traditions of freedom and self-government"; India ought therefore to be given freedom and self-government within the Empire after the war.

Civil Marriage in Indore.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore has rendered signal service to the cause of social reform by enacting the Civil Marriage Act I of 1916 of his State, according to which any Indian only by residing in Indore State for 14 days before marriage can marry any other Indian of the opposite sex belonging to a different caste or nationality without offence to his religious beliefs. The contracting parties will not have to declare their non-belief in any of the great historical religions, as is required under Act III of 1872 in British India. The only conditions laid down in the Indore Act are that (1) neither party must have a husband or wife living, (2) the man must have completed 18 years

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of age and the woman 14 years ; (3) each party must have obtained the consent of parents or guardians if below 21 and 18 years of age respectively ; (4) and the parties must not be related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would render a marriage between them illegal. Previous to the marriage those who object to it on any valid ground will be heard in a civil court.

As marriages under this Indore Act will be considered valid outside that State, too, as within it, many persons in British India are likely to take advantage of it. Lawyers ought to be able to tell us what laws of succession and inheritance will govern the issue of such marriages.

The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu ought to try again to get his special marriage bill in an amended form passed by the Imperial Legislative Council. Are the orthodox publicists who objected to the passage of his bill some years ago really more orthodox than His Highness the Maharaja of Indore ?

It may be mentioned here incidentally that this Civil Marriage Act is not the only title of His Highness to the gratitude of Indians. He is also endeavouring to educate all his subjects as quickly as is practicable by making education free and compulsory in his State.

"The Preservation of Human Liberty."

At the great banquet given by the Americans to the British and French Missions at Waldorf Astoria Hotel, Mr. Balfour aroused great enthusiasm when he declared that a crisis had been reached when the whole of civilisation must rise up and voice its appeal for the preservation of human liberty. "Unless all who love liberty unite," he said, "we shall be destroyed piecemeal."

Hitherto when white men have spoken of human liberty they have used the phrase in the sense of the liberty of the white peoples and, latterly, of the Japanese also. It is to be hoped Mr. Balfour's range of vision is wider. In any case, where he speaks of "the preservation of human liberty" we should like the statesmen of all free nations to use the expression "the extension and preservation of human liberty." For we believe, we, too, are human beings, and before we can be called upon to unite for *preserving* human liberty it is necessary for us to feel that we enjoy liberty in the same sense as do the free peoples with whom we are to unite.

"Formulas framed before the Flood."

In course of the great speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George on the occasion of the presentation of the Freedom of London to him, he observed :

> We are a thousand years older and wiser since the war. The experience of generations has been crowded into just a few winters, and we should be unworthy of the great destiny to which Providence has called this generation if we threw away all that for the sake of formulas framed before the flood. (Hear, hear).

Was the Premier thinking of Lord Chelmsford's famous formula that, whatever the velocity of progress in other countries may be, "catastrophic changes" must not take place in India,—she must advance by slow and imperceptible steps.

The Viceroy has told us that rapid changes are repugnant to the British temperament and constitution. Mr. Lloyd George's observations do not seem to support this dictum of His Excellency. It is possible that under the changed conditions produced by the war, the British temperament may have been undergoing some change, making it possible also to change the British constitution somewhat rapidly.

"Mr. Merriman's Appeal for Moderation."

Last month a congress of the Cape British Indian Council was held to ask Government to consider sympathetically questions concerning the citizenship of Indians, their marriages and immigration. Mr. Merriman opened the Congress with a brilliant speech in which he described how all classes in India were doing their duty in supporting the Empire. Britain's name in the world would as time advanced depend upon how she ruled India, but possibly the time was not yet ripe for great changes. He urged Indians in South Africa to ask for redress of their grievances in a moderate, constitutional way and make the Union Government's burdens as light as possible. Then the Government would not turn a deaf ear. The delegates passed a resolution in favour of moderation.

Of course, "the time was not yet ripe for great changes" in India, though it may be ripe elsewhere ! "Not yet" is one of "the formulas framed before the flood,"

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which white men should discard in their dealings with men of a different complexion.

It is easy to understand what is just, equitable and righteous; we also understand what is constitutional; but we have never been able to understand what the ruling caste exactly mean by the phrase, asking for redress of grievances "in a moderate way." We think our countrymen should ask for what is just and righteous and they should do it in a constitutional manner; but they should not much care whether in the opinion of the ruling caste their demands are moderate or not. When did a privileged class consider any demands of the disinherited as anything but immoderate.

Repression and Unrest.

There are journalists and officials in India who have only one prescription for all manifestations of discontent and unrest; it is repression and yet more repression. But history, even in India, teaches that that is not an unfailing remedy under all possible circumstances. The Emperor Jahangir has left us the result of his experience in the following passage:

"And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that, notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which have been dealt among the people of Hindustan, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence. Ever and anon, in one quarter or another, will some accursed miscreant spring up to unfurl the standard of rebellion; so that in Hindustan never has there existed a period of complete repose." —*Memoirs of Jahangir* by Major David Price, 1829, p. 128.

Times have, no doubt, changed, and the people of India have now become more pacific in disposition than before. But that does not make the lesson of history less forcible than it is. As the people have grown less prone to the use of physical force, Government also ought to rely more and more on education, moral suasion and the widening of popular liberties.

The Calcutta University and Self-government.

In the opinion of the *Pioneer* and some other Anglo-Indian papers Indians are unfit for self-government because the Calcutta University in the course of some sixty years has once signally failed to keep some of its question papers secret, besides two or three minor cases of similar failure in previous years. But the fact is the Calcutta University is not a popular self-governing body. The majority of its Fellows are nominated by Government, and its Vice-Chancellor, at present an Indian, is also appointed by Government. Its Chancellor and Rector are Englishmen. Its Registrar, the chief executive officer, is a European. Of its ten ex-officio Fellows eight are Europeans. Of the 103 ordinary Fellows whose names are printed in the calendar for 1916, forty-eight are Europeans. Thus of the entire Senate, including the Chancellor, the Rector, the Vice-Chancellor, the ex-officio Fellows and the ordinary Fellows, half are Indian and half are European. Among the Indians many are Government servants, and of the non-official Indians again some are nominated. Bearing all these facts in mind, can anybody who is not prejudiced against Indians assert truthfully that the failure of a body like the Calcutta University once or twice or thrice in sixty years to prevent theft of question papers, shows that Indians in particular are unfit for self-government? Europeans, we think, should shoulder half the blame.

But supposing the University were a body entirely elected by the people, would its failure to prevent the leakage of question papers even then be a conclusive proof of our incapacity? Well, if that be a conclusive proof of national unfitness, should not the people of the U. S. of America be pronounced unfit for self-rule because President Wilson's peace note of Dec. 18, 1916, somehow leaked out, as we showed in our last number? Have there not been similar leakage of state secrets in other free countries? Was it due to the incapacity of Bengali Babus that the Dardanelles Expedition was mismanaged and proved a failure? Were Bengali-Babus responsible for the disaster in Mesopotamia? Mr. Asquith's government underwent a change, and then it was entirely replaced by Mr. Lloyd George's government. Evidently there was mismanagement or incapacity somewhere. But as there was no Indian or Bengali in any of the three cabinets, mismanagement or incapacity in England is not a proof of unfitness for self-rule. It is

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not *our* opinion alone that there can be or is mismanagement or incapacity in England. Here is a paragraph, in support of our opinion, from the *Indian Daily News*, which has inveighed against Indian incapacity like any other Anglo-Indian paper :

"There is a vast difference between a country run by business men, and a Business Government, and there are many people inclined to the idea that because in Great Britain to-day there are a number of business men holding important positions under Government, the country has got a Business Government. Never was there such a fallacy, according to all accounts, and the letter published in the columns of the *Statesman* yesterday shows to what a state of chaos the country is being reduced through the ineptitude of the people who are running it. And with "the Government and over 80 controllers or directors issuing contradictory instructions, all at the same time," there is certainly no cause for wonder that confusion exists. But it is entirely wrong to attribute this state of things to a Business Government, as, in the sense in which that term should be used, there is no such Government in existence. There is only a travesty of such a Government, and *John Bull* in characteristic fashion sets himself to expose the fallacy. A Business Government, according to Horatio Bottomley's idea, is putting the right men in the right place. "Think," he says, "of a successful retail grocer in control of the Food Supply of the nation ; or of a Duke's Agent at the head of the Board of Agriculture." And yet we have both of these strange anomalies in the present Government. "And imagine a War Cabinet without a soldier or a sailor in it, and closed even to the official heads of the Army and Navy. And a Lay Preacher in it representing Labour. And a medical man responsible for munitions of War." *John Bull* is almost tempted to ask whether this is not a little scheme to discredit the whole idea of a Business Government, and to keep the Party fires burning until the end of the war, in the hope that the old party game may then be resumed. After reading the letter of the correspondent above mentioned, one can only come to the conclusion, as *John Bull* says, that it was just asking for failure to give to a man whose sole knowledge of potatoes is the amount of fried chips a pound will produce, the important business of controlling the whole potato supply of the country. There seems to be a good deal of sound sense in what *John Bull* writes.

"Effective Consultation."

Speaking at the Guildhall on the occasion of the presentation of the freedom of the city to him, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

Things cannot remain where they were. It may be said that the shadowy character of the relations between us, the Dominions and the great territories of the East have produced this real cohesion. That was all very well before they had made great sacrifices. They have now established claims to real partnership. Henceforth effective consultation must be the only basis of co-operation. If our action brings them into trouble as it has done and it costs them millions of precious lives, they must henceforth be consulted before we act. Methods must be carefully considered. A great war is not the best time for thinking out perhaps new constitutions. But our counsels and our Empire must be a reality. The Imperial War Cabinet has been a demonstration of the value of this counsel. Our colleagues from the Dominions and from India have not taken part in a formal conference. They have had a real share in our counsels and our decisions and have been a great source of strength and wisdom to our deliberations. (Cheers)

What is this "effective consultation" which the Premier described as the only basis of co-operation? Obviously the essential condition of such consultation must be that the parties to be consulted should exercise the right of choosing their own representatives and that all the representatives of all the parties should have an equal status and equal voice. For a bureaucratically governed India to be "represented" by the Secretary of State would be worse than no representation at all. India must be self-governing and must be able to choose her own representatives, before any Imperial Conference for consultative purposes can have any reality for us.

India's "Representatives."

It has been taken for granted by British statesmen and journalists and Anglo-Indian officials and publicists that the gentlemen who went from India to "advise" the Secretary of State at the Imperial Conference were India's representatives. They were nothing of the kind. One of them, Sir S. P. Sinha, clearly and definitely said in public before leaving India that he was the representative of the Government of India, not of the people of India. We are not at all bound by anything said or done by these so-called representatives of India.

The Irish Home Rule Convention.

In his Guildhall speech, referring to Ireland, Mr. Lloyd George said that

"It must be converted from a suspicious, surly and dangerous neighbour to a cheerful and loyal comrade if we were to have a well-knit and powerful Empire, and that was essential for the peace of the world. Ireland was the one menacing prospect on the whole horizon. If he appealed for a settlement in Ireland it was because he knew from facts driven into his mind every hour that in America, Australia and every other part, it was regarded as one of the essentials of speedy victory. Therefore he appealed to the patriotism of every man to sink everything for the purpose of solving the problem. (Cheers).—"Reuter."

And for the solution of the Irish problem, a Convention of Irishmen of all

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parties is to meet and draw up a constitution for a self-governing Ireland within the Empire. In announcing this decision in the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George said that

there was one thing common to the failure of attempts at an Irish settlement, namely, that the proposals emanated from the British Government. The Cabinet, therefore, had decided to invite Irishmen themselves to put forward their proposals. Hitherto Great Britain had undertaken all construction and Ireland all criticism. Once Irish men were confronted with the problem they would give due weight to the obstacles and difficulties. The Government proposed that Ireland should try her own hand at framing the instrument of her Government. The experiment had succeeded in Canada, Australia and South Africa and he could not help thinking that what had been accomplished in those countries was achievable in Ireland. Government, therefore, proposed to summon immediately on behalf of the Crown a convention of Irish men in Ireland to submit to the British Government and Parliament a constitution for the Government of Ireland within the Empire. *The Convention must be representative of all classes and interests in Ireland, including Sinn Feiners.* It must be really representative of the Irish life and activities in all forms.

In India, far from being invited or allowed to frame the constitution for a self-governing India for ourselves, we are not even allowed to know what political "boons" the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have suggested to the Secretary of State to be conferred on India after the war. The Irish convention is to include the representatives of even the Sinn Feiners. Our bureaucracy consider it unthinkable that even our most Moderate leaders should simply be *consulted* as to the political reforms to be introduced after the war,—that any class of Indians should frame a constitution for themselves is, of course, out of the question. Think of the ridicule that has been poured on the heads of the "Nineteen" for their Memorandum of reforms, here and in England. Such being the case, our bureaucracy would surely die of the shock if anybody suggested that representatives of the Ghadr and Anarchist parties might be consulted as to any future scheme for the government of India. Even Lord Curzon was anxious that all Irish parties should attend the convention. He observed that

"it was beyond measure desirable that representatives of all these bodies and parties should attend. It would be a national misfortune if any stood aloof and a grave responsibility would rest upon any of those bodies who elected to abstain. Many of their lordships had great weight and authority in Ireland, and he prayed them to use their influence to dissuade the people from such an unfortunate and disastrous course as to abstain."

The extract from Mr. Lloyd George's Guildhall speech given in this note has already given us some idea of the reasons why the British Government regard the settlement of the Irish problem to be of paramount importance. Lord Curzon held a similar opinion.

Lord Curzon, speaking in the House of Lords, said the settlement of the Irish question emerged as a world factor of capital importance that might affect the fortunes of Great Britain in the war and the destinies of mankind for generations. If an effort was to be made none could dispute that it should be made without delay. Since the beginning of the war the situation in Ireland had grown not better but worse and if left alone might grow even worse. In that case if we faltered or drifted not merely would we parade our bankrupt statesmanship before the world, but we would have earned the deserved condemnation of posterity.

India and Ireland.

The Irish possess far more power and far more liberty than ourselves. Strictly speaking, we do not possess any controlling voice at all in the government of our country. Yet Englishmen are now anxious to grant Ireland still greater political rights, whereas with regard to India the anxiety seems to be to convince Indians that the conferring of the most insignificant "boons" amounts to a political concession of a risky and most extravagantly generous description. The reason of this differential treatment of the two countries is to be found in the extracts given above. India would be given real political power when the British people felt that it was necessary for the safety of their own hearths and homes to do so.

We may in this connection make an extract from the presidential address of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at the 17th Bombay Provincial Conference held last month at Nasik. The passage lays bare the psychology of statesman. Mr. Sastri asked, "Could not Mr. Bonar Law," "thrown off his guard in the heat of debate," "have refrained from saying this inconvenient thing at the end of the debate on Indian Cotton Duties in the House of Commons ?"

"This was the position in which they were placed. They knew there would be some trouble in Lancashire though they did not anticipate it would be so great. But what they had to decide from the point of view of the war was whether there was likely to be more trouble at home or in India. That was the question, and it was on that basis that they gave their vote." (Mr. Dillon : where there is more trouble you give in ?) That is another way of putting

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it. (Laughter.) "Whatever did give trouble politically was a thing which, if it could be avoided, ought to be avoided." The strong Indian ruler, according to Lord Sydenham, should avoid even the appearance of yielding to clamour or making a concession for fear of trouble. Such softness as Mr. Bonar Law has confessed, if manifested in India, would lead straight to disaster. That is why the Governor of Bombay adjures the authorities to reject the memorandum of the venturesome "Nineteen" promptly and ignominiously. Else what would they not do next? Happily, we are not mere babes, we know a little of the way public affairs are managed. Legislators and statesmen, however far they may see into the future, cannot act till events ripen and almost force their hands. Often they have to choose the lesser of two evils, for if challenged, they must be able to say, 'I did it only because I saw that if I did not do it there would be more harm than if I did it.' In my limited experience there has been one clear case in which a leading official said, 'I agree to your suggestion, but before I can adopt it there must be such an expression of public opinion as to make it appear inevitable.' That is the secret of constitutional political agitation. Our cause has many friends both in England and in India, but they can do very little for it till by our action we can give it such momentum as to make it inevitable.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao's Presidential Address.

The Presidential address delivered by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao at the recent Madras Provincial Conference possesses an almost unique importance. It is the political deliverance of a man of affairs and a statesman who worked his way from the ranks of journalists and clerks to the position of the prime minister of three of the most important and progressive Indian states. It is not the pronouncement of one of those who are unjustly derided and denounced as agitators and doctrinaire politicians. The distinctive characteristics of the address are courage, faith and hope. Mr. Madhava Rao has faith in the capacity of his countrymen, and, as he has given us the facts and reasons upon which his faith rests, our faith, too, in the possibilities of our people becomes stronger as we rise from a perusal of his speech.

The central theme of the address is Self-government. He has told us why he has dwelt principally on this one topic.

> In view of the paramount importance of securing self-government, I have thought that we should depart from the usual practice at these Conferences of referring to the various subjects that call for reform, and have therefore not dwelt upon them in detail. Once Self-government is secured the reforms must follow as a matter of course.

Mr. Madhava Rao is right in thinking that "the volume of public feeling in regard to most of the questions affecting our national life is much greater than can find expression through these conferences."

> Neither the Resolutions passed at representative assemblies like this, nor the mass of powerful and earnest writing on political topics that appears in the Indian Press—daily and weekly, in English and the Vernacular languages of the country—can be regarded as giving full and adequate expression to the opinions, the expectations and the political convictions that animate the country to-day. It will be a mistake, therefore, to suppose that these Resolutions and these writings in the Press are the opinions of a handful of pushful men who wish to press their views on those who are responsible for the government of the country. On the other hand we shall be safe in saying that they lag behind the strength of conviction that runs in the country in matters which form the subject of our discussions here. I have referred to this aspect of our deliberations, because there has been a tendency to look upon these gatherings as occasions for a little relaxation, affording a pleasant diversion for the mind when the Courts and Schools are closed for the hot weather. Far from this, my honest belief is that the people would have identified themselves with these conferences in a much larger degree than they do at present, if they could get over their habit of studied restraint amounting to self-abnegation, characteristic of our countrymen. This is unfortunate because English temperament does not believe in the existence of any grievance unless there is a particularly powerful agitation for its redress.

There is another reason, besides the one mentioned by the speaker, why public opinion and feeling do not find expression in this country in their real volume and intensity. It is the existence of laws which restrict, discourage and sometimes penalise the free and frank expression of opinion through the Press and in public meetings.

Mr. Madhava Rao has attacked the present system of bureaucracy courageously and in an uncompromising manner, and he has done right. Such bold and thorough-going pronouncements are the special need of the hour. The reasons are obvious.

> Seeing what has gone on in England in connection with the Imperial War Conferences and Council meetings and particularly the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain and the Maharaja of Bikanir made at the Lunch given in the House of Commons by the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian and Dominion delegates and wired to India a few days ago, I felt that we are faced with a grave crisis in the fortunes of our country. Unless we speak out our minds at the present moment as to the paramount need of the hour I am afraid we shall have for generations to come to be content to be governed by a foreign Bureaucracy and continue to depend upon it entirely for our economic and political advancement.

Mr. Madhava Rao believes that the war

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having enabled the Britisher to see for himself what the Indian was like, "there would have been an unhesitating pronouncement by the British Government, especially a democratic government like that of Mr. Lloyd George, that full self-government should be granted to the people of India." That would have been a calamity from the point of view of the bureaucracy. They have therefore "utilised the presence of the delegates to the War Conference to put off the reforms which have become overdue." This is true to a great extent. The Indian "delegates" have been loudly advertised as the representatives of India and lionised and feted to a most suspicious extent. But we are not deceived. We would prefer an ounce of real political power to tons of honours and freedoms of cities and honorary university degrees.

Mr. Madhava Rao on the Bureaucracy.

Members of the bureaucracy in India will not feel flattered to read what Mr. Madhava Rao has said of them.

We must therefore concentrate our efforts on attacking the present system of bureaucracy and securing a truly Representative Government. It is only then we should have a solution of the questions that are now agitating the public mind, whether in the region of trade, commerce, agriculture and finance or education and sanitation. The Bureaucracy has been tried and been found wanting. We must now ask to be brought face to face with the British Democracy, who should take up our case and free us from the Rule of the Bureaucracy.

The Bureaucracy has stood between us and the British Nation and should be told to step aside, and allow us to place our case before the supreme authority in England.

Great things were expected from the assumption of direct sovereignty by the Crown. But the only result has been the growth of a powerful Bureaucracy which no public opinion in this country can check and over which no effective control is exercised by Parliament at home.

This Bureaucracy instead of forwarding the cause of self-government has put every obstacle in its way. It opposed the measures of Lord Ripon in regard to local self-government and equal treatment to Indians and Europeans thirt-five years ago. It opposed the Minto-Morley Reforms which gave extended powers to the Legislative Councils both Imperial and Provincial. Every effort to give Indians a larger number of appointments in the higher grades of the service has been obstructed.

If the Bureaucracy had discharged its trust properly and endeavoured to carry out the policy of the British Nation that India was to be governed solely for the benefit of the Indians, and that Indians should be trained for occupying all positions of trust and responsibility, we should have the expedition to Mesopotamia entrusted to an Indian, say a man like the Maharajah of Bikanir, and Indians made largely responsible for the mobilization of resources in money and material which the Viceroy has so graphically described in his speech at Lahore. As it is, we have the privilege of supplying fighting men, camp followers, munitions and foodstuffs, supplies and stores, but their ordering is all in the hands of the Bureaucracy. This was not so in the times of the Indian Rajahs and Padshahs of old. Akbar sent Raja Todar Mull and Raja Maun Singh to put down an insurrection in the Khyber and the latter, I believe, went to Kabul and was appointed its Governor. Where is there scope for an Indian now to rise to such distinguished positions under the Bureaucracy?

The Bureaucracy has neglected and mismanaged things so badly that, when a crisis like the present War arises, India in spite of her earnest desire to be giving every support to the Mother-country finds herself unable to do all she can in helping England in men and material. This aspect of the question has been well brought out in General Sir O'Moore Creagh's letter where he says that if the Provincial Autonomy recommended by Lord Hardinge in 1911 had been granted, the help would have been immensely greater. The fact is the Bureaucracy will not allow full scope being given to the schemes of Self-Government even as they are.

The speaker urges that "just as after the Mutiny the British Nation took away the Government from the hands of the company, so now, they will have to replace the Bureaucracy by popular institutions and entrust the administration to the people themselves under the suzerainty of the British Nation."

Tinkering will not do.

Mr. Madhava Rao is not a believer in tinkering or adminstrative patch-work. He says: "Any reform to be made should aim at a complete change in the character of the government and there should be no such thing as a gradual extension of self-government. The Provinces will have to be re-grouped according to the chief languages spoken in them. The machinery of government should not be on the costly scale that we have now and popular control over the executive should be secured."

Political Capacity of even illiterate Indians.

From his own personal knowledge and experience, Mr. Madhava Rao bears testimony to the political capacity of different classes of Indians, from the illiterate ryots upwards. Speaking of the Mysore Representative Assembly he says:

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The members drawn from the agricultural and commercial communities entered into the spirit of the institution almost from the first day and the working of the assembly has, in addition to bringing the government in direct touch with the people, their wants and wishes, has been of the utmost value in educating the people in methods of self-government. Within a few years it was made entirely elective. I had the privilege of taking part in its proceedings in one capacity or another almost from the beginning of the institution, for a period of 25 years until my retirement as Dewan in 1909. The intelligence, sobriety and self-restraint with which the subjects were discussed and the wishes of the people urged before the government, would have convinced any responsible Ruler of the capacity of the Indians to manage their own affairs. The discussions were conducted in the Vernacular of the State. The qualifications were fixed sufficiently low to admit of as large a proportion of the population as possible being represented. I think there were some illiterate patels or village headmen among them, but the illiteracy did not mean any inability to understand the principles of government or inability to voice one's sentiments.

Further on he says: "I have known many a ryotwari-holder who did not know English, but who could discuss public questions with great ability and knowledge." He bears equally emphatic testimony to the successful working of the Mysore Legislative Council. Regarding the Travancore Popular Assembly he says:—

> From the moment the Assembly was brought together, the keen interest the members took in it and the enthusiasm which the very idea of people being consulted regarding the measures of government aroused in them, was a sight which would have rejoiced the heart of any well-wisher of his country. The Assembly has in later years afforded a striking proof of the aptitude of the people to share in the responsibilities of administration.

He bestows similar praise on the Legislative Council in Baroda.

Political Enthusiasm and Caste.

There is a passage in Mr. Madhava Rao's address which shows how political enthusiasm weakens caste prejudices. It is long but worth quoting.

> The first meeting of the Assembly is instructive as showing how people, when under the influence of ideas which are connected with their participation in the Councils of the Government, can and do rise above long-standing caste and sectarian and creedal prejudices. Travancore, it is well known, is the country where distincions of caste are observed in their crudest and offensive forms. The class of agricultural and trading communities known as Ilavas or Thiyas belonged to the untouchable category, but under the rules framed for election which were entirely based on property qualification, an appreciable number of them had been found qualified and had actually been elected. On the day of the first meeting of the Assembly, the members had all collected in the outer verandah of the hall of the meeting. There were Brahmins, Nairs, Methans (as the local Mahomedans were called) and Syrian Christians and other Christians and Ilavas. The officer in charge of the arrangements, Mr. Sankara Menon, Dewan Peishcar, came to me in a great state of mind and asked me how in view of the untouchability of some of the castes, the seats of the members were to be arranged. I said he need not be anxious. The enthusiasm among the men was so great and the novelty of the thing had so possessed the minds of the people that they would have no time to think of these distinctions. In matters of this kind it was best not to appear to take notice of them and if he allowed the members to enter the hall as the names were called out things would adjust themselves without our attempting to regulate them. The thing happened just as I predicted. A Brahmin and a Nair, and an Ilava and a Methan and a Christian were sitting side by side and all were too eager to know what was going to happen to give any thought as to who the man seated next to them was. Thus the untouchability of the Ilava was got over and since then I hear Travancore has achieved what has been found impossible even in the less intolerant Provinces of the Deccan and Gujerat. Pariah and Pulaya boys are attending the Elementary Schools in which caste boys are under instruction. This together with the movement which is in active operation throughout India for the elevation of the Depressed Classes should at once silence those who ignore the effect of political privileges in uplifting lower classes from a state of caste and social degradation.

Declaration of the Aim of British Policy in India.

It has been suggested that the British Government should make an immediate pronouncement on the subject of self-government for India and make an authoritative declaration of the aim of British policy in India. *The Times* of London supports this suggestion. We do not think it necessary to offer uncompromising opposition to the idea, though there is the almost certain danger of a certain class of men booming such a mere declaration of policy, when made, as a far greater political privilege bestowed upon Indians than the political power which the people of Russia have won by the revolution. So far as declarations, proclamations and expressions of sympathy and good intentions go, there has never been any dearth of them. But they have produced a soporific effect on the British conscience. We, therefore, now want that the British people should rather be slow to promise but quick to perform. And we also want that before fresh promises are made, performance should over-take those already made.

Critics Criticised.

In the very able, outspoken and well-informed address which Mr. V. S. Srinivasa

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Sastri delivered as president of the Bombay Provincial Conference, he subjected Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Sydenham to well-deserved criticism. Here is a passage.

Neither Lord Sydenham nor His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer can pause, in their paroxysm of indignation to distinguish between Swadeshism and Sinn Feinism, between constitutional agitation and anarchist conspiracy, between the enthusiastic Congressman and the maniacal bomb-thrower. "You are a saint," says the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, "and your speech is wisdom. But if I fancy that other people misunderstand you, I will shut you up and no mistake." Some assassin took a well-thumbed copy of the Gita to the gallows; that sacred book thenceforward fell under official displeasure. A revolutionary pamphlet contained a quotation from Mazzini; no owner of his works was thereafter free from suspicion. A professor in a town supposed to be infected with sedition delighted in expounding Burke to his pupils; the father of English conservatism was thereupon condemned as unfit for University curricula. Lord Sydenham, the angel of innocence, whose educational zeal the perverse Bombay University mistook for political jealousy, sought, happily in vain, to banish English History from the course of studies for the graduate's degree, because forsooth the virtues of patriotism, love of freedom and brave citizenship which it inculcates are unsuited to Indian youth who must be trained up in the way of submission, servility and sycophancy. Doings like these defeat their own object and create the very evil they are intended to cure. Sir Michael O'Dwyer bade us the other day cease from our propaganda, lest it should lead impatient youth to the commission of crime. May we, out of gratitude for this lesson in political science, remind His Honour and those who think like him that unbalanced speeches like his sap the faith of the public in the progressiveness and benevolence of British rule, leave the constitutionalist politician without a following, and swell the ranks of the revolutionary school of thought? The mild Congressmen in India do not need this sort of homily. We have never organized armed resistance to lawful authority and threatened open insurrection, though the career of Sir Edward Carson is not exactly a lesson in the duty of loyal submission to the decrees of Parliament. We do not intend any attempt to overthrow by force the established Government of the land, and hope that no revolutionaries in the country have been led to believe that if they succeeded, the House of Commons and the Premier of England would send them an ethusiastic and fervid greeting.

Compulsory Education.

In connection with the subject of compulsory education, however, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri spoke in appreciative terms of what Sir Michael O'Dwyer intended to do for his Province observing:

I welcome with the liveliest pleasure the announcement made the other day by Sir Michael O'Dwyer that his Government would entertain proposals coming from municipalities and local boards for making elementary education compulsory, provided they had the support of public opinion and were willing to bear the responsibility of working the compulsory system. I fervently trust that the announcement was made with the sanction of the Government of India, whose attitude of *non possumus* has hitherto discouraged other Governments from lending any countenance to the attempts made by our representatives in local legislatures in this direction. In this presidency the popular movement sustained a repulse from the Government a few months ago. But the glad news from the Punjab will put heart into the champions of popular education, and I feel sure that my redoubtable friend, the Hon. Mr. Patel, will renew his attack, and I should not wonder if the Government of Bombay made terms with him with a view to eventual surrender. I trust that H. E. Lord Willingdon will leave behind him a memorial in the form of a small Act in favour of compulsory attendance of children in this presidency before he leaves office next year. It is possible, however, that I am rejoicing too soon, and I would, therefore, appeal to the leaders and local bodies of this presidency not to relax their efforts in the least.

Wanted Political Power.

In another part of his address Mr. Sastri made it quite clear that what we wanted was not merely the opportunity to express our opinions on all matters of public interest, but *political power*, the power to manage and control our own affairs.

"Reciprocity."

While expressing satisfaction that the Imperial War Conference "unanimously approved of the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India and commended the memorandum presented by our representatives on our position in those countries, to the favourable consideration of the Dominion Governments," Mr. Sastri very properly observed: "till we know the text of the memorandum, we can have no idea what 'reciprocity' connotes and cannot judge the exact gain to our credit."

Internal and External Freedom.

In the special Imperial Conference proposed to be held immediately after the war, India as well as the Dominions should, according to a resolution of the Imperial War Conference, have an adequate voice in the determination of foreign policy and foreign relations. "So far so good," says Mr. Sastri. But this he proceeds to ask, "What about this other principle, that any readjustment should recognise the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and India as an important portion

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thereof? Does it mean that our representatives have consented to an arrangement which even in the future will place India on an inferior level to the Dominions? Or does it mean, that though India may see no change in her internal constitution, she will enjoy, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, equal status with the self-governing Dominions?" These questions, involving the question of India's internal autonomy and external equality with the other parts of the Empire, with the relative importance of these two items of political progress, Mr. Sastri discusses with great ability, originality and correct information. We regret space prevents us from quoting the discussion.

"Prosperous yet Discontented."

Some of our Anglo-Indian critics profess to be surprised that, though India has in their opinion progressed and prospered under British rule, we should still criticise bureaucratic rule and want self-rule. We need not here discuss whether there is increasing material prosperity in the country, nor whether progress in other directions has been as great as in other oriental countries during a shorter period than the period of British rule in India. Taking it for granted that we have progressed and prospered adequately, what Mr. Sastri says ought to be a convincing reply to our critics.

Only a few days ago, in a debate on the condition of Ireland both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George referred to the material prosperity that the Irish enjoyed, but neither of them wondered at the serious discontent of that people. Hear what the Prime Minister said: I want to show that the descontent of Ireland is not material; but still there remains one invincible fact after all this great record of beneficial legislation—inspite of the fact that Ireland is more materially prosperous than she has ever been, there remains the one invincible fact to-day that she is no more reconciled to British rule than she was in the days of Cromwell. It proves that the grievance is not a material one, *it is something which has to do with the pride and self-respect of the people.* I entreat the House of Commons and the British people to get that well into their minds. It is a fact which must be grasped by the House of Commons or by any Government which means to attempt a settlement of this question." On a later occasion Mr. Bonar Law emphasized the same truth. "I know what the views of Nationalist members are and I do not agree with my noble friend that the only thing you have to think of with respect to the government of Ireland is to set up a government that will govern in the best way. I do not think so at all. I think that very often a very bad form of government, if it is with the consent and good-will of the people governed, will work infinitely better than a much better system without that consent and good-will."

We may add that in a letter contributed to the London *Times* of March 26, Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill, M.P., quoted Mr. Gladstone's utterance on April 9th, 1886, in the course of which he said: "England tried to pass good laws for the colonies, but the colonists said: 'We do not want your good laws; we want our own.' We admitted the reasonableness of that principle, and it is now coming home to us from across the seas. We have to consider whether it is applicable to the case of Ireland." Is it not also applicable to the case of India?

In the extract given above, Mr. Bonar Law may or may not have meant to imply that a very bad form of government can have the consent and good-will of the people governed; but such consent and good-will are scarcely possible. Taking everything into consideration, popular self-rule on a representative basis is always better than the best forms of other-rule.

"Step by Step."

Mr. Sastri has shown that our legislative councils, constituted in 1853, "worked for eight years before the first Indian found entry into them by nomination."

Thirty years passed before the next step was taken, **a period within which other peoples found it possible to begin and consummate their political evolution**. This step consisted of a slight increase of non-official Indians, some of whom came in by a subsidiary process of election, not recognised in law. Seventeen more years passed before election became a reality and the provincial legislatures had a majority of non-officials, which has proved a delusion and a snare. What is the next step to be, and when will it be taken? Perhaps we should get an elected majority, in two years more, that is, ten years after the last reform. Of course, this majority would be bare and utterly ineffective. To make it decisive, at least one decade would be necessary. Our mentors would then take us in successive decades through such fractions as two-thirds, three-fourths, four-fifths, till in another half a century we might have a wholly elective legislature in the advanced provinces. Of course a longer period would be required for the Indian Legislative Council and the Councils of the backward provinces to reach this level.

Referring to our progress as regards the public service Mr. Sastri has shown that

"Eighty-four years after statutory affirmation of our equality we are still looking forward to getting something between a fourth and a third of the chief administrative posts in our own country. And the whole history is marked by noble sentiments and promises, backsliding, bitter recrimination and paltry and graceless concession. Can a people who

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have endured this sort of thing be accused of seeking to introduce catastrophic or revolutionary changes or effect a 'sudden upheaval' and a 'startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands ?"

Imperial Preference.

Regarding Imperial Preference, Mr. Sastri remarked :

To add to our misgivings, a recent cablegram reports a unanimous recommendation of the Imperial War Conference in favour of a system of Imperial Preference. This would mean, if anything, that India's fiscal freedom would be greatly crippled and that she could not fully protect her cotton industry against the ruinous competition of Lancashire and that she might be compelled to sell her produce to England for prices lower than those that she might command outside the Empire. Some years before, when the same question was raised under the name of preferential tariffs, the Government of Lord Curzon proved almost incontestably that India would be placed at a heavy disadvantage under such a system.

India is principally a producer of raw materials. Before the war all countries of the world could purchase these from her on equal terms, and she was also able to drive bargains with all countries unhampered. But after the war should a system of Imperial Preference be introduced, India is bound to lose many customers. The system would probably mean that on exports to any part of the British Empire there would be no duty or a small duty, on exports to the present allied countries a heavier duty, on exports to neutral countries still heavier duties, and on exports to what are now enemy countries heaviest duties of all. There would, therefore, be on the part of the allied, neutral and enemy countries a strong tendency to seek for or grow in other countries the raw stuff hitherto taken from India. Therefore India would lose many customers. At the same time no part of the British Empire would be bound to purchase anything from India. If, for instance, England could get wheat or cotton cheaper from America than from India, she would purchase there. All these circumstances would combine to compel the Indian producer either to sell his stuff at very cheap rates to British Empire customers or to allow them to rot, or both. This would in time reduce the area and volume of production in India. Therefore Imperial preference would be a very great economic blow to India as regards her exports. As regards imports, she has hitherto bought in the cheapest market after the war under the system of Imperial Preference manufactures from parts of the British Empire, allied countries, neutral countries would be subjected to an ascending scale of duties, India would perforce have to purchase the costlier British or colonial made article instead of the cheaper thing made elsewhere, as the price of the latter would be artificially enhanced by means of higher duties. The competition of all the manufacturing countries of the world has destroyed Indian industries, and is preventing their revival. Hitherto we have had, however, the melancholy satisfaction of buying from those destroyers of our industries who could produce the cheapest things. But even that consolation may hereafter be denied to us.

In this connection we would draw the attention of our readers to the note on "Economic War after the War" in our last January number, p. 125.

Two Calcutta University Syndicate Resolutions.

The minutes of the syndicate of the Calcutta University for July 7, 1916, contains the following item on page 9 :

28. Read applications from Nimaicharan Maitra and Manikumar Mukherjee who appeared at the M. A. Examination in 1914, praying that the order of the Syndicate regarding their case may be favourably reconsidered.

Resolved—

That Nimaicharan Maitra and Manikumar Mukherjee be permitted to appear at any University Examinations in 1919 or subsequent years.

The "case" of these two candidates, not described in these minutes, was that they had used unfair means for passing the M.A. Examination. Nimai Charan Maitra is, we believe, a son of the Assistant Registrar of the University, and Mani is Nimai's friend. Details of their case were given in the *Modern Review* for June, 1915, pp. 643-644. They are now permitted to appear at any University examinations in 1919 or subsequent years. We do not know of any such consideration having been previously shown to any other similar offenders. But as we are not believers in everlasting damnation, we think the syndicate has done well in showing mercy. But in the minutes for the same date, p. 17, we come across a similar application with a different result.

56. Read an application from Birendranath Bose who, having used unfair means at the B.A. Examination in 1913, was debarred from presenting himself

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at any examination of this University, praying that, in consideration of the facts stated therein, he may be permitted to appear at the next B.A. Examination as a non-collegiate student with Sanskrit and Honours History as the combination of his subjects, aad enclosing certificates in support of his application.

RESOLVED—

That the consideration of the application be postponed to the next meeting of the Syndicate.

It will be noted that here the offence of the applicant is described, no such tenderness being shown to him as has been shown to Nimai and his friend. It will also be noted that this applicant appeared at an examination in 1913, whereas the other two had appeared in 1914, so that he has already been debarred from an examination for a period one year longer than the other two ; therefore he should have been shown mercy at least at the same time with them, if not earlier. But the consideration of his application was postponed to the next meeting. And what happened at the next meeting ? The minutes for the 15th July, p. 86, show that it was resolved "that copies of the application be circulated to the Members of the Syndicate." We do not know whether this was done, but so far as our information goes, the application has not yet been finally disposed of.

Please be more prompt.

A student of the second year class of a mofussil college in Bengal, failing to attend the necessary percentage of lectures, applied to the University on the 18th January through his principal to be allowed to appear at the I. A. examination as a private candidate. For the sake of brevity we omit the subsequent details of the story and mention at once the final fact that the boy received a telegram from the Registrar on the 31st March that he was permitted to appear at the examination. But the examination had begun on the 19th March and ended on the 30th. As going backwards is possible in space, impossible in time, the permission granted by the University must remain emblazoned in history as one of those expressions of sympathy and good intentions which lead to nothing.

War, and Nationality and Trade.

Referring to the formation of the British "League of Nations Society," at a meeting of which General Smuts, Lord Hugh Cecil and others spoke, as noted before, *The Nation* asks: "Can we secure peace by an abstract argument to set up arbitration or conciliation, and enforce delay ? Must there not be some general agreement on the threshold about the main causes of war, nationality and trade?" Nationality has obviously been used here in the sense of "nationalism, devotion or strong attachment to one's own nation or country." How the aggressive nationalism of independent nations seeking to aggrandise themselves or the nationalism of dependent peoples struggling to be free, can lead to war, has been repeatedly exemplified in history. The desire to be the strongest and richest nation in the world is also a cause of war. We have discussed the question of nationalism and war in a previous note. By "trade" as a cause of war, the *Nation* evidently means commercialism and industrialism. One cause of war is undoubtedly the desire to secure new markets by conquest. When manufacturing nations directly or indirectly prevent other nations from starting industries of their own, or destroy the industries of the latter by some means or other, such methods are also probable causes of war. Jealousy regarding markets is also such a cause. The industrial success of most manufacturing nations depends on large scale production. And such large scale production is undertaken on the assumption that the greater part of mankind must for ever remain buyers. Should they try to become producers, industrial nationalism must frustrate their attempts. This shows how modern industrialism rests on an unrighteous and insecure basis and is, therefore, a cause of war. The history of how rubber was successfully collected in the Congo Free State and the history of other similar industries, show that some industries may directly involve cruelty and suffering like war.

Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar.

Lieutenant-colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I. M. S., retired, who recently breathed his last, was, besides being a physician and teacher of repute, a noted botanist who had done some original work in the science he loved. The last work he did was in colaboration with his friend Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S., retired, in giving to the world their elaborate and copiously illustrated production on *Indian Medicinal Plants*. He presided over the Ayurvedic Sammelan held at Muttra, U. P. Old subscribers of the *Modern*

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Review will remember the series of articles he wrote on the teaching of science in the Indian universities. Dr. Kirtikar also cultivated the art of writing poetry.

Revolutions in England.

It is a superstition with Englishmen that they are a very conservative people. They are proud of this fact. And, though in English history there have been revolutions and though during the course of the present war, there have been not one but several revolutionary changes and English statesmen of all parties have warmly acclaimed the Russian revolution, the rulers of India would have us believe that the British people are incapable of making or appreciating any but very slow changes and that in the whole world India is the only country where any change that does not suit the bureaucracy must produce cataclysms.

That we have not been reading revolutions into contemporary English history, will appear from the following extracts from Sir Edward Carson's speech at a luncheon of the British Empire Producers' Organisation :

"Let them not imagine that there was no revolution going in this country and the Empire. True, His Majesty was never more safely and securely fixed on the throne than at present. (Cheers). Look at the almost automatic innovation of the Imperial War Cabinet..... People talked wildly of Imperial Federation, not knowing what it would mean..... The meeting of the Council of the Empire as a cabinet from year to year to discuss the Empire executive matters was the nearest approach at the moment that we could get to the ideals at which we were aiming. There was a revolution in the Empire. At Home the Franchise Bill was itself a great revolution.

This Franchise Bill would add eight million voters to the rolls of electors, and six millions of these new voters would be women.

Sir Edward Carson proceeded :

Labour would never again be satisfied nor ought it to be satisfied to be in the same condition as before the war. Labour in the number it had sent out was laying the foundations of our future progress maintaining our present liberties and must have, he would not call it reward, but its fair share in the body politic.

One example may be given of what the present ministry has done in England inspite of the pre-occupation of the war. *New India* writes :

Problems which in peace times excited very keen controversy extending over years have been settled amost by a stroke of the pen during the present War in England, and in its latest issue, *the New Statesman* invites attention to one such reform : the promise of a minimum wage to labourers on the land. The present Cabinet, brushing aside all past controversies, has promised a minimum price for British-grown produce and at the same time promised a minimum wage of 25*s* per week to the labourers. These two steps will compel the return of a large section of the British population to the land, and will thus materially increase the amount of home-grown foodstuffs. At the same time, the nation will have to pay no higher price than it will have to pay under the system of Free Trade. This is surely a revolution of a very far reaching character, and the present Government has been profusely congratulated on the excellence of the scheme, except, of course, by the few rich, who sinfully think that their interests require the perpetuation of poverty of labourers.

And, that Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster party, should exhort people not to make an idol of imperialism, is in itself a revolution.

Let us not talk too much of imperialism, continues Sir Edward Carson. To some it rather ideal is domination, to others it means aggression and to others it means exploitation of the people for the benefit of the few or of capitalists. You must get rid of that out of their minds. You must rather teach them of the Empire union and the greatness in which each unit is a help and strength to other units.

Leakage of Calcutta University Question Papers.

The committee appointed by the Calcutta University senate to investigate the leakage of questions has been reconstituted, though we have not been told definitely whether the old committee still exists. As Dr. Kedarnath Das said at a senate meeting, the preliminary report of the old committee "represents the views of *four* out of seven members of the committee. Although signed by five, one of them did not attend any of the meetings. Why does the senate appoint members who cannot or do not care to attend meetings ? It is to be hoped that it is not a dodge. And why do such members accept office at all ? They ought at once to decline the honour, as soon as they are appointed.

An idea has got abroad, not without reason, that the work of the committee is not being done with as much energy and expedition as is desirable and practicable, and that it is feared that it may drag its slow length along until the university commission commences its work in November when the far greater importance of the latter may, by monopolising public attention, make it easy to shelve the question of the leakage. Already the delay may have done

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irretrievable harm. And that delay may be a cause of failure has been admitted by the committee itself. For in explaining its inability to catch the thieves who stole the first Matriculation questions it was asserted that the enquiry was taken up too long after the event. We hope the University and the committee have taken all possible steps to prevent the concealment or destruction of evidence or clues which may lead to the detection of the criminals. No one, of course, yet knows definitely whether, as enumerated in the *Prabasi* for March, the theft took place in the press, on the way from the press to the University office, in that office itself, along the postal lines or at any post office, or at any centre, or at the residences of any of the paper-setters. But of all these places, the university office is completely under the control of the University. And, therefore, we suggested in the *Prabasi* for March that all those officers of the University who could possibly have handled the papers should have been suspended pending the enquiry, as was done by the Allahabad University on a similar occasion. We do not, of course, dogmatically assert that any men in the University office have been placing any obstacles in the way of the enquiry or concealing or destroying evidence; but, business being business, all possibilities of any such description ought to have been guarded against at the outset. There is no harm in being over-suspicious and over-careful in such matters, not with a view to punish innocent men, but in order to make the enquiry successful. The following facts mentioned by Dr. S. P. Sarvadhicary at a senate meeting, as reported by the *Englishman*, are not calculated to inspire confidence.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary in supportiong the amendment, said that it seemed to him that this report was the play of Hamlet, with Hamlet left out. From his personal knowledge, he was able to say that when the report was signed and circulated some of the most important facts connected with the leakage had not been brought prominently to the notice of the Committee. For instance, there was a communication from the Director of Public Instruction, Burma, to the Registrar, to the effect that a sealed cover reached his house purporting to contain certain question papers, but which, when opened, was found to contain nothing. Here was a fact on the record.

Sir Asutosh: It was not on record at the time.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary: That is my impression, that it was on record.

Sir Asutosh: I contradict that.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary: If it was not on record, it has got also to be investigated as to why it was not on record when the Registrar knew that such a damaging communication had been received.

Continuing, Dr. Sarbadhicary said that there was another fact which also required their serious consideration, that some centres received covers containing question papers in such a damaged condition that they ought to have aroused suspicions.

It was certainly very important to discover which officer of the University actually despatched the cover to the D. P. I., Burma.

Incidentally, one may be curious to know how, seeing that Sir Asutosh is no longer the Vice-Chancellor, he was in a position to contradict Dr. Suresh Prosad. Does the University office or any of its officers supply Sir Asutosh with information which is not at the same time placed at the disposal of the other members of the committee?

We suggest that the members of the committee should personally inspect the strong room and the safes where question papers are kept. But perhaps the suggestion is already too late. We hope, members of the committee are keeping their own notes of the proceedings. We suggest this precaution, as we personally know of reports of committees which were in some points at variance with either the evidence, or even with some of the conclusions arrived at at committee meetings. Of course, we do not assert that any such thing will happen in the present case, but we only advise caution.

Though Dr. Kedarnath Das's amendment was lost, we hope when the committee submits any report or reports in future, it will embody "therein full information as to the method adopted for carrying on the enquiry, the number of meetings held, the names of members present at each meeting, the names of persons examined, interviewed or communicated with, the letters, the answers to questions put to them and any other allied matters."

It was very urgent that the Matriculation examination should be conducted, in July next, without a hitch. And for that a special officer with a special staff has been appointed. Beyond this, there was no need to proceed, and that in a hurry, before the receipt of the final report of the committee. And, as rightly pointed out by Dr. Das, if the report and recommendations of the reconstituted

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committee be quite different from those of the old committee, it would be very embarrassing for the senate to take fresh action. The appointment of a Controller of examinations, even for three years, was uncalled for at this stage, and gives an impression of a crisis, a panic and a hurry which facts do not warrant. As we indicated in our last number there is no proof that the Registrar's work has become unmanageably heavy or that it has become so in this particular year for the first time. Besides, it was known that by the appointment of a secretary to the Post-graduate council, the Registrar's work was already going to be made lighter. However, as the Senate *has* resolved to appoint a controller, we hope a man of unquestionable ability and integrity like Babu Girish Chandra Mukherji will be appointed. Were there not a penchant for superannuated European registrars, a man like him would have been quite able, as Registrar, to carry on all the work of the university satisfactorily without any addition to the staff.

We cannot approve of the decision "That in future no paper should be printed in this country." It may be necessary to take such a step for one year as an emergency measure, even though there may be no proof that questions leaked out from a local press; but to cast a slur upon the honesty and capacity of all printing concerns in the country for ever, is both unjustifiable and intolerable. Other countries do not get their question papers printed abroad, and the secret printing of secret state documents here, and the fact that budget statements do not leak out untimely, show that capacity and honesty are not absolutely wanting in the country.

Government of India Resolution on the Indian Defence Force.

The resolution of the Government of India on the inadequate enrolment of Indians in the Defence Force was neither called for nor statesmanlike. A Government which arraigns the people under its care also arraigns itself. The people may be to blame, but the past and present policy of Government are also to blame. It is no use telling us that it is not possible to make momentous changes, such as the granting of King's commissions to Indians, the augmentation of the pay and allowances of Indian soldiers, &c., during a crisis like the present war. Our opinion is that the very fact of the war necessitated such changes; and that they are not at all impracticable during the period of the war is shown by the many revolutionary changes already made and in course of being made in England, where the pre-occupation of the war is far far greater than here.

Government ought to have recognised that it was itself responsible for the delay in the publication of the rules and in the supply of forms of application for enlistment. We have shown in our March number why Englishmen sojourning in India and Indians ought to have been treated alike. There was in any case no justification for making any distinction between Eurasians and Indians, or between Indian Christians with English names and other Indians. There was also no reason why Indian lads between 16 and 18 should not have been given a training like European, Eurasian, and English-named Indian Christian lads. Nothing ought to have been done to damp the enthusiasm of our youth. On the contrary everything ought to have been done to arouse, increase and sustain their enthusiasm,—particularly as the large number of internments has had a very irritating and depressing effect upon their minds. We lay so much stress on enthusiasm, as it is not the elderly men guided by the political calculations of present or future advantage to the nation who were expected to join the force, but warm-blooded youngmen who are impelled by their ardour.

Men join the army either because it offers a career, or because patriotism or enthusiasm for the Empire leads them to become soldiers. The Defence Force is not meant for the classes from which soldiers are ordinarily recruited. It is meant for the gentry, the *bhadra-lok*, or the so-called *posh* classes. But the army has practically ceased to offer them a career. What Kaye and Malleson wrote in their *History of the Sepoy Mutiny* about the conditions existing more than half a century ago is still true today.

"As the degradation of the native officer was accomplished, the whole character of the Indian army was thus changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position, accustomed to command, might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their lives. All distinctions were effaced. The native service of the Company came down to a

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level of common soldiering, and rising from the ranks a painfully slow process to merely nominal command. There was employment for the many; there was no longer a career for the few. Thenceforth, therefore, we dug out the materials of our army from the lower strata of society,....."

The gentry of the land having been long unaccustomed to think of the army as a career, have ceased to have soldierly inclinations and have largely taken to other fields of work. There remains, then, the question of enthusiasm. The Government resolution refers to the British territorials working under the same conditions of pay, &c., as the common British soldier. But the British Empire does not mean the same thing to Britishers and Indians. The former are masters and citizens of the Empire, whereas the latter are its servants and subjects. The hope held out that we may in some dim and distant future become partners in the Empire is not likely to arouse prospective or anticipatory enthusiasm to any very large extent or high degree. But we have written so often and so much on this and allied subjects, that it would be sufficient to draw our readers' attention to some of our previous notes and articles. *Vide* note on "Bengalis and Soldiership" October, 1916; on "Recruiting in Bengal," December, 1916; on "Man-power and the Franchise", January, 1917; article on "the Nemesis of Distrust", March, 1917; notes on "the Defence of India Force," "Political Status and Man-power," "We Welcome the Defence Force Idea," "Indian Cadets," etc., March, 1917; and the note on "Indian Commandants for Indian Troops," April, 1917.

In conclusion may we venture to add that people cannot be scolded into offering their lives for the Empire?

Dr. Indu Madhab Mallik.

Dr. Indu Madhab Mallik, M.A., B.L., M.D, whose untimely death is announced in the papers, was one of the leading physicians of Calcutta and a student with a remarkable academic career. He took his M.A. degree in five subjects successively, and was, besides, a Bachelor in Law, and an M. D. Study was with him a passion. He had travelled extensively both in the East and the West, and the accounts of his travels in Bengali found eager readers. He was a sincere and enthusiastic social reformer. He took considerable interest in the welfare of students, and did much to draw the attention of the public to the conditions of life which affected the health of the student population of Calcutta. He was known to the public as the inventor of the "Ic Mic Cooker."

Students and Politics.

The Madras circular ordering students not to have anything to do with political movements, meetings, discussions, etc., goes much further than the Risley circular. *New India* has printed the two, side by side, as follows:

THE LATEST CIRCULAR

The disciplinary regulations of the Madras Educational Rules already contain certain directions on the subject. It has, however, been represented to the Government that the directions in this chapter are insufficient to meet the present situation and that it is necessary to supplement them by further instructions. The Government therefore have directed that no under-graduate student in any college and no pupil in any school shall be permitted to take part in public political discussion, to attend political meetings, to join any political association, or to take part in any movement with which it is, in the opinion of the educational authorities, undesirable that persons still in "statu pupillari" shall be associated. The Government have desired heads of Colleges and Schools, whether under public management or otherwise, to strictly enforce these directions. In doing so they should have regard not merely to the declared purpose of a meeting, but also to the speakers who will address it.

THE RISLEY CIRCULAR

(1) Graduate and under-graduate students on the rolls of the colleges under public management are forbidden to take an active part in political agitation directed against the authority of the Government. Principals may further at their discretion forbid students to engage prominently in any public movement with which it seems undesirable that persons in *statu pupillari* should be associated.

(2) If students of such colleges attend political meetings and there conduct themselves in any manner which is forbidden or unbecoming or engage in political agitation in such a way as to interfere with the corporate life and educational work of the college, the Principal of the college may suspend or expel them or refuse the grant of term certificates for a specified period and may also report their case to the University with the view of their being dealt with under Regulation 96 of the University Regulations.

[These rules applied only to Colleges under public, *i.e.*, Government management and only indirectly to other Colleges.]

Mere school boys need not attend political meetings, though we do not think that it does them any harm to be present at meetings and hear speeches which are allowed by the law. As for college students, it is a part of their education to be acquainted with the trend of all movements, political, social, &c., just as it is necessary for them to study history. Contemporary political and other movements are history in the making. It is necessary for our students,

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just as it is for British students, to be equipped for their future work by acquiring direct personal knowledge of contemporary movements, as far as they can, without detriment to their studies, which constitute their chief work. We want our students to have as much to do with politics as British students have. We do not, of course, want them to take active part in political agitation or propaganda. But, though they do not and ought not to attend the congress, the conferences, &c., as delegates, they may certainly attend as listeners. Their work as volunteers at these gatherings is a valuable training in patriotic service.

That an atmosphere of pure study should be created for students, is an absurd doctrine. And if bureaucrats are really sincere in their desire for such an atmosphere, why has not a single one of them ever attempted to ereate such an atmosphere in England? Surely they do not love their own sons less than they do ours. And this desire for an atmosphere of pure study is concerned only with the killing of political germs. Has any bureaucrat ever spoken against students attending the Indian theatres where the actresses are women of ill fame? In his last council speech Lord Pentland referred to this subject and spoke of time wasted, opportunities lost, &c., by students. But we, who know far more of the habits of our young men than he, can tell him that they spend much more time in attending theatres, races, cinema shows, &c., and watching games of foot ball, cricket, and hockey, than in listening to speeches in political or other meetings. Why does not His Excellency or any other sincere *better*-wisher of our sons than ourselves, try to prevent students from spending their time in *any* and *all* of these ways? It is strange that the sons of our public men may spend their leisure in all possible ways except in listening to the speeches, particularly the political speeches, of their fathers and their fathers' colleagues. Lord Pentland says:—

> Students remain as free as heretofore in their leisure to acquaint themselves in their college debating societies and by such means with the politics and public affairs of the world which they are about to enter.

But if in their leisure they can attend their debating societies, and hear their own and their comrades' voices, what harm is there if in their leisure they listen to the wiser and better-informed voice of, say, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya? Ma[illegible] for the sophistry of such argum[illegible] Is it usual or allowable for Principals [illegible] Government and other colleges to per[illegible] and encourage the discussion of politics [illegible] college debating societies? Among [illegible] other "such means," is a study of n[illegible] papers and periodicals. Do not [illegible] officials know of the various means ad[illegible]ted to prevent students from read[illegible] some of the best journals in the count[illegible] Lord Pentland would have us believe t[illegible]

> "These orders.....have been issued in justice [illegible] students and to their rights as students in ord[illegible] secure to them during their student life full opp[illegible]ties for study for their equipment for life, [illegible] development and formation of character before [illegible]ing upon their life work.....Thus these orders [illegible] intended to do justice to the students, to secu[illegible] them their rights as students and the same op[illegible]tunities as are enjoyed by students in other coun[illegible] —rights and opportunities which no wise parent [illegible] no true lover of his country will grudge or deny t[illegible] rising generation."

What a fascinating picture of a bene[illegible]lent paternalism! The leaders of India [illegible] enticing away her young sons, [illegible] ruining their future prospects, thus [illegible] croaching on their rights as studen[illegible] some other agency must save them [illegible] such disaster! Lord Pentland ought [illegible] to have assumed that we do not kn[illegible] what "opportunities are enjoyed [illegible] students in other countries." What[illegible] Lord Pentland may say, fact is fact, [illegible] his Government is not "securing" [illegible] Madras students "the same opportun[illegible] as are enjoyed by students in o[illegible] countries, but on the contrary are de[illegible]*ing* them of some of the valued op[illegible]tunities and rights of British students.

The circular empowers heads of sch[illegible] and colleges to ban not only poli[illegible] meetings, but speakers as well. [illegible] instance, if some well-known poli[illegible] leader who is obnoxious to the off[illegible] world delivers a lecture on the Fo[illegible] imension, students may be forbidden [illegible] hear him. Thus are pedagogues empo[illegible]ed to create a new caste of untouchab[illegible] unhearables, unseeables, and what [illegible] No one ought to possess such powe[illegible] indirectly throwing aspersions on a m[illegible] personality. That cannot be a benef[illegible] system of education which thus encour[illegible] a disrespectful attitude towards ma[illegible] the leading men of the country.

The Situation in Champaran.

Some nine years ago, we wrote a[illegible]

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on "Agrarian Discontent in Champaran" (*The Modern Review* for December 1908, p. 534). We said :

"There is grave discontent among the agriculturists in parts of District Champaran. The raiyats complain that the terms of contract which the European indigo and sugar planters are seeking to force on them, would, if accepted, prove their ruin. They sent a well-reasoned and respectful representation to the Government. So far as we know, no enquiry into their grievances has been made. But additional police have been drafted into the sub-division of Motihari, a considerabel number of men have been arrested, the meetings of agriculturists have been forbidden under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code (though there has not been any disturbance of the peace or any likelihood thereof), and punitive police have been imposed on the inhabitants of the villages of Gurwalia, Balua, Nautan, Bajahi, Mathia Dumra, Lakanpur, Kalan Barwa, Barwa Ganauli, and Chand Barwa." &c., &c.

Unsatisfactory relations still prevail between the planters and the raiyats. *The Pioneer* has suggested a commission, with *possibly* a non-official element. (How generous that "possibly" !) We have little faith in commissions. We have faith in Mr. Gandhi and his mission, and we are sure he will not leave the district of his own accord until his work shall have been finished. Commission or no commission, the Bihar raiyats must have advice, help and encouragement, and Mr. Gandhi is the man for it. He and his party are expected to raise them from the slough of despond. Therefore, commission or no commission, the work of Mr. Gandhi and his friends must go on ; and the Government will, we hope, stand firm, and do even-handed justice.

Lord Pentland on the Home Rule Agitation.

In his last council speech Lord Pentland spoke on the Home Rule movement as a candid friend, as he called himself. He began by saying that "self-government is the salt and strength of the British Empire. It stands or falls on self-government, and you know well how it is standing now for justice and freedom all the world over," etc., and ended by saying, "on behalf of my Government I call upon all who hear me or read these words for their support in any action which the Government may be forced to take to discourage these unwise and dangerous methods and the extravagant aims which they are designed to further." How beautifully the end harmonises with the beginning! "The extravagant aims" are nothing more or less than to secure that "self-government" for India which is "the salt and strength of the British Empire," and without which it is destined to decay. As the British Empire stands for justice and freedom all the world over, and as India is a part of the world, we are sure it is not a "dangerous method" to request our rulers to stand for justice and freedom in India, too. Lord Pentland repeated the stock phrases about fitness, range of practical politics, Indian men with a true sense of responsibility being opposed to Home Rule, the best brains of England being focussed upon the immediate tasks of the war, &c., &c. So far as bureaucrats are connected, it is useless to refute these objections again and again, for they are determined not to be convinced. In His Excellency's opinion, the reforms which will be officially proposed for India, at the end of the war, "will fall far short of the proposals" made by Home Rulers. Therefore, "it is obvious that this situation contains the elements of misunderstanding, of difficulty, and possibly of friction." "For any such difficulties the leaders of this agitation and all who support and sympathise with them will be directly responsible." This does not seem to us to be good logic. There are two parties, the Home Rulers, and the Bureaucrats. The former want to move forward, and move forward at a very rapid pace, if you will ; the latter do not want to move at all, or to move very very slowly. If under the circumstances any difficulty arises, is it absolutely certain that it is the former who are to blame ? The bureaucrats are advancing a claim to infallibility and unselfish benevolence which nobody but themselves and those who share a privileged position with them can admit.

Certainly nobody will give up the righteous endeavour to secure Home Rule either to oblige Lord Pentland or because he has chosen to use threatening language. But it should be ascertained, if possible, whether he spoke on his own responsibility or as the mouthpiece of any higher authority

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or authorities. In any case, the movement must go on. Lord Pentland is clearly out of date and out of place. The Musalmans of Russia are not a more advanced section of mankind than the Musalmans and Hindus of India. As Reuter has telegraphed that "the Congress of Musalman delegates from all parts of Russia passed a resolution by 446 votes to 271 in favour of a federal republic in Russia," Lord Pentland may obtain some idea of the desire, capacity and fitness of Asiatic peoples for self-government if he spends some time in Russian Turkestan and other Musalman regions of Russia.

Home Rule for Bagdad.

On the fall of Bagdad into British hands, General Sir Stanley Maude issued a proclamation to the people of that place, promising them political institutions which are equivalent to Home Rule. This furnished the occasion for Mr. Devlin, M.P., to wittily ask the Prime Minister: "Whether his attention has been called to the proclamation stating that the people of Bagdad are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon them alien institutions; and whether the Government are prepared to do immediately for Ireland what Sir Stanley Maude has been authorised to proclaim they are resolved to do for the people of Bagdad and the whole Arab race."

Some passages in Mr. Devlin's question appear to have been omitted by the Speaker, among which was one "in which the people of Bagdad were begged to remember that for twenty-six generations they had 'suffered under a strange tyranny which had endeavoured to set one Arab against another in order to profit by their dissensions.'" Very *strange* tyranny indeed! And yet the Turks cannot be credited with any originality in using this method.

Mr. MacVeagh, in a question addressed to the Prime Minister, asked whether the Cabinet had censured Sir Stanley Maude for the Proclamation issued at Bagdad: whether the War Cabinet was aware that he proposed in the Proclamation, on behalf of Great Britain and the Allies, to force Home Rule on the Arabs without regard to the views of such homogeneous communities amongst the Arabs as might desire to remain under Turkish rule; whether the Arabs had agreed among themselves as to the form of government they desired and, if so, how their views had been ascertained; whether Sir Stanley Maude's action in preaching to the Arabs the evil results of alien rule in promising that alien institutions would not be established amongst them, and in urging them to remain a united nation north, south, east, and west, had the sanction of the War Cabinet; and, if not, what action the Cabinet proposed to take?

Mr. Bonar Law: I cannot add anything to what I said in reply to a similar question yesterday by the Hon. Member for West Belfast.

Mr. MacVeagh: Might I ask whether the Right Hon. Gentleman is aware that four vilayets of North-East Arabia strongly object to being taken out of Turkish rule, and is he going to force Home Rule upon an unwilling community? (laughter)

Mr. Bonar Law: I do not know the source of the Hon. Member's information, but we have received no similar information.

The point of Mr. MacVeagh's wit lies in the fact that the Prime Minister has declared that he could not force Home Rule on Ulster, and many British statesmen had said that Home Rule could not be granted to Ireland, because the Irish could not agree among themselves as to the form; &c.

If instead of being under the rule of the British people for more than a century, we had just fallen into their hands, some British General might have issued to us a Home Rule Proclamation; and then how we should have enjoyed the discomfiture of Lord Pentland, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, &c. Only, these rulers of men would not have been present at the fall of Madras, Lahore, &c. There would have been a variety entertainment, too. The editors of the *Indian Mirror*, *Justice*, &c., and some "natural leaders" of the people, would have protested that Home Rule ought not to be forced on them. Whether Bagdad will have Home Rule, or we should have had it under the circumstances imagined, is another matter.

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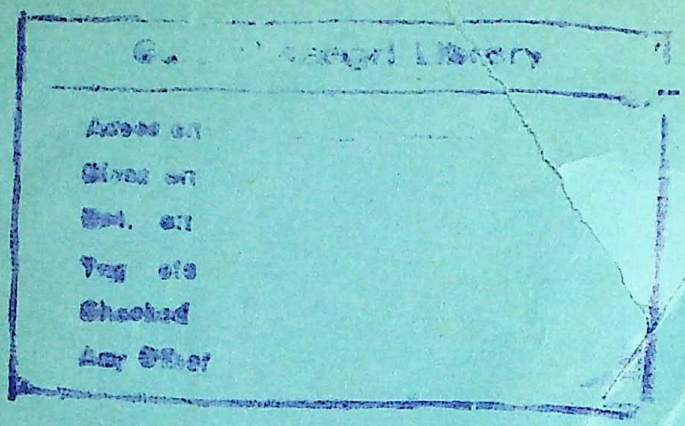

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